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PROCEEDINGS OF THE WASHINGTON STATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE IN RE: WASHINGTON PENSION UNION

At this point William Pennock, President of the Washington State Pension Union, attempted to create a disturbance but was warned to desist by Chairman Canwell.

CHAIRMAN ALBERT F. CANWELL: Mister State Patrolman, if we do not have order, clear the room. Anyone making a demonstration will be removed. Now, those in this room—if you wish to stay here, appear here as American citizens.

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CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If there is any further display back there, I shall ask the State Patrolmen to remove the parties responsible.

This meeting will proceed in an orderly manner, if you all are taken out.

This Committee has heretofore acted upon the assumption that it was legally constituted by the Legislature and had full power to act as an official Committee of the State Legislature. The question was raised in Superior Court today, as to whether the Committee had been legally constituted, and in view of this question, if there should be any doubt as to whether this Committee may legally speak for the State of Washington, any statements which we may make in the course of this proceedings, should be considered as the statements of us as individual members of the Legislature, rather than as official statements made on behalf of the State of Washington.

Mr. Houston, do you have any information to come before this Committee?

MR. HOUSTON: Call the first witness. Please stand and be sworn. Will you swear the witness, Mr. Canwell?

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Please state your name.

A. Louis Francis Budenz.

Q. And where do you live, Mr. Budenz?

A. New York City. I am a teacher of Economics at Fordham University.

Q. Fordham University is located in New York City?

A. That is correct. I live in Crestwood, New York, nearby.

Q. What has been your past occupation?

A. I taught one year at Notre Dame, and before that, for five years was managing editor of the Daily Worker, for a period before that, about three years I was editor of the Communist paper in Chicago, the Midwest Daily Record. Before that, I was labor editor of the Daily Worker. Prior to that time I could go into other matters, but that suffices for the present.

MR. HOUSTON: That is sufficient.

STATE OF WASHINGTON



REPORT OF JOINT FACT FINDING COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Established by the Thirtieth Legislature Under
House Concurrent Resolution No. 10



REP. ALBERT F. CANWELL, *Chairman*

REP. SYDNEY A. STEVENS, REP. GRANT C. SISSON, *REP. GEORGE F. YANTIS

SEN. THOMAS H. BIENZ, *Secretary*

SEN. HAROLD G. KIMBALL, SEN. R. L. RUTTER, JR.

INVESTIGATIVE STAFF

WILLIAM J. HOUSTON,
Chief Investigator

EARL J. TIBBETTS

EVERT POMEROY

JOHN W. WHIPPLE,
Asst. Chief Investigator

AARON R. COLEMAN

DANA T. ROBINSON

ERNEST P. STITE

LOUISE HINE, *Stenographer*

VIOLA Z. FRITSCHE, *Secretary*

HARRIET T. WIELGOS, *Stenographer*

DONELYN M. JAEGER, *Stenographer*

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1. Communists in the State of Washington operate under, and undeviatingly follow, policies laid down for them by the Soviet government.

2. These policies are promulgated on a nation-wide basis and that the activities of Communists in the State of Washington are coordinated with Communist activities in the other states of the union.

3. The dovetailed nation-wide program is designed to create distrust of their form of government in the minds and hearts of the American people; create unrest and civil strife, and impede the normal processes of state and national government, all to the end of weakening and ultimately destroying the United States as a constitutional republic and thereby facilitating the avowed Soviet purpose of substituting here a totalitarian dictatorship.

Fantastic as this may appear to the uninitiate and the naive, the testimony produced at the public hearings clearly brings into view the extreme danger of the Soviet directed Communist conspiracy to the peace and security of the people of the State of Washington and the United States.

The Committee wishes to lay special emphasis on the fact that its testimony and documentary evidence were made possible by the tireless and devoted labor of a highly specialized staff of investigators, all of whom have had years of training in the investigative field in various branches of the Federal government.

ALBERT F. CANWELL, Chairman

IN THE HOUSE.

By MESSRS. CANWELL and STEVENS.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 10

STATE OF WASHINGTON, THIRTIETH REGULAR SESSION.

Read first time February 26, 1947, ordered printed and referred to Committee on Military and Naval Affairs.

Providing for investigation of subversive activities.

Be It Resolved By the House of Representatives, the Senate Concurring, of the State of Washington in Legislative Session Assembled:

WHEREAS, These are times of public danger; subversive persons and groups are endangering our domestic unity, so as to leave us unprepared to meet aggression, and under cover of the protection afforded by the bill of rights these persons and groups seek to destroy our liberties and our freedom by force, threats and sabotage, and to subject us to the domination of foreign powers; and

WHEREAS, Recent announcements by responsible officers of the federal government indicate the seriousness of the problem. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, recently said: "During the past five years American Communists have made their deepest inroads upon our national life. Their propaganda, skillfully designed and adroitly executed has been projected into practically every phase of our national life. The Communist influence has projected itself into some newspapers, books, radio and the screen, some churches, schools, colleges and even fraternal orders have been penetrated, not with the approval of the rank and file, but in spite of them"; and

WHEREAS, State legislation to meet the problem and to assist law enforcement officers can best be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee;

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved, That there is hereby created a Joint Legislative Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities in the State of Washington which shall investigate, ascertain, collate and appraise all facts concerning individuals, groups or organizations whose activities are such as to indicate a purpose to foment internal strife, discord and dissension; infiltrate and undermine the stability of our American institutions; confuse and mislead the people; and impede the normal progress of our state and nation either in a war time or a peace time economy; and

Be It Further Resolved, That in addition to other duties imposed upon the committee, the committee shall investigate the activities of groups and organizations whose membership includes persons who are communists, or any other organization known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, which activities affect the conduct of this state, the functioning of any state agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this state supported in whole or in part by state funds, or any political program; and

Be It Further Resolved, That the committee shall consist of four members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the speaker thereof; and three members of the Senate appointed by the president thereof and they shall be subject to confirmation of their respective bodies. The speaker of the House of Representatives shall appoint the chairman of the board; and

Resolution

Be It Further Resolved, That the committee hereby created in exercising the powers and performing the functions vested in it by this resolution shall have: (I) All the powers conferred upon legislative committees by chapter 6, Laws of 1895 and chapter 33, Laws of 1897; (II) except when inconsistent with this resolution, all the powers conferred upon committees by the rules of the House of Representatives, the rules of the Senate, and the joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives as they are enacted and amended from time to time and such rules are hereby incorporated herein and made a part hereof the same as if they were set forth in this resolution in full; (III) all powers necessary or convenient to accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution, including but not limited to the following duties and powers:

(1) To employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such clerical, legal, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary, and to lease, rent or buy such supplies and facilities as may be required;

(2) The chairman shall have authority to create subcommittees from its membership, assigning to the subcommittee any study, inquiry, investigation or hearing which the committee itself has authority to undertake or hold, and the subcommittee for the purpose of this assignment shall have and exercise all of the powers conferred upon the committee limited by the express terms of the resolution or resolutions of the latter defining the powers and duties of the subcommittee, which powers may be withdrawn or terminated at any time by the committee;

(3) To adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure (including the fixing of its own quorum and the number of votes necessary to take action on any matter) as may to it appear appropriate;

(4) To contract with such other agencies, public or private, as it deems necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports to the committee as will best assist it to carry out the purposes for which it is created;

(5) To hold public hearings at any place in the State of Washington at which hearings the people are to have an opportunity to present their views to the committee;

(6) To make a complete study, survey and investigation of every phase of the subject of this resolution, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement, and needed revision of any and all laws in anywise bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution;

(7) To meet at any and all places in this state, in public or executive session;

(8) To act during this session of the legislature, including any recess hereof, and after final adjournment hereof until commencement of the thirty-first legislature;

(9) To file a report with the thirty-first legislature;

(10) To summon and subpoena witnesses, require the production of papers, books, accounts, reports, documents, and records of every kind and description; to issue subpoenas and to take all necessary means to compel the attendance of witnesses and procure testimony; to pay fees and traveling expenses of witnesses to insure their attendance, if necessary; to procure from any court having jurisdiction, upon complaint showing probable cause to believe that pertinent evidence is being concealed or withheld from the committee, a search warrant and cause a search to be made therefor;

Resolution

(11) To cooperate with and secure the cooperation of county, city, city and county and other local enforcement agencies in investigating any matter within the scope of this resolution, and to direct the sheriff of any county to serve subpoenas, orders, and other process issued by the committee; and

(12) To do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution; and in case of disobedience on the part of any witness to comply with any subpoena issued by the committee or on the refusal of any person to testify regarding any matter on which he may be lawfully interrogated, the superior court of any county, or the judge thereof, on application of the committee, shall compel compliance by proceedings for contempt, as in the case of disobedience of the requirements of a subpoena issued from such court or a refusal to testify therein; and

Be It Further Resolved, That the committee, each of its members, and any representative of the committee thereunto authorized by the committee or by its chairman, is authorized and empowered to administer oaths; and

Be It Further Resolved, That every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the state government, including the attorney general, and their subordinates, and of any political subdivision, county, city, or public district of or in this state shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any and all such assistance, and information, records and documents as the committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created; and

Be It Further Resolved, That the Washington state patrol and all officers and members thereof shall furnish such assistance to the committee as the chairman may direct; and

Be It Further Resolved, That the members appointed to the joint Legislative Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities shall be reimbursed for their expenses incurred while attending sessions of the committee or subcommittee to the extent of fifteen dollars (\$15) per day plus five cents (5¢) per mile in going to and coming from meetings or hearings of the committee or subcommittee, the same to be paid upon their individual vouchers, approved by the chairman of the committee, from any moneys appropriated for the expense of the thirtieth legislature, or from such other funds as may be made available therefor; and that the salaries and expenses of any expert, clerical, and other assistants employed by the committee shall be paid upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee from such funds.

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Mr. Houston, do you have any information to come before this Committee?

MR. HOUSTON: Call the first witness. Please stand and be sworn. Will you swear the witness, Mr. Canwell?

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Please state your name.

A. Louis Francis Budenz.

Q. And where do you live, Mr. Budenz?

A. New York City. I am a teacher of Economics at Fordham University.

Q. Fordham University is located in New York City?

A. That is correct. I live in Crestwood, New York, nearby.

Q. What has been your past occupation?

A. I taught one year at Notre Dame, and before that, for five years was managing editor of the Daily Worker, for a period before that, about three years I was editor of the Communist paper in Chicago, the Midwest Daily Record. Before that, I was labor editor of the Daily Worker. Prior to that time I could go into other matters, but that suffices for the present.

MR. HOUSTON: That is sufficient.

Q. Mr. Budenz, are you, or have you ever been a member of the Communist party?

A. I was a member of the Communist Party for ten years, a member officially of the National Committee for six years, and a member unofficially for political reasons, three other years. That is, for three years when the allegation was made that the Daily Worker, during the Hitler-Stalin Pact, was not an official organ of the Communist Party. I was to contend that I was not officially associated with the party, and therefore I was not a member openly of the National Committee. Nevertheless, I attended all National Committee meetings during that time. The paper at that time was supposedly owned by three gentlewomen, although it was always, of course, owned and controlled by the Communist Party. This was a deceit. I was president of the corporation, and managing editor of the Daily Worker during that time.

Q. When did you cease to be associated with the Communist Party?

A. In October, 1945, when I left the Communist Movement.

Q. Now, I believe you have stated that the Daily Worker is the official organ of the Communist Party, is that correct?

A. It is the official daily organ. There is a theoretical organ now known as Political Affairs, formerly known as The Communist. This is intended for the elite of the party—the leaders, so to speak, though anyone can obtain it if they choose to do so. There is also the New Times, the name a disguise for the Communist International magazine, which is given out to all members of the Daily Worker staff and to leading members of the party for their directions from Moscow, but the Daily Worker is the official daily organ of the Communist Party, though from time to time the Party has sought to deny this, it now acknowledges it,—and has acknowledged it before.

Q. Who formulates the policy of the Daily Worker?

A. Immediately an editorial board; above them the political committee of the Communist Party, and above them, the information and directives that come from Moscow, to the political committee.

Q. As the managing editor of the Daily Worker, did you ever have concrete evidence of instructions being issued from Moscow?

A. Mr. Eisler is the very living example—Gerhardt Eisler, representative of the Communist International, who had tremendous power within the organization secretly. Most people in the Communist movement didn't even know of his existence, and yet secretly he ordered about the editors of the Daily Worker, and also officials of the Communist Party. He is one example. Another is J. C. Peters, also an alien in here illegally, who is about to be up for deportation proceedings—the man who wrote the pamphlet in 1935 declaring that the objective of the Communist Party was the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States—officially issued by the Party at that time for the schools in Marxism and Leninism. He is another link, by the way, with information coming from abroad secretly.

There are a great number. A man very close with this secret international apparatus is Alexander Bittleman, another alien illegally in the United States just recently apprehended for deportation. It is through these personalities and channels, many of them in the shadow, many of them unknown even to rank and file members of the Communist Party. Information comes which the political committee heeds, and which the Daily Worker has to obey, and which as managing editor I always respected and obeyed as a loyal Communist during that time.

Q. Are there other publications in the United States that are unofficial organs or controlled by the Communist Party?

A. There was this Midwest Daily Record, of which I was editor in Chicago. That was supposed to be a people's front paper, but as a Communist, I had to state that it was the Communist contribution to the people's front. There is the People's World in San Francisco, and there are a number of other unofficial organs—I couldn't recall them all. Here in Seattle there is the New World, which is—

At this point, Terry Pettus, Editor of the New World, started shouting and tried to get the attention of Chairman Canwell.

A. The New World is absolutely controlled by the political committee of the Communist Party.

At this point, Terry Pettus, Editor of the New World, started shouting and tried to get the attention of Chairman Canwell.

MR. PETTUS: That is a lie, as the editor of that paper—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If Mr. Pettus insists on speaking here out of order, remove him.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Do you know Mr. Pettus, the man who just rose to his feet then?
A. I know him by reputation.

Q. What is Mr. Pettus' reputation?
A. Member of the Communist Party.

Q. How did you come to such information—come in possession of it?
A. It was told me by a number of leading members of the political committee, as official instructions to me. Jack Stachel and others,

Q. They were high officials of the Communist Party?
A. They were the men immediately my superiors, yes sir.
Q. And in official business you were told that the New World was a Communist paper and that Terry Pettus—and its predecessors—

A. —not only the New World, but its predecessors, the—
Q. Washington New Dealer?
A. That is correct.
Q. How about its predecessor, the Sunday News?

A. I don't recall the name of the Sunday News. The whole setup there was under Communist control.

Q. The predecessor of the Sunday News, The Voice of Action?
A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, this information came to you in your official capacity as editor of the Daily Worker?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And as editor of the Daily Worker, did you supply these other Communist publications with different information, different directives, and lines to follow, copy?

A. The New World was supposed to be supplied from the People's World in San Francisco. The Daily Worker, of course, can be observed by anyone and it is religiously followed by anyone who is adopting the party line, and therefore, agreement with the Daily Worker, more or less, would support my statement. That is to say, it is the intention of the Daily Worker to be a source of directives to Communists everywhere as to how to proceed. In addition,

however, I was requested by the political committee from time to time, to make observations in regard to papers which they wanted to influence, including the New World.

Q. Did you see the effect of that influence—did it carry out the policy you laid down?

A. It did.

Q. It has been discussed in high plenums of the Communist Party?

A. It has been discussed in the report of the district organizer, yes, sir.

Q. Do you recall the name of the district organizer who discussed it?

A. Well, Henry Huff did, and I believe his predecessor Morris Rapport or Rappaport.

Q. Is there any difference between the Communist Party of the United States of America, and the Communist Party of other countries?

A. None whatsoever so far as their allegiance to Moscow is concerned, and also so far as the general line which they pursue is concerned. The history of the Communist Party if it is investigated, you can take the Communist Press and examine it, for the thirty years of its existence never has it been in disagreement with the line laid down in Moscow.

Q. Is there a direct control?

A. There is a control through the representative of the Communist International, who recently was Gerhardt Eisler. These personalities change but the control continues. In addition to that, you have these sources of control, such as the New Times, which is the Communist International magazine in disguise; formerly there was a Communist International magazine openly, which are used for directive purposes. The policy which they explained further out of the program laid down in Moscow by the statements of the Soviet Government, by Pravda, Izvestia, and the rest of the Soviet Press find their echoes, first in the pages of the Daily Worker and then out through the country over and over again. That is an old story.

Q. Would you say that this paper, the New World, is an echo, as you described?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. And this is your official knowledge that came to you while you were the editor of the Daily Worker?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain for us here in the early phases of this hearing, Professor, what is the Communist Party?

A. The Communist Party is the expression in the United States of the Soviet's Fifth Column. It has no other purpose than that. In order, however, to further this aim, it takes up certain worthy causes, infiltrates certain movements which have a correct reason for existence, in order to use those movements for the purpose of the Soviet dictatorship. The characteristics of the Communist Party, the three of them, which show beyond doubt that it is a Fifth Column in which I had very definite experience of as managing editor of the Daily Worker, are these. One: Never throughout the history of the Communist Party—and you can search all of its publications for the last thirty years—has that party ever disagreed in one iota with any Soviet leader endorsed by the Kremlin. Secondly: Never has it found any weakness moral or intellectual in any Soviet leader endorsed by the Stalin dictatorship. On the contrary, every statement from Moscow and I invite you gentlemen of

this group, these members of the Legislature, to examine the Communist Press and support my statement. Every declaration of Moscow is immediately taken up in order to be carried forward into every union in which Communists operate—into every organization into which they infiltrate, into every community in which they operate, in order to make the mind of America subservient to the mind of Moscow. I invite investigation of the Communist Press for thirty years, this is the best evidence. And also the resolutions of the Communist Party. There is one example. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Mr. Roosevelt was denounced in May, 1940, at the National convention of the Communist Party as another Hitler. We will come to that later, I hope. At any rate, the point of the matter is because at that time, incidentally, he did not see eye to eye with the Soviet dictators in their pact with Hitler. First of all, then, the Communist Party finds no possibility of disagreement with the current line of Moscow, whatever it may be. On the other hand, it feverishly proceeds to try to push it in the columns of the Daily Worker and everywhere else, as rapidly as possible. That is one point. American leadership, on the other hand, right along with this point, which dares to disagree with the Soviet dictatorship, is immediately subjected to the utmost vituperation in the Communist Press and this is carried forward and as far as possible into other organizations. The fate of Mr. Roosevelt is an example. When he came into office he was a Fascist. When he recognized Soviet Russia that was removed. When the Hitler-Stalin pact came up, back it went again, and I invite investigation particularly, of the May, 1940 convention of the Communist Party, in the resolutions in which Mr. Roosevelt is attacked with the utmost vituperation as an enemy of the American people, as one who will destroy their organization, social insurance and the like. The only foundation for this was that Mr. Roosevelt at that time did not see eye to eye with the Stalin dictatorship on Hitler. Now, that is the first thing. What is an organization which can only agree wholly with the foreign dictatorship? It's a Fifth Column. Secondly, the Communist Party was subsidized by the Soviet government openly for a number of years—well, the amount I can't give you, but it could be added up—and that is, through the Runag News Agency.

Q. Will you spell that word Runag?

A. R-u-n-a-g.

Q. R-u-n-a-g. And also, Professor, in answer to questions answer verbally, because we are recording, and the recording devices cannot record a nod. Don't strain your voice, either, Professor, the recording devices are very sensitive.

A. I want every one to hear this. The Runag News Agency was a creature the Soviet government set up to effect opinion in English speaking countries. It sent over here hundreds of thousands of words free to the Communist movement. These words being translated into English in Moscow and then sent here. These words were entirely too many ever to be used in the Communist Press. There wasn't enough room for it. They were directives to the Communist Party leadership. They were used in part in the Communist Press. This was a subsidy amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to the Communist Party by the Soviet government. It was declared so by Attorney General Francis Biddle. The whole record of this matter is in the files of the Department of Justice. My connection with it is that I was present when it was decided that Earl Browder should register as a foreign agent in Washington in order to hold this subsidy. Mr. Biddle had ruled, you must understand, that any agency or organization receiving a subsidy

of this amount in this form was a foreign agent. It was decided by the national center of the Communist Party that Mr. Browder should register as a foreign agent. However, word came from the representative of the Communist International that this would be destructive, it would give the game away, so Mr. Browder did not register and the subsidy was lost—that is, I mean the open subsidy, not to mention possible secret subsidies.

Incidentally, Mr. Browder today is an open Soviet agent. He is registered as a foreign agent, as representative of the Soviet Book Trust, but in those days, of course, he did not have that position. What do we think of an organization which receives its subsidies from a foreign dictatorship in this fashion over a great number of years, and is only estopped from it by the Attorney General's office? That's a Fifth Column. The third thing is, and I learned this during the Hitler-Stalin Pact particularly, that a large per cent, I would say eighty to ninety per cent of the officers of the Communist Party in the official apparatus, have been trained in the Lenin school for foreign service in Moscow, and that in itself is an indication of the tone, temper and purpose of the Communist Party. Those three characteristics make it a Fifth Column.

Q. Is the Communist Party revolutionary in character?

A. It's revolutionary in the sense that it does whatever Moscow wants it to do, and Moscow's purposes have always been, and are today, the destruction of the United States Government.

Q. Has that been expressed in their writings?

A. Oh, decidedly.

Q. Do you recall any of them?

A. Well, we will start with Lenin's State and Revolution. That is the fundamental Marxist-Leninist explanation of what is to be done with the voice of a democratic state. That means the United States government. That was just at the birth of the Soviet Union. There Lenin says that the thing to do is to smash the apparatus violently. "Does this apply to the United States," he asked? "It does," he replied. Now, this State and Revolution is taught repeatedly in the secret schools of the Communists. I don't necessarily mean the open school, though it may be referred to there, but there are these secret schools, some of them are conducted in the State of Washington constantly, and elsewhere. These are the section training schools, district training schools, and then later on you have the national training schools. In these secret training schools held away from the public eye, Marxism-Leninism is taught and the very essence of Marxism-Leninism is the final shattering by violence of the governmental apparatus of the lores of a democratic state. This was acknowledged, of course, over and over again by men like Foster before the Fish committee and the like. But the thing is that we could go through other Soviet documents, Stalin's principles of Leninism as they are interpreted and right down to the case of Jacques Duclos's article demoting Earl Browder, implying this continuous progress of thought or continuance of thought, rather, on this matter—in regard to the Soviet leadership's aims toward the United States. Jacques Duclos's article demoted Earl Browder from leadership in the American Communist party because Browder was a revisionist, namely, a traitor from the Reich, a Kowskyite, because Browder held the illusion that there could be peace between the Socialist and Capitalist world. Stand for such a peace, if you read the Duclos article you will find is to be a traitor to the Communist movement and Soviet Russia. Therefore, the proper thing for a loyal Communist to do, and they have been doing it ever since, is to seek to undermine, the United States. Now this was merely a reit-

eration of what is known as Leninism, was proclaimed as such in the Communist publications. We could get very much more documentary evidence, Senator, but I think that will suffice.

Q. Summing it up, is it your testimony that the Communist Party, even as of today, is dedicated to the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence?

A. Especially today, in view of the policy of Soviet Russia toward the United States. If you will read the issues of the New Times which come from Moscow, and as I say are placed on the desk of every member of the Daily Worker staff, you will find there the United States described as the chief enemy of mankind. The entire objective of these articles go hand in hand with Soviet policy of aggression today. This policy of aggression was consolidated in the so-called Cominform, when the Soviet quislings of Eastern Europe gathered together and joined with the parties of France and Italy, the Communist parties of France and Italy, to consolidate their subjugation of those peoples in Eastern Europe. In their declaration they declared that this was aimed against the United States. They call it American Imperialism, but they mean the United States.

Q. Your testimony, then, as a high official, or former high official of the Communist party, member of their national committee, is that the party is and always has been, dedicated to the forcible, violent, overthrow of this government?

A. That is correct. Amending its declarations publicly from time to time in accordance with the changing interests of Soviet Russia. The final arbiter of what the party shall do is Soviet Russia.

Q. You refer to the Communist Party as a Fifth Column. Would that in any sense be interpreted in a military sense—is it a menace to the United States?

A. It is a menace to the United States—a serious menace.

Q. In the event of hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union, is there any decision to be made by the Communist Party, or is there any question as to which government it would follow?

A. There is no doubt. It would follow Soviet Russia. The proof of this was the Hitler-Stalin Pact period. The documents there show in the May, 1940 convention of the Communist Party, that Stalin emerges as the man whom they will follow.

Q. Do you have any knowledge, or have you ever heard any discussion as to what form that following Russia would take in the United States—would it consist of sabotage, or—

A. It would consist of whatever was at the moment serviceable to the cause they represent. One of the things that a Fifth Column can do above all is to confuse the public mind, particularly when it can use allegedly non-Communist agencies. That is one of the great tactics of the Communists, to use a non-Communist agency as I have said, frequently an agency devoted to a just purpose, but to use it for Communist purposes. That confuses the public mind. They will go in and form a union, devote themselves zealously to it as a matter of fact, and then get the union to pass resolutions favorable to Soviet aggression. That is, of course, it won't be under that name. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, organizations passed resolutions against the Imperialist war. Now, what is an Imperialist war? Under Lenin's definition, an Imperialist's war must be turned into civil war. The Communists were told secretly by men like Eugene Dennis, meeting with us in Chicago and in other places, that we

should hold ourselves in readiness to turn the Imperialist war into civil war. That is a natural result of Lenin's teaching that when you have an Imperialist war you must turn it into a civil war. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, America's help to Britain, and the British effort to defend themselves was held to be an Imperialist war.

Q. I didn't catch the name you used. Did you say Eugene Dennis or Eugene Dennett?

A. Eugene Dennis. D-e-n-n-i-s. The present secretary of The Communist Party, trained in Moscow in the Lenin school.

Q. When did he make this statement?

A. He did not make a public statement. This was in—this specific statement I had in mind was made in the fall of 1939, or the early winter of 1939 in Chicago, to a secret meeting of all the Communist functionaries, chief functionaries, at which I was in attendance. At the time the party was going underground.

Q. Now, I don't want to become repetitious, but I would like you to spell out for us a little more fully, your answer to the question that I asked as to the Communist party. Are there a series of Communist parties in different countries? We hear of Chinese Communists, Yugo-Slav Communists, German Communists—

A. Each country has its Soviet Fifth Column called the Communist Party. As a rule called the Communist Party.

Q. And these are all tied together in Russia?

A. That is right. They are completely under the direction of whoever speaks for the Kremlin. The man who spoke for many years as the head of the Communist International was D. Z. Manuilsky, who is now representing the Ukraine, or allegedly representing the Ukraine in the United Nations. As a matter of fact, Mr. Manuilsky always remained head of the Communist International. It never was dissolved, although the statement was made that it was dissolved. The proof that it was not dissolved, of course, was before our very eyes in the fact that all of these parties in every country follow exactly the same line, parrot the same phrases, and do the same things at the same time.

Q. Does the Communist Party demand any form of discipline?

A. The Communist Party decidedly demands discipline. No one can disagree with the line as it is laid down. The line comes to the party from above. Four times a year the national committee meets as a rule. At this national committee meeting whoever is the leader of the party—it was Browder during most of my experience, spends from two to four hours telling the delegates there, the national committee members who are the alleged leaders of the party, what they shall do during the next period of time. He lays down what the policy shall be and every one in the national committee rises up, this goes on over and over, and says that he agrees one hundred per cent with this report. Now, when Browder was demoted it came out in the Communist Party that many of these reports had been written by national committee members before they even knew what Browder was going to say. Why did they show this degradation of intellect? Because they knew that Browder would not say anything against the wishes of Moscow; that what he was saying was in line with what Moscow wanted said. Now, after this is—now the—after this is said to the national committee members, then they hold state meetings in each state and the state leader gets up and echoes—of course sometimes in slightly dif-

ferent words—echoes the basic thoughts that Browder gave them at the national meeting. Then everyone gets up and says they say they agree one hundred per cent with that. Then this is carried down to the section. The section leaders now make the same kind of a report based on Browder's original report. And again everyone is supposed to agree unanimously with what has been handed out to him, and so it goes down to the branches. The alleged discussion that takes place is not a discussion at all, as a rule at least, is not a discussion at all of the policy or program, it is a discussion of how I am going to carry out the program, of how we in one state are going to infiltrate certain organizations; of how we are going to control certain unions; of how we are going to do this and that to forward the program as laid down to Browder, which is identical with the mind of Moscow. And so the entire policy making proceeds from the top and no one dare disagree. If you disagree you are cast out into the outer darkness as Browder was cast; although of course he made a speech from Moscow later and came back as a Soviet registered agent. That shut his mouth up from telling the truth about the Communist conspiracy. What is discussed there, then, this alleged discussion, has two purposes. First, that it may be told how each state in the national committee meetings shall carry out this policy and then secondly to discover by the discussion if anyone is showing Trotskyite or other tendencies that should cause him to be under observation. I have sat in committees that said in states, in Illinois, specifically, when I was a member of the state committee out there, and the members of this committee sat down and said that comrade in discussion showed liquidationist tendencies. We will have to isolate him slightly from the conference until we discover just exactly what he is up to. And so the discussion was used as a means to determine the loyalty and the discipline of the alleged leader, whether he was section or otherwise, to the line as laid down from above.

Q. So there is this discipline?

A. There is a secondary discipline, and that is the threat of character assassination. The Communists are specialists in character assassination. There is a rumor throughout the party which says you cannot leave the party of your own free will. You must be expelled. Every Communist knows that is said in one form or another over and over again. That is a form of blackmail letting anyone know that if he shows tendencies which are against the party line that he may not only find himself ostracized, but he may find himself subjected to a barrage of character assassination. This was such an old tactic of the Communists that I hesitate to go further with evidence, but it has been tried and used over and over and over again, the discipline imposed in several ways.

Q. Is it a rigid discipline or does it allow for initiative and free thinking?

A. It is a rigid discipline so far as following the line in accord with Moscow is concerned. You cannot deviate with the will of Moscow. Earl Browder tried it and he was subjected to quite a bit of discipline on his own part. Others have tried it, thinking that perhaps they have some ideas that would be valuable to America on the one hand, or even to the Communist movement to which they are loyal on the other. If it disagreed with Moscow's decree, then you are in the outer darkness, as I have said. Of course you can conform, and many people conform and conceal their disagreement. The initiative that is allowed, however, is the initiative now that you don't have to think for yourself about any policy. You may go forward with full zeal, almost with a

fanaticism to carry out the orders that proceed from this policy. Communists do that with a great fanaticism indeed. They are enabled to do it in part because they do not have to think about the policy. That is thought out for them. What they have to do only is to follow out the policy and they put all their zeal and their energy, of which some of them have a great deal, into the fulfillment of this pact. The word pact is very aptly chosen.

Q. Now, Professor, will you detail for us the organization of the Communist Party, from the cells and the units and the fractions on up.

A. Well, of course, the Communist party have had many changes indeed in its form of organization. I think perhaps the best way to do, because the changes of organization are so great, is to make the matter a very simple one. Namely, that in any organization that is to be infiltrated, people are placed in there under special authority and under special discipline. And they have to fulfill certain objectives. We may call that different names, because at different times it has had different names. Then of course, in addition, there is the party branch. Now this party branch contains some of those who are allowed to have Communist party cards and who are more or less called rank and file. They are in the party branches and they meet and discuss things and the like from time to time. This branch also goes under an evolution. At one time it was a tremendously large group, and then when the Hitler-Stalin Pact came and the word came to go underground it was dissolved practically into nothing; only five members could meet together in houses and a whole method was used to conceal from one party member who the other party members were in this fashion. That was supposed to be for protective purposes, and thus we see that a number of methods have been used from time to time. In addition to all this, however, there is the individual who is in a key or delicate position. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, cards for these people were largely dispensed with so that there would be no longer any vestiges of Communist membership among people in key or delicate positions. Therefore, to ask for a Communist card today is ridiculous from anyone who is in a key or delicate position and alleges he is a non-Communist, because all vestiges of Communist membership have been removed from him. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, you must understand, when the party went underground, all vestiges of records were destroyed. And after that those people, as I say, who were in the key or delicate positions were removed of anything which would show their membership. There were some people who were in key and delicate positions who had had cards before, some of these gentlemen before the Un-American Committees in Washington. Their cards were produced because they had had them in the days of their youth. But from now on, or rather after this Hitler-Stalin Pact, many party members who were infiltrating organizations and who were in key and delicate positions, in public appointment offices or the like no longer were required to have any vestige of Communist party membership. On the other hand, they were asked not to have it by the party itself.

Q. Would it be fair to say the more important the man is to the Communist party the less possibility of him carrying a card?

A. Not necessarily. It depends upon what his function is. If he is important within the party as an open member, then he has a card and uses it to try to impress other people with the fact that there are Communists out in the open, devoting themselves to this activity. But if he is planted in an organization or in an office, or in a position in a union where he would be in an embarrass-

ing position if the membership knew he was a Communist, definitely, then he has no vestige of such membership. We will take a man like Julius Emspak, general secretary of the United Electrical Radio Machine Workers Union. He sat right next to me three days during the national committee meeting that tried Browder in June, 1945. I doubt that today he has any card at all as a party member and I doubt that James Matlas, who is the political representative of the Communist Party in the United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers Union has any such membership either, although in that organization ninety-five per cent of the members are non-Communists, I venture to say, from the reports I received, when I was managing editor of the Daily Worker, that ninety per cent of the offices are in the hands of the Communists. Now Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union showed us how that is worked. We recall that Joseph Curran formerly was very close to the Communists. When they said that it was an Imperialist war, he said the Yanks are not coming. When they said now is the time to defend Russia, he said, let's have a second front even if America is not prepared; even if America's youth shall be destroyed on the beaches of Europe. He would have a second front to save Soviet Russia. He did in other words what the Communists wanted him to do. Now he has learned his lesson. He has broken with the Communists and is opposing them. In a report to his membership in the Pilot, official organ of the National Maritime Union a few months ago, President Joseph Curran declared that of the 70,000 members of the National Maritime Union, only 500 are Communists. Of those 500 Communists, one hundred seven are holding offices and there are only one one hundred and fifty offices in the whole organization. Curran explains how this is done, by deceit, by falsehood, by misrepresenting themselves, by taking advantage of people and meeting in secret caucuses when the rank and file doesn't know about it, going out to sea only long enough to retain their membership and then coming in and being on the beach for the union meeting while the rank and file seaman has to go out on his own business. These various tactics were detailed by Joseph Curran in the Pilot, the official organ of the National Maritime Union. That indicates the different methods used by the Party in infiltration and also shows how a small group of Communists can control an organization, even though the membership is largely non-Communist.

Q. Is there any question at all as to whether or not these non-carrying men are as much Communist as the member carrying a card?

A. Just as much, and sometimes even more so. The way to measure a Communist today is not by his card or vestige of membership, it is how he acts. If he follows the program of the Communist party and that will always be in accord with Soviet policies, then he is a Communist. That is to say, there may be some innocent people dragged along for the time, but if he consistently does that over a period of time, changing as they change, then he is a Communist.

Q. The Soviet Party Line has made rapid reverses, has it not?

A. Very rapid, indeed.

Q. And if a man follows through one or two or three of these reverses, where today he repudiates everything he said yesterday, you feel that he is a Communist?

A. That is an indelible mark of his being a Communist. There is one other mark, by the way, that can generally be applied. The Communist if pushed to the wall will even attack his own party. I give you as a witness of that

Transcript of Proceedings of the

Ben Gold, president—now just a moment, I am referring to official documents. Ben Gold, president of the Fur & Leather Goods Workers Union is an open Communist. And yet he helps draw up a resolution for the C.I.O. convention because Murray insisted on it and condemning Communist infiltration of the union. Now they will go that far to condemn themselves. There is one thing they will never condemn—Soviet Russia. They will never find a defect in any of the aggression of Soviet Russia. They will never find anything wrong in the slave concentration camps of Soviet Russia. They will, on the other hand, always find everything perfect in Soviet Russia and in every organization seek to prevent any resolution which at all reflects upon Soviet Russia or its subsidiaries.

Q. Professor,—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, for the record which is being recorded, will you use his name, Professor Budenz, use it more often so we will have it in the records.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Professor Budenz, is the Communist Party a democratic party?

THE WITNESS:

A. It is certainly not. You can't have a democratic vote in the Communist Party. I have just indicated the process which is employed. That is to say, the leader of the party lays down the line. The National Committee accepts it without question. They then go out and hand it out into the districts, and to the sections, and to the branches. Everyone has to accept it. If you don't accept that, then there is something wrong with you. You are ostracized, you are expelled, you are subjected, if you continue to oppose, to character assassination.

Q. In other words, there is no possibility for a democratic movement to work up? For a little fraction here to say this would be a good thing for Communists, and then that could go on and on—

A. Anyone that would dare raise his head would be immediately expelled. That has happened over and over again.

Q. That has happened repeatedly?

A. A number of expelled Communists are leaving.

Q. Did you, in your capacity as an official of the party, have any knowledge of how they are forwarding their revolutionary aims, how they are expanding themselves, is it by penetration, or by open declaration, or—

A. Well of course not by open declaration. That is to say except in a very meager way that the Communist Party shows its real plot or its activities. The only way you can get these activities is in hearing the reports of the National Committee secretly as I have heard them, then you know about their infiltration in many places. But the Communist Party does not proceed openly to tell about its activities. For example, we have for the moment here this Third Party movement developing. That is a pure Communist creation. If you read in June, 1947, in Political Affairs, article by Alexander Bittleman, this alien in the country illegally, sent in here by Soviet Russia, you will find that he outlines everything that has followed since. He outlines it in advance. And that is what you find over and over again when you study the Communist movement. That is the base. The Party lays down its line for its members. They go out then in disguise, mind you, into various organizations which they control, as Joe Curran has shown in the National Maritime Union, they go out there and they pick up the arguments which can convince that membership

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of this conclusion which they wish to reach, and therefore it is in that method in disguise, and by deceit largely, that the Communists carry on their activities. I tell you a very good example of this. There is this man J. Peters. J. Peters, who is now about to be up for trial for deportation. He is one of the most important underground men of the Communist movement. He was the liaison officer between the Communist International apparatus and the Soviet secret police, to my knowledge. He is the man that wrote this pamphlet, I repeat which stated openly in 1935 that the Communist Party advocates the violent overthrow of the government of the United States and the setting up of a Soviet America. J. Peters, known also as Steve Miller; known also as Alexander Stevens; known also as Jack Roberts; known by so many aliases that it used to keep me busy following him around. This man said to me when I first joined the Party, and I joined it after many united front experiences, after the People's Front Congress on the word of the Communist Movement that it was going to cooperate genuinely with democratic organizations and democratic nations. He said to me, "Do you know the Communist movement in reality?" And I said, "I think I do." He said, "No, you don't. The Communist Party that you think of is just a periscope looking around. A periscope of a submerged submarine. The real organization is the conspiratorial apparatus below the water." And that is correct. It is the Eislers, the Peters, the Bittlemans and others who either partly in the open and partly in the shadow, are directing the Party on behalf of Moscow, they really are the figures in the Communist world.

Q. I am going to come back to this later, Professor, but before we leave this phase, you have referred to being a member of the National Committee and hearing reports from men throughout the United States. Did you ever hear any reports pertaining to the State of Washington?

A. Yes.

Q. At national committee meetings?

A. Yes, I think Washington reported.

Q. Washington reported.

A. There were one or two national committee meetings which were confined to the eastern states, sometimes, but as a rule each large state reported.

Q. There is, then, a Communist Party in the State of Washington?

A. Yes sir.

Q. And this is the party you have described, this conspiratorial party?

A. That is correct.

Q. And it had representatives at these national meetings?

A. These National Committee meetings are one thing, and the National convention is another. The National Committee meetings sometimes were only composed of the members of the National Committee. Generally sixty in number. That could be increased or decreased as the occasion required. However, from time to time there were extraordinary sessions of the National Committee in which a hundred to two hundred, sometimes even three hundred active party members from throughout the country were brought in to hear the discussion.

Q. Now, Professor, will you detail for us the program of the Communist Party, if there be such a program, as to its penetration in the different stratas of society and in the different classes, and how they intend to further their program that way?

A. The Communist Party seeks to penetrate every division of society. The idea that it is working only from the bottom or mainly from the bottom is not correct. It works from the top very largely. It uses lawyers, for example. Lawyers who give information to the National Committee of the Communist Party. If there is a Communist lawyer of a union, you can count on it he is reporting on the leaders of that union to the National Committee of the Communist Party; and so these lawyers are one group and this is facilitated now by the formation of a front organization, not all of whose members are Communists, but which is Communist controlled—the National Lawyers' Guild. Then that is one example. Then there is penetration of school teachers sometimes, depending upon the ability to do so. In New York it has been somewhat extensive, although school teachers in general have not been affected. There was a penetration of the Newspaper Guild, although that has been repelled and driven back. At one time the New York branch of the American Newspaper Guild was in the control of the Communists, although at least eighty per cent of the membership there, of newspaper men, I know from my experience, were non-Communists. By lethargy, by misrepresentation on the part of the Communists and the like, they permitted control to go into the hands of the Communists for a number of years. This was changed this last year. That has happened in a number of other unions. The United Automobile Workers' Union—while the Communists there never had control, they always had the ability to maneuver between different groups. That seems now to be at an end with the victory of Walter Reuther and the United Automobile Workers' Union.

Q. Now, Professor Budenz, was it the program of the Communist Party to penetrate into the field of education?

A. Yes, it was. They penetrated in New York, for example, into the teachers' union to such an extent that Teachers' branch was expelled from the A. F. of L. Teachers' Union because it was Communist controlled. It then went into the C.I.O. unfortunately, I think, but it, I believe now, is part of the United Public Workers' Organization. At any rate, it has maintained its character as a branch under Communist control. Also, there have been, of course, many efforts to penetrate the universities and other places. That is carried on both in an organized, but also largely in an unorganized—in an individual fashion. We must not forget this thing I have been trying to emphasize—the individual work of the Communist Party. Well, perhaps fifty per cent of the business of the Communist Party is carried on in apartment house meetings. I mean to say, there are so many members now who can't show their face, that they have to meet with leaders of the party secretly, very frequently. That was of course a very large scale measure during the Hitler-Stalin Pact. I know that on my part, I was a legal member of the party, one of the few in the Middle West, and I used to have to spend a great deal of the time trying to find the illegal members to carry on legal business. Now we have here at the same time this meeting with different individuals by party leaders or the representatives of party leaders, which have to be carried on on an individualistic basis. So both from an individualistic and an organized basis there has been the effort to penetrate the educational world, and also other fields of activity—intellectual activity.

Q. Would you detail some of the others?

A. Well, of course there is the case of the Social Service Division of the Methodist Church, for example, which has been penetrated by the Com-

munist, through Dr. Harry F. Ward, a long and loyal follower of the party. I knew Dr. Ward very well, many years—know of his solid Communistic devotion, which by the way needs no defense on my part. He has shown it by his debates on the radio. Then we have a man like Reverend William Howard Mellish of Brooklyn, the secretary of the Yugo-Slav—or the dynamo, at least, of the Yugo-Slav whitewashing commission. I knew his father, Reverend John Howard Mellish, and the political committee sent me, in 1944 to meet with him and to discuss his Communist affiliation. I regret I was quite successful. That gives an indication. I could go on quoting and citing case after case, but that gives an indication of the general activities outside of those fields where the party is supposed to be particularly concentrated.

Q. Is this the Dr. Harry F. Ward, that Methodist minister who recently held some meetings in the City of Seattle?

A. I judge it is. I don't know about these meetings—I just judge that is the Dr. Harry F. Ward who is quite well known. He had to leave the American Civil Liberties Union—that is, he left by resignation because of differences with him on the Communist question—with them on the Communist question.

Q. In other words, he took the Communist side of the question, there. Now, has there been any effort on the part of the Communist Party to penetrate the textbooks used in educational institutions, such as the Rugg books?

A. Well, there have, but I prefer not to discuss that.

Q. Now you have mentioned an illustration or two where they have attempted to control and dominate unions where they had a small percentage of members within the union. Was that a part of the program of the Communist Party?

A. That is definitely a basic program of tactics for the Communist Party. They always have a small membership but they control by getting positions of influence by misrepresentation, and of course by their zeal and energy, but largely by misrepresentation. If they told the rank and file that they were Communists honestly, why they wouldn't be in those positions.

Q. Then the movement in its application is a secret, conspiratorial movement?

A. Yes, very secretive.

Q. Have the Communists made any—

THE WITNESS: (Interposing) May I explain that a little bit more? The Communist movement is so secret that the left hand doesn't know what the right hand does. That is to say there is this whole activity of the Soviet secret police in the United States, to which party members are assigned from time to time. That is not known to the rest of the party membership. I had my own experience in meeting the Soviet secret police for three years. That was not known to the membership. I had to conceal it from my own comrades in the Daily Worker. The only thing I was told always to do was to say that Comrade Browder approved of what I was doing. But that is only one phase of it, and a small phase, because not many members of the party ever are called into that sort of activity. There is the question of who the members are, and there very many times the members of the National Committee don't know members. You have to go and look around to find out who is a member. I had to go to a certain magazine to get a very important bit of information, and I had to go to a certain individual in order to find out whether he was affiliated with the party, which I thought he was, of course, or I wouldn't have raised the question. I had to go to the National office, on the ninth floor and

learn that he was a party member, and therefore I could speak to him in that fashion. So that the whole atmosphere is one of conspiracy, in that respect.

Q. Are you familiar with any of the programs laid down by the Moscow government as for example their labor camps?

A. You mean their concentration camps in Soviet Russia?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, I learned about those, and that was one reason that I began to examine critically the Communist movement. I learned about those as managing editor of the Daily Worker. When you receive instructions as a Communist that you musn't mention something, you know that there is something wrong there, from the Communist viewpoint. Silence is the remedy that the Communist International proposes for anything which would be criminal or injurious to the movement. That is why so many Communists when they are caught with false passports confess right away and get light sentences and have the whole matter hushed up. But as a matter of fact, I learned this. First, our instructions were on the Daily Worker in regard to these concentration camps, that we should say they were great reform institutions. They were reforming criminals; putting them to work on the Volga Canal in honor of Stalin, and we used to be very eloquent on that question. The Soviet Union never punishes; it reforms. That was a great slogan. But subsequently we received very sharp instructions and those continued until I left the party, never to mention in any way in the Daily Worker the Soviet concentration camps; never to defend them. If there was any defense made it was an accident, because we were supposed not to, and they repeatedly told me as a Communist many other experiences of a similar character, that these camps were expanding, that they were becoming an integral part of Soviet economy and of course this is confirmed by David Dalin's book on forced labor in the Soviet Union, one hundred twenty-five large concentration camps from one end of Soviet Russia to another, and an integral part of Soviet economy. Once starting this slave labor they can't let up. They have to continue it.

Q. That is slave labor?

A. That is slave labor. Gold is mined by slave labor in Northeastern Siberia. When we had these stories—by the way, these are not stories that just occur occasionally, these stories came time and again from people who escaped from the camp. You see the Poles gave us the first opportunity to see these camps. When Soviet Russia rushed into Poland and despoiled that country in agreement with Hitler, then thousands of Poles were sent to the concentration camps of Russia. But when Russia was attacked by Hitler, then many of these were let out to fight, because it was felt that they would help in the war fighting for Poland, they would help Russia too. Now that was one means by which some information got out. Then many Zionist Jews who were in these camps escaped and told their story. Ukrainian Catholics were there because of their religion, and others who are dangerous, apparently, to a totalitarian state, who would not be dangerous in a democracy. These stories kept coming over and over again—when I say stories I mean in the newspaper sense, accounts, records. We were told never to mention it. When that is told in Communist circles you understand that you can't defend the situation.

Q. You mentioned the secret police recently. Are there Russian secret police in this country?

A. Well, I don't know of my own knowledge today, but there must be, because there always have been. I had personal contact with the Soviet secret

police for three years under directions of the political committee of the Communist party or a section, under directions of Jack Stachel and Jacob Golas, who at that time was chairman of the control commission. I wonder how many rank and file Communists know that Jacob Golas was chairman of the control commission. Practically none of them. When he died we had to write a story saying he wasn't even a member of the Communist Party, but he was head of the control commission for many years, passing upon the discipline of Communist secrecy, and also to the world tourists, being an agency for contact with the Soviet secret police and other conspiratorial outlets. He got me in touch, Jack Stachel also telling me I must do this—with the Soviet secret police, and I met with them for three years. The purpose of the meetings was the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico City. The young lady whom I introduced to them, Ruby Wilde, I never mentioned her name before, but here under oath I feel I must do so—Ruby Wilde, who was an innocent victim, by the way, of the whole business—was sent to Paris by the Soviet secret police with Sylvia Agaloff, a Trotskyite courier. She pretended to be Miss Agaloff's friend. In Paris, at a Trotskyite congress where they went, she introduced Miss Agaloff to this man Jackson, who is in jail in Mexico City for killing Trotsky. She introduced Jackson to Miss Agaloff as a Belgian Count, and Miss Agaloff fell in love with him, as was expected to be the case, smuggled him into Mexico, put him in the Trotsky household where he killed Trotsky with an alpenstock. He did not kill Trotsky within, however, because he would be caught, until an outside attempt failed. That is frequently forgotten. The agents of the Soviet secret police led by the Mexican artist Siquivros. I think his name is spelled S-i-q-u-i-v-r-o-s—shot out the whole Trotsky headquarters from the outside in the hopes of killing Trotsky that way. Some information was given by Jackson from within. They did not succeed and then the Jackson episode took place. In the course of that situation I met these Soviet secret police three times a week in restaurants in New York, in the Hotel Stevens in Chicago, and in many other places, so I know they are here. Now, this was the interesting thing, gentlemen, that—Senators —, this is the interesting thing, that every move I made with them was known by this man J. Peters. He used to check with me. Now this member of the secret police isn't so good, is he? Now that one is better, isn't he? And things like that, just one little sentence, although he would give me to know by his observations, that he didn't want to discuss the matter further with me.

Q. Now, you mentioned several times Jack Stachel. Just who is he?

A. Jack Stachel, he is a member of the political committee of the Communist Party and has been for a great number of years. He is one of those men who always knows the line from Moscow, even before he can explain it to you.

Q. This—

A. I wish to emphasize that. There are two or three Comrades who get the line from Moscow. They know what the line is. They used to come into the Daily Worker and say, "You have to do this." Frequently they couldn't tell you why they had to do it. Of course it was very obvious that they had been given a hot pressure order they must get it in the paper immediately. Stachel was more astute in those things, and he used to ask every member of the editorial board first what they thought about this proposition. Everybody thought wrong, because they had been thinking in the other terms, but he had the word from abroad, so he then would have time to organize his thought and

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show wherein we were wrong. That comedy went on time after time. Jack Stachel is a very important member of the Communist Party. He has a very astute mind.

Q. Is this the man you referred to as telling you that Terry Pettus, editor of the Washington New Dealer, was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes sir. He among one or two other leaders,—comrades. I remember his statement distinctly.

Q. Were there any other instructions with that statement?

A. Not that I can recall at this moment.

Q. Did you then treat Terry Pettus in a business way and his paper as a Communist publication?

A. It was known throughout the whole Daily Worker staff that it was our paper, as they used to call it. That was a common observation.

Q. Your testimony is that you sent copy to it, and it was used, and you sent orders, and they were used?

A. I don't know how many orders were ever sent direct. That was not the way it was used.

Q. But the general flow was through—

A. (Interposing) The political committee—it used to—the general flow was through San Francisco.

Q. But on special occasions it would come direct? Is that right?

A. There may have been an inquiry or two. That I am not sure of, however. The general method was through San Francisco.

Q. Did you ever check back and find out whether or not this paper followed the Communist Party line?

A. It follows it very faithfully.

Q. That is true even to today?

A. That is correct, so far as I know. I haven't seen it lately, to my last knowledge.

Q. Did you know the previous editor of that paper previous to Mr. Pettus, James Cour?

A. Yes, I knew him. I think he is the same man I have in mind. He was a small fellow, light. As a matter of fact, he came and consulted with me about the whole business of the paper. That was at the time that Costigan was in charge, was it not? He came to see me about the whole business in New York before he came out here, if it is the same man I have in mind, and I remember him quite favorably.

Q. Did he tell you that he was coming out here to take charge of the paper?

A. Well, he was going to work with Costigan.

Q. Work with Costigan?

A. Howard Costigan.

Q. Is Howard Costigan a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was. Although he concealed it.

Q. Oh, he was one of those secret?

A. As far as I know. That is, out here in Washington he may have disclosed it more widely than we had national information of. My understanding was that he concealed his membership though he was of the Communist Party.

Q. Would he be one of these that you have described that would not carry a Communist Party card?

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A. Well, that would be doubtful. He might and he might not. You see, here is the way the method was used prior to the Hitler-Stalin Pact. In some cases, a comrade would carry around the cards, or have filed the cards of a great number of non-Communist Communists. At every national convention for years Browder used to refer to the non-Communist Bolsheviks. Well, once in a while a rank and file delegate coming from another state, used to ask me who they were. They were the non-Communist Communists, those who were members of the Communist party but didn't acknowledge it. Now, formerly the practice was, at least in large measure, for some leading comrade in an organization to have charge of the cards of four or five of these people. I had charge of the cards of about five people for a long time, people in public positions, and their names—even on these cards would not be correct, they would have false names. They generally used their mother's name. That was a common practice in the party, to use their mother's name or some relative's name and that is the way you had these names—these cards. But after a while as I say, that was changed, and the vestiges of membership were removed. Even before that time, in connection with certain aliens who might be in danger of deportation, vestiges of party membership were not permitted, and then as I say, some people in very key positions. But that became the rule as a whole after the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, whenever Professor Budenz is tired, and feels he should be at ease for a few moments—

MR. HOUSTON: May I ask just two or three more questions along this line, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. In this connection, do you know a gentleman by the name of Jess Fletcher?

A. Oh yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Jess Fletcher, is he present. Will you stand up, Jess?

Q. Is this the gentleman you refer to?

A. That is the gentleman.

Q. Was Mr. Fletcher ever a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was. He was under Communist discipline. We had a phrase "under Communist discipline," which was just the same thing as being a member of the Party. That was to cover these cases where we didn't want to have them have vestiges of membership around with them. Mr. Fletcher was to all intents and purposes a member of the Communist Party. At the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, that was around 1943, Rose Wordis, Miss Rose Wordis, who is in charge of trade union work in the A. F. of L. for the Communist Party and I, met with Mr. Fletcher and persuaded him, I think it was with very strong persuasion, made him, under Communist discipline, make a speech from the floor of that convention. That was because orders had come that there must be a Communist speech made on that floor at that convention by somebody who was a Communist, and although Mr. Fletcher tried to explain to us that this was not exactly the practice of his International Union, that didn't make any difference to the Communists. To be a Communist is more than to be any officer of an International Union. So he had to make that speech which I reported. I was reporting for the Daily Worker at the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor.

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Q. Now, Mr. Fletcher has stated publicly that he never had a card in the Communist Party. Would that be an illustration of the type—

A. Yes, that would be an illustration. He didn't have a card, but he certainly did what the Communists made him do at Boston.

Q. Again before we recess, Professor, I want to—I want you to reiterate, if I understand you correctly. The actual carrying of a card isn't sole indication of membership in the Communist Party?

A. That is the smallest indication. It is only the rank and file, those largely that the Party doesn't worry about too much, that are carrying cards. That is, I mean to state, that is the tendency. Now there may be differences there, but as a whole the holding of a card or any vestige of membership is no longer a sign of Communist Party affiliation. The Communists have chosen the method themselves of further concealment. The method of judging a Communist is to find out whether he agrees with the Communist Party line, and whether he has agreed during several twists and turns. That is an inevitable proof that he is a Communist.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we recess shortly this time, because when we come back I wish to take up activities directly here in the Northwest, in the City of Seattle.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before we recess, let me state that we wish to proceed in this hearing in an orderly manner as we have been recently, and we will not tolerate any demonstrations, any disturbances at any time during the recess or during the session of the hearing. We will now be in recess for a few moments.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in session.

For the interest of those who have been named in this hearing to date, and those who may be named as the proceedings go on, in fairness to them, I wish to state at this time that they will be given an opportunity upon their request to the Committee, to appear and affirm or deny any statements made regarding them, which they feel may be incorrect or untrue. There will be no attempt made to deny those who are mentioned here, to appear before this group and answer under oath anything that may be said about them. Such application should be made at the Committee Headquarters, to enable us to schedule their proper appearance and put it on our calendar. Let me emphasize that any such reply must be under oath and must be on the subject under consideration. You may continue.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Professor, in your early testimony you mentioned legal and illegal activities of the Communist Party. What do you mean by illegal activities and do you have any specific examples?

A. There are so many examples that I cannot bring them all up today. The party lives on illegal activities. That is to say, particularly during the Hitler-Stalin Pact I learned that a great percentage of the comrades had to go underground because they violated United States laws in some respect or other. They put on false mustachios, as did Maurice Childs, whose real name is Cholefski; he was the district organizer in Chicago. He went down to Florida. Others did the same thing. There was a complete disappearance of these people because they had what was known as "technical difficulties," namely, they had violated some law of the United States. Now, however, from the public records, I would like to call your attention, in order that you will not

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think that I am indulging in just excessive verbiage, I would like to call your attention to some illegal activities of the Communist leaders. First of all, Earl Browder, sent to federal prison for false passport to Moscow and the Orient on the Kremlin's business. Harry Gannon, former labor foreign editor of the Daily Worker about to be tried on even wider offenses than those of Browder, of illegal passports to many places when he died. Then there is William Weiner, the international financial agent of the Communist apparatus, whose correct name is Welwel Warzover.

Q. Will you spell that please?

A. W-e-i-n-e-r, and his name is Welwel Warzover.

He was convicted of defrauding the United States Government by misrepresenting his citizenship and birth record. He had sworn in World War I, in order to get out of service, what was true, that he was born in Russia. Later on, probably for the purpose of moving about as Eisler did, as Gerhardt Eisler did on his false passports, he swore that he was born in Atlantic City. Now, you can't be born in Russia and Atlantic City at one and the same time. So an investigation took place and sure enough, on the Atlantic City records, there was William Weiner, his birth, and everything else, but it was in the wrong handwriting, it was in the wrong ink—in other words, it was a forgery, and Weiner, the financial agent of the Communist Party, at that time National Treasurer, President of the International Workers' Order, mind you, which is a Communist front,—

MR. HOUSTON: What was that?

THE WITNESS: International Workers' Order. He was President of it then, and that's a sort of a refuge for broken-down Communist organizers, or those that they want to give a breathing spell in between being defeated in unions or other organizations. I'll support that in just a moment, for this International Workers' Order.

Weiner was convicted and sentenced to Federal prison because of this forgery of his birth certificate in Atlantic City, but he didn't have to serve because he developed heart trouble, although he continued as secret International financial agent, he continued—he became the head of the big publishing house, publishing some of the most confidential Communist documents, including political affairs.

Then there is Charles Krumbein, national treasurer of the Communist Party, who recently died, 18 months in Federal prison for false passports to Moscow and the Orient on the Kremlin's business. And I joined the party in 1935 because of its People's Front promises, which I found it never intended to carry out, later. I couldn't see Krumbein, whom I had heard of, because he was then in Federal prison.

Then we'll take the case of Eugene Dennis, the present secretary of the Party. Under oath, I was asked by the Committee on un-American Activities, by Dennis, and I stated that he had said to me at one time that he had used an Irish name, and presumably in technical difficulties similar to Krumbein, namely, false passports. He rushed to the New York Times and said I was an odd job provocateur and a liar. Well, Mr. Hoover of the F.B.I. went on the stand later and showed he hadn't used one Irish name, he'd used six Irish names in various subversive activities and passport irregularities. Well, that is an indication of the widespread misuse of the United States laws, and particularly passport laws, by the Communists. Over and over again men came to me that were going on secret missions below the Rio Grande, for example, with orders to the Latin American countries, and all of them were going

secretively, they didn't have to tell me that, the fact that I couldn't communicate with them below the Rio Grande was evidence of it. And so their illegal activities are very widespread indeed.

These that I have mentioned are all on public court records. They are documents well known, the files, I suppose, of the Department of Justice, certainly of the courts, in those cases where convictions were obtained all on the Kremlin's business, mind you, Fifth Column activities.

Now, of course, I pass over the assassination of those who disagree with the Communists when they're a part of the secret apparatus. I will accuse the Communist movement, however, of the assassination of Julia Stuart Poyntz, because Clarence Hathaway told me that when he was editor of the "Daily Worker" and I was labor editor. That is to say, he didn't tell me directly, but he told it in such a way that every intelligent man could understand, namely, that that was a hot cargo, it couldn't be touched, that it involved—might involve indirectly—or, directly, some of our Communists. Now the case of Julia Stuart Poyntz is that of an American school teacher who was part of the secret apparatus of the Communist movement who walked out on the streets of New York when she was about to grow sour on that activity, and disappeared.

However, I cannot go into cases like that, I wish to keep myself to these records, these court records which I have mentioned here in regard to these various convictions for false passports.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Professor, you mentioned two or three times that Browder was demoted. Why was Browder demoted?

THE WITNESS: Earl Browder had done everything that Stalin had wanted him ever to do. He'd been in the secret conspiratorial work in China, he had remained subservient to every change of the line. Just before I joined the Party in 1935, there was a classical case of where they were having an unemployment conference in Washington. That was supposed to be a general unemployment conference, and the Communists were very strong in there, as usual largely under disguise. They were all opposing a Labor Party, the Communists were, when lo and behold Browder arrives on a boat from Moscow and rushes to Washington, makes a public speech in which he declares everybody that are progressive now have to be for a Labor Party. And, of course, the next day the Communists just turned turtle and were all for a Labor Party when the day before they had been denouncing everyone who was for a Labor Party as traitors to the working class.

Now Browder had done this thing over and over again. Why was he demoted, therefore? He was demoted because that was the only way Soviet Russia could let the Communists throughout the world know—I mean the leading Communists—that the United States was now to be the objective of a war of nerves. Molotov could not arise in the United Nations and say, "We are about to declare a war of nerves against the United States from whom we want billions of dollars." Henry Wallace said they should have at least seventeen billion, to start off with. They couldn't say, "We are about to declare a war of nerves" along that line, but what they could do, as they've done repeatedly in instances of this character—I don't—repeatedly may not be the word, as has been done occasionally in instances of this character, the fact that Browder was demoted because he stood for peace between the United States and Soviet Russia and was declared a traitor for standing for that peace, let every trained Communist know that to be loyal you had to stand for war, the war of nerves, and that war of nerves has been going on

ever since that time, since that 1945 in which Browder was deposed from leadership here by Duclos' article.

Now, I'd like to call attention to the fact that we in the National Committees, since we're on this subject, had cheered Browder at least an hour every time he appeared at a National Committee plenum.

MR. HOUSTON: You refer to a National Committee plenum of the Communist Party, of course.

THE WITNESS: That's right. These National Committee meetings, I'd call them, but they were frequently called plenums—oh, they had different names but that was a sort of a name brought over from Europe and used—but at any rate, at these meetings we used to even in the secret meetings get up and cheer Browder for at least an hour. Whenever his birthday came around you had to give two to three pages of the Communist press to declaring him the greatest Marxist-Leninist on the Western Hemisphere. I thought that he was almost Stalin, Jr.

As a matter of fact, however, gentlemen, in April 1945 all of this adulation ceased. It ceased because a man hundreds of miles away in Paris, writing in the French theoretical organ of the Communist Party there, Jacques Duclos, D-u-c-l-o-s, declared Browder a revisionist. Now a revisionist, as I have said, is a traitor from the right as a Trotskyite is a traitor from the left. He is a Kowskyite, and you can't make anything more vicious than that. Karl Kowsky disagreed with Lenin and betrayed the Revolution, and here Browder whom we had cheered for fifteen years was declared to be a Kowskyite whereas we had said that he was the greatest genius of Marxism and Leninism on the Western Hemisphere.

The point I wish to make is this, showing how subservient the National Committee is to Moscow, that that day in June 1945 when we met in the third floor of the Communist Party national headquarters in the Hank Forbes auditorium, Browder hadn't yet had an opportunity to make his defense, but nobody would speak to him any more. Of the sixty members of the National Committee and twenty leading trade unionists who were there, no one would speak to him any more—well, there were the three of us who spoke to him, and I was one of the three, and I said to him, "Good morning, Earl." He was so startled he didn't answer me a moment.

Now, the interesting thing is, why was Browder treated in this fashion? We had cheered him and cheered him, and as I say, given pages on his birthday, May 20th, and now we wouldn't even speak to him any more, we wouldn't even admit that we wanted to be in his company. He became a political leper. Why was that? Because Browder in introducing this Duclos article to the readers of the "Daily Worker" and it is there in print forever, in bold print, had said, "This represents the opinion of all leading European Marxists," that I, Earl Browder, am a traitor, in other words, that I am a revisionist, that's the opinion of all leading European Marxists. He had to write that under discipline. Who is the leading European Marxist? Everyone can guess that immediately who has been a Communist. He is our teacher, our leader, our guide, Josef Stalin, proclaimed such in the 1935 World Congress when they made a pledge of personal loyalty to Stalin that sounded as though it were Goebels praising Hitler. The American delegation agreed with that resolution and it is still in printed English in the International press correspondence, the official reportorial system of the Communist International. That can be found at least on the shelves of the public library, the pledge to Stalin made by all the delegates to the Seventh World Congress, including the American delegation.

Now, Browder, despite all this, despite all his services, was demoted as a symbol and an example.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Professor Budenz, you have mentioned to us about plenums. We frequently hear the word used referring to local plenums. Will you explain what they are and how they are conducted?

THE WITNESS: That I had referred to, although of course, hastily, in explaining how the Communist Party conducts itself, the autocratic bureaucratic way in which it conducts itself. After there is a national plenum, that is, a National Committee session, then the leaders who attended that session, as I say, go down to the states and they call a district plenum or a state plenum, and there they report, as I have said, as the leader of the Party had reported to them. They may not use exactly the same words, but they must use the same thought.

Now those plenums are simply, again, a means of registering agreement with the line of the Party. They do not get up and register disagreement with the line. If anyone should do that, then of course, as I say, he begins to be ostracized and marked as a liquidationist, showing signs of Trotskyism or something else.

The main purpose of those plenums, and they are conducted in such a fashion, reports are made, reports are made in which everyone agrees with the general line laid down but in which they show how they are going to carry out this line, how they are going to infiltrate this organization, or go into that neighborhood, or do this, or fulfill that task. The word task appears many times in those plenums.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Professor, you referred to secret Communist schools, which you stated were held even in Seattle here, for the purpose of instructing their members in Marxist doctrines and their program. We didn't explain open schools. What did you mean by open schools?

THE WITNESS: Well, these that I called secret schools are actually secret and are for the training of the leaders in the Party. That is, the branch leaders will be in the section training schools. Those that they want to train for leadership in the state will be in the state training schools. And then there is a national training school.

This national training school is held very frequently, or was in the past, at one of the camps of the Party up there along the Hudson after the camp season was over. It could be held in other places, and they shift the locale, but at any rate, these were secret schools and not advertised, and are for the potential leaders of the Party.

There are the open schools though, such as the Sam Adams School in Boston, the Jefferson School in New York, the Lincoln School in Chicago, the Carver School, I believe in Harlem, a number of these schools were suddenly blossomed out from a patriotic angle under Browder's original influence when he was declaring Communism to be Twentieth Century Americanism.

It's interesting to know that that was condemned as a revisionist tendency also, by Moscow, but privately, so that Browder had to withdraw it. If you look up the old records, you'll find that Browder had to withdraw his phrase that "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" because it served too much to divert people from their initial task of defending, as they call it, in other words supporting Soviet Russia. Therefore, that slogan was out, although we used to have it in tremendous banners all over the National Headquarters of the Party and elsewhere.

These schools, in other words then, receiving these names were the former worker schools. They were the worker schools in which members of the Party, rank and file members, or even people not members of the Party, could come to receive instructions in various subjects, they could receive instructions in Marxism-Leninism, labor history, parliamentary law—they never used the parliamentary law inside the Communist Party though, they used that out in the other organizations. There was no parliamentary law permitted inside the Communist Party. It was a prohibited law within the Communist Party. If anyone rose to talk about parliamentary law, he would be guilty of Trotskyism immediately I am sure.

But often the parliamentary law was taught in order that they could use that in the unions or in other organizations and control them. These were the open schools, first known as the workers schools, in almost every locality, sometimes called progressive schools, different names, but in general they were called worker schools. They were supposed to attract people even beyond the Party. They were called then later, Sam Adams School, Lincoln School, Jefferson School in New York, and the like. They endeavored to give the appearance of having a wider faculty and to attract more thousands of students, though it was the same old Communist Party, only operating under a new name.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Professor, just one short question, and then I will return to that. Did anyone other than a Communist ever attend the secret Communist training school?

THE WITNESS: Oh, no, no one.

MR. HOUSTON: Then the fact that you can prove that a person attended the secret Communist Party training school would be evidence of Party membership?

THE WITNESS: Oh, decidedly.

MR. HOUSTON: That's right.

THE WITNESS: That would not apply, though, to attendance at, say the Jefferson or Sam Adams Schools.

MR. HOUSTON: No, those were described as open schools.

THE WITNESS: That's right. But it was the case of these secret schools. Likewise, by the way, in these plenums of the Party. No one but a Communist could attend them. People might be called non-Communists there in order that observers—they used to say, "We have a number of non-Communist observers." Well, we were just deceiving them. That was in order that these people that might be identified later could not be said to be Communists.

MR. HOUSTON: But they were the type that you previously described who were so—

THE WITNESS: For instance, one of these non-Communist observers that I just recall right now, was John Santo. This man sent in through the Transport Workers Union to control Mike Quill and to be the political representative of the Communist Party there, because the Party did not trust Quill and the rest of the Irish comrades there. Santo was on the ground floor, of course, and Santo attended one of these National Committee plenums, I remember, as a non-Communist counsel, although he had been a Communist years before.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Professor, does the name Pacific Northwest Labor School mean anything to you?

THE WITNESS: Well, that's one of these developments of the worker school system.

MR. HOUSTON: That is one of the schools that you're referring to?

THE WITNESS: I am not very familiar with it, I just know that it is.

MR. HOUSTON: You have in your official capacity, heard it referred to as a Party organization and Party school.

THE WITNESS: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you conversant with the fact that some two weeks ago the Attorney General listed it as a subversive front organization?

THE WITNESS: I saw it.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Professor, I hand you herewith an article with a picture of a gentleman. Can you identify that gentleman? Have you ever seen him?

THE WITNESS: I have seen him, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Who is the gentleman?

THE WITNESS: Well, MacLeech is the name he has now, but I think originally—that's my memory anyway, that he had another name. I think it was Leech or something like that.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence here an article from the "Washington State C. I. O. News" under date of August the 8th, 1946, with a picture of Burt MacLeech, and an article that he had been appointed as Director of the Pacific Northwest Labor School.

I would like to introduce into the record, Mr. Chairman, the report of the Legislative Committee Joint Fact Finding Committee on un-American Activities in California, a portion of which on page 71 of the report reads as follows:

"Your Committee called Burt S. Leech to testify at the committee's San Diego hearing. Leech being a well known Communist in the State of California, testified quite frankly as to his Communist Party activities, although he stated that he was registered politically as a Democrat. The committee learned that he had worked for the State Relief Administration for approximately a month in San Diego and had secured the position through a Mrs. Worcester. Leech's testimony made the secret nature of the Communist Party very clear. He had no hesitancy in admitting his own Communist Party affiliation, even though he was registered as a Democrat. He told the Committee that there are ethical ties with the working classes in the United States and the working classes in other countries, and that no antagonism exists between the workers of different countries. He stated that he was very familiar with the official history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet textbook, and that he had taught it. He stated that it sets forth the ideology of the Communist Party as well as the history of the Soviet Union. He could not remember the exact time when he became a member of the Communist Party, and like most of his comrades, could not recall from whom he ever received a Party book. He admitted having been a member of the Communist Labor Front infiltrating state, county and municipal governments. The state, county and municipal workers of America, C. I. O. He has missed few Communist Party state conventions. He admitted that he was acquainted with the chief Communist Party functionaries, such as William Schneiderman, Benny Gannett, Pettus Perry, Paul Klein, Jack Moore, and others.

"He likewise admitted being acquainted with Elaine Black of the International Labor Defense, and James Buford.

"He testified that he had used names other than Burt S. Leech, being known in Communist Party work as Burt Jackson. He told the committee that there was no conflict between Communist Party ideals and Orthodox religion. At one point in his testimony, probably because your committee indicated its knowledge of his activities by its questions, he interrupted himself to remark, quote, I was just trying to place the stool pigeon in this case, unquote. Once he slipped in his testimony and mentioned the official capacity of the Communist Party Control Commission. He stated that the Control Commission kept track of the enemies of the Communist Party, particularly in their movement from one county to another. He concluded his testimony by explaining that Communist Party members do not register as Communists because of their fear of economic reprisals. He explained that actual membership in the Communist Party entails a willingness to accept assignments and to undertake responsibilities, but did not elaborate on the nature of the assignments or the responsibilities."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to read that into the record as an official report of the committee of California.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will admit it into the record if you are submitting evidence to link the name Leech and MacLeech.

MR. HOUSTON: That will be done, Mr. Chairman. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence the following document which bears the seal of Richland County of South Carolina. The document is a certified copy of their court record.

"State of South Carolina, County of Richland, in the County Court, ex parte. Burt Clarence Leech, et al, petitioner, in re Change of Names. Upon reading and filing the within petition, and after having taken the testimony thereupon, and it appearing to the Court that the petitioners are entitled to the relief prayed for, it is therefore ordered that the name of Burt Clarence Leech be and the same is changed to that of Burt MacLeech, and that the name of Ruth Alice Leech be and the same hereby is changed to the name of Ruth Alice MacLeech. March 22, 1944, A. W. Holman, County Judge. Attested, a true copy by the County Clerk."

I would like that this be noted as Exhibit 1 and introduced into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It is introduced into the record. And the other exhibit, are you—

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, I would be very pleased to introduce that right now. I just haven't detached it.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be identified on the record as Exhibit 1 and Exhibit 2.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(WHEREUPON the two articles read were admitted into the record as Exhibits 1 and 2.)

Q. Professor Budenz, you have testified that you were a member of the National Committee, that meetings were held four times a year, that every state in the union was represented, that these meetings were for the purpose of receiving reports and transmitting them, is that correct?

A. That's correct. Every organized state was represented. Sometimes the Communists were not organized in certain states, but every organized state was generally represented. As I say, there were these exceptions when a

Transcript of Proceedings of the

certain plenum would be called just for the eastern districts, but as a rule they were held for the whole country.

Q. I'll ask you, Professor, did you attend the National Committee meetings held in the year 1938?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there any—do you recall who made the report for the State of Washington at that time?

A. Morris Rapport, I think. Or Rappaport is his name, too. I believe. I called him Rapport all the time.

Q. His name is Rappaport, but you called him Rapport?

A. That's right. I think that was the name that he was generally known by.

Q. Do you recall the names of any organizations that was mentioned the Communist Party was—should infiltrate?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were they?

A. Well, not only in 1938, but in several subsequent reports was mentioned the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. That's correct.

Q. Do you recall anything he stated about this organization?

A. I remember at least this much, that originally he reported this organization had been formed by non-Communist elements, that some of them even were hostile to the Party. However, this movement had the possibilities of infiltration and the Communists were beginning to enter it. That was approximately 1937 or 1938. There was a constant report from the State of Washington on the Old Age Pension Union in the reports of the district organizer at these various National Committee plenums until around 1940 he reported that the Old Age Pension Union now was largely in accord with the Communist Party position. That is to say, that the Communists had succeeded in infiltrating and in dominating the Old Age Pension Union.

He mentioned in the course of these reports, though of course the exact years sometimes do not come to me—he mentioned the fact that they had succeeded in eliminating the leadership which would oppose Communist Party positions.

Q. Professor, I will ask you if in these National Committees the names of any people whom the Communists used to perform infiltration tasks are mentioned.

A. Well, I—yes, there were some mentioned.

Q. Uh-huh. I will ask you, Professor, if you are familiar with the name of William J. Pennock.

A. Yes sir, I am.

Q. Have you ever seen that gentleman?

A. I have seen him, or I have seen his picture, as editor of the "Daily Worker."

Q. Do you know who that is?

A. Yes sir, I know it's Pennock.

Q. That is William J. Pennock?

A. That's correct.

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Q. Of your knowledge and as an official of the Communist Party, is or was that man a member of the Communist Party?

A. So I was advised officially.

Q. Was his name ever mentioned in any of these reports as the man who was carrying out the objectives of the Communist Party and infiltrating this organization?

A. They were mentioned, yes sir. He was mentioned.

Q. He was mentioned as the man who was carrying out the program of the Communist Party and taking over the Old Age Pension Union?

A. That's correct.

Q. And as the editor of the "Daily Worker" and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, information came into your possession, knowledge that he was a member of the Communist Party.

A. That's correct.

Q. I will ask you, Professor Budenz, have you ever heard the name N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes, I've heard that, not so prominently as Mr. Pennock's name.

Q. Was he also mentioned in the same manner as Mr. Pennock?

A. He was mentioned at least as cooperating with the Communist Party in infiltration.

Q. Of the Washington Old Age Pension Union.

A. That's right, he may even have been mentioned as a definite Communist Party member, but I wouldn't say that as clearly as the case of Mr. Pennock.

Q. Did you ever receive any instructions to deal very favorably in the "Daily Worker" with the Washington Old Age Pension Union and William Pennock and N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes, we did when occasion would arise.

Q. I'll ask you, Professor, if you know Hugh DeLacy?

A. I do, yes sir.

Q. How long have you known Hugh DeLacy?

A. Oh, many years, by the reports I received officially in the National office of the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know this gentleman?

A. Yes, that's Mr. DeLacy.

Q. That is Hugh DeLacy?

A. That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter as an exhibit, this picture of Mr. Hugh DeLacy.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 3.

(WHEREUPON the picture of Mr. Hugh DeLacy was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 3.)

Q. Is Mr. DeLacy a member—was Mr. DeLacy a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?

A. He was.

Q. You can testify to that of your own knowledge?

A. Yes, well I can testify to it from these official reports which came to us. As a matter of fact, this was repeated over and over again to me in different forms. But I mentioned—I remember specifically one example of Jack Stachel's report to me as Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker" that

when President Truman first took office that the hope was that Truman would pursue a pro-Soviet policy because he was influenced by Governor Wallgren to a degree, or at least was friendly with him, and Hugh DeLacy, one of our men, was very friendly with the Governor. That was told me by Jack Stachel at the time Mr. Truman took office. It happens that those hopes were disappointed very quickly for two reasons; first, because of the Jacques Duclos article declaring for the war of nerves, and secondly, by Mr. Truman's own tendencies not to live up to the prediction. But, in that connection Mr. DeLacy was specifically mentioned, as have been the case a number of times before to me, as a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Was Mr. Hugh DeLacy ever referred to as being under Communist Party discipline?

A. He was, yes.

Q. Now I'll ask you, Professor, if you know Richard Seller, more commonly known as Dick Seller?

A. I know him very well, yes.

Q. How long have you known Mr. Seller?

A. I have known Mr. Seller, well, approximately eight or nine years, maybe longer.

Q. During this period of time—

A. I've known him very well, though, during that period. He was leader of a labor group.

Q. During this period of time, was Mr. Seller a member of the Communist Party?

A. During my whole membership in the Party, from the time I met him, Mr. Seller was a member of the Communist Party. Not only that, but as organizer of the American Newspaper Guild, first, and then on the Federated Press before coming west, Mr. Seller constantly consulted me in regard to his activities. If he has committed any offenses, I am in part to blame.

Q. He was following your advice then.

A. Largely following my advice.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, if you know Thomas Rabbitt?

A. I know of him. I don't know him personally.

Q. Would you detail what you have learned of Mr. Rabbitt as an official of the Communist Party?

A. I have learned that Mr. Rabbitt is a member and a functionary from time to time of the Communist Party.

Q. Was Mr. Rabbitt's activities located in Seattle, or were they in places other than Seattle?

A. Well, he was in the east at one time, I believe, if my memory serves me right. I did not know Mr. Rabbitt, as I know Mr. Seller, but I've known of Mr. Rabbitt in an official way, being brought to my attention that he was a Communist and a Communist functionary.

Q. And under Party discipline?

A. That's correct.

Q. Do you know this gentleman, Professor?

A. Well, that looks like pictures of Mr. Rabbitt. Yes, that's a picture of Mr. Rabbitt.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce here at this point a picture of Mr. Rabbitt as identified by the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 4.

(WHEREUPON the picture of Mr. Thomas Rabbitt was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 4.)

Q. Now, Professor, I will ask you if you know, or the name means anything to you, of Kathryn Fogg?

A. I know her as a delegate to the National Convention.

Q. Do you recall which convention?

A. No, I do not. I saw the names of many delegates, Mr. Houston, and I don't recall which.

Q. Was Mrs. Kathryn Fogg a member of the Communist Party?

A. She was an active member, that is, she stood out, I remember her. After all, these delegations come there, you see them only a short time in New York at these conventions, and I remember her as standing out at that time.

Q. Do you recognize the name Mrs. Sarah Eldredge?

A. I recognize the name.

Q. Was Mrs. Eldredge a member of the Communist Party?

A. She was, yes.

Q. And that came to you in your official capacity as an official—

A. That's correct.

Q. —of the Communist Party.

A. That's correct.

Q. I will ask you if you recognize the name of Professor Ralph H. Gundlach?

A. I do, yes.

Q. And what do you associate with the name of Mr. Gundlach?

A. I associate the report to me that he was cooperative with the Party, and following the Party line.

Q. Was Mr. Gundlach a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, that wasn't said in so many words.

Q. Was he under Party discipline?

A. He was, yes.

Q. He was under Party discipline.

A. Yes.

Q. Meaning the definition you've given us earlier—

A. That's correct.

Q. —here that he's not an open Communist—

A. That's correct.

Q. —but follows the—

A. I do not know that he's ever had any vestige of Party membership.

Q. I'll ask you to—if you've ever seen that—picture of that gentleman.

A. Yes, I have. That's the gentleman in question.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to admit here the picture of Mr. Ralph H. Gundlach.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 5.

(WHEREUPON the picture of Mr. Ralph H. Gundlach was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 5.)

Q. To clarify the record, now, Professor, at this point again—I desire not to be repetitious, but I again would like you to repeat what you mean by being under Party discipline.

A. It is essential, of course, that a witness in cases of this kind be precise, because so frequently when a man is mentioned as a Communist the statement has been made, "Well, where is his card," or "Where is the record of his membership," and the like. That's why I'm trying to be precise. Now, under Party discipline means following the Communist Party line and at least for that period of time under which he is referred to, it means that he is a member of the Communist Party, to all effects and purposes.

Q. Would you feel free as an official of the Communist Party to make a Communist Party assignment to one who was under Party discipline?

A. Oh, most decidedly. As a matter of fact, that's all you ask. Now I mentioned the case of this magazine, one of the editors on this magazine. All I need know is that he was under Communist discipline and we talked as Communists. He understood me and I understood him.

Q. Professor Budenz, I will ask you if you are familiar with an organization known as the International Workers Order?

A. I am. That's a fraternal organization created by the Communist Party, well, for several purposes. First, in order to attract thousands of people who wouldn't be attracted to the Party itself; and secondly, to have a reserve of finances which the Party can use. For example, the International Workers Order frequently is the largest advertiser in the "Daily Worker." That's the way it makes its contribution to the "Daily Worker." And still remains legally within the regulations of those types of puppets. It also is a means by which Communist organizers who are out of commission for some reason or other, sometimes as I say, they are defeated in their unions or they have some other reason why they can't function, they get positions in the International Workers Order.

An example of that is Bill Geiver, who used to be the representative of the Communist Party in Ohio—in Chicago. Geiver was one of the big men in the Communist Party at one time and he is now the head of the Polish section or was at the time I left the Party, of the International Workers Order. Another case in point is Max Bedach, the General Secretary of the International Workers Order at the time I left the Communist Party. He formerly was General Secretary of the Communist Party, for an interim period at least, between the time that Stalin kicked out Gitlow and Lovestone in Moscow and appointed Browder, or had Browder appointed as the General Secretary of the Party.

Max Bedach was for many years a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and was at the same time Secretary of the International Workers Order. The President of the International Workers Order for many years was William Weiner, the financial agent of the Communist Party, National Treasurer of the Communist Party at one time openly, and remaining in the position of President of the International Workers Order until his conviction, or until shortly after his conviction of falsifying his birth certificate, which of course the International Workers Order couldn't have go against his record, so he had to withdraw as President. He was succeeded by Rockwell Kent, the artist, who is a long-time Communist. I've met him many times in secret Communist meetings, and therefore the set-up is a Communist set-up. It's well known in New York particularly and everyplace else that the I. W. O. in one way or the other, financially, morally, or in other ways, is a feeder to

the Communist Party, is a front for the Communist Party. Of course now this list of organizers is much greater than I've tried to indicate to you today. If I could sit down and check over the organizers International Workers Order, I'd show you many ex-Communist Party organizers, ex—I mean Communists who were union officials and who are in there until they get their next breath and try to capture the union again, things of that character.

Q. Were the employees of the International Workers Order all Communists?

A. As a rule they were, yes. I'd say that unless they made an exception for one who was a near Communist, that all of them were Communists. The general tendency overwhelmingly was that they were all Communists.

Q. All Communists?

A. I wouldn't want to swear here that every one was, because I haven't got a list of them all.

Q. Are you familiar, Professor, with an organization known as the Robert Marshall Foundation?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is this a Communist-dominated organization?

A. It has become so. This was founded by Robert Marshall, the brother of George Marshall, who is also a Communist. George Marshall was the head of this National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. That was a Communist set-up too, though they tried to keep it very secretive, the connection. Then they merged—I would like to make this very clear—this National Committee for Constitutional Liberties merged with the International Workers Order into the present Civil Rights Congress, which is another Communist set-up, but that doesn't mean that every officer of it is a Communist. However, the President of the Mystery Writer is an old and veteran Communist, so he starts off the list. And that makes that organization thoroughly Communist-controlled.

Now the—George Marshall and Robert Marshall were brothers, that doesn't mean they agreed entirely, and this Robert Marshall Foundation started off with recognition of the Communist Party by having a number of Communists or sympathizers on it, and then gradually became more pro-Communist as it went forward.

Q. I will ask you, do you recall whether or not it was dominated by the Communist Party in 1943?

A. Well, dominated is a hard word, Mr. Houston. It was very greatly influenced by the Communist Party. That is to say no one could get—it became a tradition that no one could get any money from the Robert Marshall Foundation among non-Communists, unless the Communists got something too. I mean, at least they had that much influence. That got to be the rule back of the scene. I don't know whether you'd call that dominating it, they had a pretty good strangle-hold on it. This was presumably a foundation to give out money to different various worthy causes, in the leper world.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, do you know a former Congressman from Montana by the name of Jerry O'Connell?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mr. O'Connell was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not that specific. I know that he was one whom the Party felt it must

take care of because of his agreement constantly with the Party line. This came up in the case of Congressman John T. Bernard of Minnesota—Bernard, B-e-r-n-a-r-d—and Congressman O'Connell. The discussion came up in the National Headquarters of the Communist Party in the committee headed by William Weiner about how to take care of these Congressmen, because they agreed with the Party line, and it was agreed that Bernard and O'Connell both would get jobs with the International Workers Order, this Communist-controlled front to which I have referred.

Now it is my impression that—well, I know that Bernard got it, and it is my impression that Mr. O'Connell temporarily also received that sinecure through the cooperation of the Party. I heard the discussion in the Party circles first, and later on I heard that it was to be accomplished.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce as an exhibit for the record, a speech recorded in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, pages 7690 to 7693, inclusive, which can go into the record. It pertains to the Robert Marshall Foundation and is there characterized as a Communist-controlled and Communist-dominated organization.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It may be admitted as Exhibit No. 6.

(WHEREUPON the copy of the printed speech referred to, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 6.)

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to introduce as an exhibit a check number 116 drawn on the New York Trust Company, made payable to the order of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, chargeable to the Robert Marshall Foundation, signed by George Marshall and Jerry O'Connell as trustees.

I would like also to introduce into the record, check number 94, under date of October the 2nd, 1942, drawn upon the New York Trust Company, chargeable to the Robert Marshall Foundation, in the sum of \$150, made payable to Jerry J. O'Connell and signed—countersigned, as trustees, by George Marshall and Jerry J. O'Connell. On the reverse side of this check are the cancellation stamps and the endorsement of one Jerry J. O'Connell.

May I state for the record, the first exhibit that I introduced was a check in the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Twenty-five hundred dollars, and are you introducing into the record the endorsement on that check, so I'll give it proper—

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to have until tomorrow morning to secure it. We have the endorsement, but it doesn't seem to be in the file right now. Mr. Chairman. We do have the endorsement, though.

THE WITNESS: May I supplement this?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, Mr.—Professor Budenz.

THE WITNESS: In regard to Mr. O'Connell, the discussion was to the effect that he had over a series of years done all that the Party had wanted him to do, and therefore that the Party owed it to him to see that he obtained a reward in the case of his defeat. I think that this was when he was defeated. And therefore this was not just a chance interview, or a chance discussion, it was an official discussion of a committee, the Finance Committee of the Party, headed by William Weiner, in regard to what to do to help out Mr. O'Connell, because of his past services and cooperation to the Party. And there it was agreed that he should become a representative of the International Workers Order.

Q. This was an official discussion of the high-ranking officers of the Communist Party, was it not?

A. That's correct.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, I'm accepting into the record Exhibit No. 7, which is the twenty-five hundred dollar check; Exhibit No. 8, the hundred and fifty dollar check and endorsement.

MR. HOUSTON: That's Exhibit No. 8, Mr. Chairman.

(WHEREUPON the two checks referred to were admitted into the record as Exhibits No. 7 and 8.)

Q. At the time of that meeting, was there any question in your mind as to whether or not Mr. O'Connell was a member of the Communist Party?

A. There was no question in my mind that he was in complete accordance with the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know of anyone, Professor, that the Communist Party has taken care of who are not members or are not under Party discipline?

A. I do not. The "Daily Worker" had previously to that time played him up also to a very great extent, and that's very rare unless there is a dependent. As a matter of fact, we were assured of his allegiance and cooperation with the Party.

Q. Do you recall that issue of the "Daily Worker" during the period of time that you were editor, which stated that Jerry O'Connell was the clearest progressive voice in America today?

A. I remember the phrase to that extent and purpose, yes.

Q. Would you have published any such statement in the official organ of the Communist Party without being satisfied that the person referred to was a member of the Communist Party?

A. He may not technically have been a member, but there was complete agreement that he would do what the Party wanted him to do.

Q. The Party felt that they had him under discipline and could control him?

A. That's correct. That was made clear in many discussions.

Q. Now, Professor,—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, the next subject that I wish to take up is totally different from the present line of questioning, the witness has been on the stand now for some hours, and unless he has some further elaboration on the thing this afternoon, I would suggest that we recess until whatever time is convenient tomorrow; or, we can proceed if you wish.

Q. First, Professor, is there anything we have discussed this afternoon that you would care to make more clear?

A. Well, not at the moment. I can't think of a thing. Maybe by tomorrow morning I shall think, and I would like to have the privilege, if so, of adding to some of my remarks on one or two of these subjects. Of course we've covered a lot of ground, but I can't think at the moment of anything to add.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, do you have any other witnesses you wish to present at this time? We have a large schedule here, and a heavy schedule, and a heavy—many witnesses, and if there is anything that you could present before this group at this moment that would help us handle that schedule of witnesses, we would be happy to hear them.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have attempted to bring a continuity here. I want—I'm laying a predicate now with expert witnesses, for that

which later we will bring in local witnesses and prove what was put into action, and I feel that the continuity of this case would be interrupted were I to put on some other witnesses. It's my intention immediately after the Professor is off the stand, to place another witness on.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I believe this committee will bear with you then in recessing this hearing until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning, at which time, I understand, Professor Budenz will continue his testimony for this proof.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 9:30 o'clock a. m., January 28, 1948.)

(January 28, 1948. 9:30 o'clock A. M.)

CHAIRMAN ALBERT F. CANWELL: Will you proceed, Mr. Houston.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Professor Budenz—

At this point Lenus Westman, who was elected State Senator from Snohomish County in 1940 but was barred from the Legislature because of Communist activities, created a disturbance and by direction of Chairman Canwell was removed from the hearing room by officers of the State Patrol.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If there are any more demonstrations back there at all, take them out. They have a perfect right to stay in here as long as they remain orderly and that is the only consideration under which they can stay here.

Mr. Pennock excused himself by his violence yesterday and that is conclusive as far as we are concerned, and when he comes back it will be under subpoena or under request to appear before this Committee as a witness under oath.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to continue with the examination of Professor Louis F. Budenz.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

DIRECT EXAMINATION (resumed)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Professor, I hand you herewith a list of organizations which recently were declared to be subversive organizations by the Attorney General of the United States. I will ask you to examine the list and identify any organization that you as a former high ranking official of the Communist Party and as an expert witness can identify as Communist dominated and controlled organizations.

A. Some of these I will explain a little more fully but very briefly.

Q. All right.

A. First of all, the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago. This was in reality an extension of the old Communist organization, the Workers' School, now disguised under the name of Abraham Lincoln. That became the tactic, as I explained yesterday, when Earl Browder sold the slogan, "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" to the Communist Party with the approval of Moscow. Later on, as I have explained, for fear that this would lead to too much Americanism in the party and too little devotion to the Soviet dictatorship, Browder has to officially repudiate his slogan, "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism." The Abraham Lincoln School, nevertheless, received this name Abraham Lincoln School, and the names that

were called by the Communist Party, partly under disguise, as some of its front organizations. So fundamentally it was a Communist institution, completely under Communist control. American League Against War and Fascism. This was of course one of the Communist Party fronts, established under the name of fighting war and Fascism, but in reality it forwarded Soviet foreign policy in the United States. Many Liberals and others were misled by this organization; people that were against war, but in reality the entire organization was controlled by the Communist Party. One of its leading figures, J. B. Mathews, later testified to this effect in large part before the Dies Committee.

American Peace Mobilization. That was the reorganization of the American League Against War and Fascism but in fact still under complete Communist control during the Hitler-Stalin Pact period. You will note, gentlemen, how the Party changes the names of these—the Communist Party changes the names of these organizations to deceive the American people, when they change their line in accordance with Soviet dictation. As soon as the Hitler-Stalin Pact was created, immediately the American League Against War and Fascism became the American Peace Mobilization. Later on, as soon as Russia was attacked by Hitler, the American Peace Mobilization wanted to become a pro-war organization. I forget exactly the name they were going to have, but practically the same initials, but they couldn't change over so fast, even at that, and they had to drop that and adopt new tactics but then for the war, which they had previously called imperialism.

The American Polish Labor Council, likewise created by the Communists. American Youth Congress, Communist controlled. American Youth for Democracy. This is an extension of the Young Communist League and is the Young Communist League in disguise. This does not mean that every member of the American Youth for Democracy is a Communist, but the predominate membership is, and the control is Communist. Now the American Youth for Democracy is another example of how the Communists deceive the American people and by falsehood endeavor to make "saps", if you please, of the American people. They have denied repeatedly that the American Youth for Democracy is a Communist organization, whereas every well informed person knows that the record shows that it came into existence a few hours after the Young Communist League went out of existence, predicting the coming of a new organization, and some of the same officers of the Young Communists League and American Youth for Democracy.

Sometimes I wonder how long they think the American people are going to be deceived by such tactics. The record is there, the official documents are there of these changes.

The Civil Rights Congress. This is the latest development in the civil rights field—so called by the Communists. They practically only defend Communists in this Civil Rights Congress—that is all they are devoted to. The Civil Rights Congress is an amalgamation of the organization formerly headed by George Marshall, known as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which I mentioned yesterday. Mr. Marshall is a secret Communist, a man of great wealth, and has devoted his wealth to forwarding Communist activities in the civil liberties field. This organization is merged with the International Labor Defense. Now the International Labor Defense is an international organization, as the name implies. This name International Labor Defense has been in many countries. It is an accompaniment of the Communist Party, and yet the International Labor Defense here repeat-

edly stated that it was not a Communist front organization, although similar Communist front organizations are to be found in other countries, and they have even had the International Riot Aid and Defense, at one time. That isn't the exact name, but that is the idea. Now they were joined together finally in the Civil Rights Congress, headed by the writer Dashiell Hammett, the mystery writer, who is a long veteran supporter of Communist ideology and under Communist discipline. Civil Rights Congress, you may be sure, will devote itself to defending the Fifth Column in the United States. That is its purpose, against the interests of the American people.

The Communist Political Association. That is the late and lamented name of the Communist Party that Earl Browder under the Moscow line at that time, changed the party from a party into a political association. The idea at that time was that the party might infiltrate more successfully into the more established political parties, by just making itself a political association. It was because it did this supposedly that Jacques Duclos, the head of the French Communist Party who is also chairman of the committee reorganizing publicly the Communist International, wrote the article demoting Earl Browder as leader of the American Communist Party.

One of the charges was that Browder had changed the party into a political association.

The Dennis Defense Committee. That has been organized since my leaving the party to defend Eugene Dennis, present general secretary of the party who was educated in the Lenin school in Moscow, and who directed the infiltration of the Office of Strategic Services during the war, so that Eisler, Gerhardt Eisler, the representative of the Communist International would know some of our military secrets. The Dennis Defense Committee, though, by its personnel, is a Communist controlled organization. The International Workers Order—that I explained yesterday, this is an old established Communist created fraternal organization. It broke off, as a matter of fact, or at least, was established in rivalry with a Socialist Party organization of the same character and was designed to forward the Communist Party first among foreign language groups in this country. They, at that time being the largest followers of the Communist Party, and these foreign language groups, many of them the members would not become directly the members of the Communist Party and this was a method by a very cheap fraternal arrangement, I mean cheap in the sense of low payments and the like, to have them attached to the Communist Party. I have stated the officers of that organization—they are always Communists, or at least those that the Party wishes to take care of.

The Jefferson School of Social Science in New York is a Communist school. It was created after the Workers' School went out of existence. I would like this committee or this group, to know the way that the Communists intentionally deceive the general public. Now, the Workers' School goes out of existence—some of its furniture even, to my knowledge, is moved over to the Jefferson School. Part of its library is moved over to the Jefferson School. Some of its staff is moved over to the Jefferson School, and yet the Jefferson School blooms out as a non-Communist organization. Well, that is one of the most ironic jokes possible. The Jefferson School was in line with this general change to the Abraham Lincoln School and the other things that you have noted, all taking place about the same time.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In some form or another this organization exists in every country. It is an appendage of the

Communist Movement in every country just as the International Labor Defense is. It is an arm of the Communist Movement to reach out to those groups who are not directly Communists, who did have the idea of peace, for example, as to what relations—international relations that will serve to establish peace. They are, in other words, in some instances, the soft-headed and soft-hearted Liberals, whom the Communists so cynically talk about among themselves, in high quarters of the Communist Organization, and whose throats they intend to cut at the most convenient moment. But at any rate, this National Council for Soviet-American Friendship was established to drag in these Liberals, although the controlling elements are all Communists, the controlling figures are all Communists.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. That I have explained is Mr. George Marshall's organization. I have been there personally. These organizations are known to me personally, by the way, in a large measure. I have been a number of times to Mr. Marshall's office, the general staff of the Daily Worker not being privileged to go there, but as managing editor I went there in order to work out with him publicity for his organization within the Daily Worker which at the same time would not give away the fact that it was a Communist controlled organization.

National Negro Congress. That was organized likewise by the Communist Party and dominated by the Communist Party.

Samuel Adams School in Boston. This is another one of these rapid changes in patriotic garment. It is part of the Communist Party when convenient to do so, of the old Workers' School, teaching Marxism and Leninism, and trying to get prospective members for the Party. This was a clearing house or a sort of sponge to absorb those who might become members of the Party and likewise also members of the Party who were not yet far enough advanced to—in Party work—to become prospective candidates for the secret schools, where Marxism-Leninism was taught in the raw. They went to the Samuel Adams School in Boston.

School of Social Study in New York, likewise is Communist controlled.

Seattle Labor School, that's the Northwest Labor School here. That's another one of these institutions set up by the Communists in disguise.

Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia.

Tom Paine School of Westchester, United May Day Committee. In that respect, before I was a member of the Communist Party I was in the United Front with them in these United May Day Committees and I learned that all the money is provided by the Communist Party to organizations sympathetic to it. David Lee, who was the treasurer of the New York district supplied all the money secretly in cash for all of these united front demonstrations of that character. The reason I know it was that being a practical person, when I was not a Communist but in the United Front—that year was about 1934. The May Day, I think, of 1934 I was not yet a Communist, but was in the United Front with the Communists and I raised the practical question of where the money was coming from. They said, "Oh, don't worry about that." David Lee will bring us a thousand dollars, and later on two thousand dollars in cash, which he did, with the greatest of ease. He was then the man in charge of the finances in the New York District. Incidentally, while we can't go into details on this, I am sure future investigations by this Committee will show that there is a very interesting interchange of cash between various organizations under Communist Party control. It is a very amusing process—that is to say, that

cash is drawn for mysterious purposes. It is returned. It isn't defaulted, don't misunderstand me. I don't mean to say that—it is suddenly a check for cash to one of the officers—trusted officers may be made out, and then later on that will be returned. And this happens in various organizations. That way the Party can at times support some of its own institutions, balance that over against another organization, and keep all of these organizations afloat. I know, of course, of that practice in the area of New York, more specifically the area of Chicago, from my own personal experience. But that is a common Communist custom, which I think prevails throughout the entire country. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. That again is a Communist Front organization.

The Walt Whitman School of Social Science at Newark.

The Workers Alliance. The Workers Alliance originally was founded by non-Communists. That happens sometimes, that the Communists infiltrate other organizations, as with the Old Age Pension Union here. First of all, try to break it up. They went to the meeting in Chicago and tried to smash the Workers Alliance, but when—it was a united front meeting and I am very familiar with that, because I helped send the delegates up there, though I wasn't a Communist yet. That was approximately in 1933.

Then the Workers Alliance merged with the Communist organization, the worker's councils, or the unemployed councils, or the unemployment councils. Well, it was sometimes called the Unemployment Councils, and sometimes the Unemployed Council. Workers Council is an incorrect name. I was just grasping for the name.

The Unemployed or Unemployment Councils merged with the Workers Alliance. But under the merger Herbert Benjamin became the dynamo in there, and he was a thorough Communist, member of the National Committee, and the president of it. At first he was a sort of a shilly-shally, but finally he also came, that being the most convenient place to, came under Communist discipline. So that finally the organization turned out to be nothing but Communist, the Workers Alliance, in the final analysis, and this was the work largely of Herbert Benjamin, in there.

Well these of course could be expanded, these bits of information, but that gives substantially my basic knowledge of these organizations.

Q. Professor Budenz, how did you happen to leave the Communist Party?

A. That is rather a long story. First of all, I decided to return to the Catholic Church. It is impossible to be a leading Communist and to have any religious belief. Therefore, long before I was a Communist I had abandoned religious belief, and that made me logically eligible to be a Communist, but the thing is, that I returned to the Catholic Church for this reason: I found finally that I was nothing but a puppet for the Kremlin. The only beliefs I could have were those which were laid down by Moscow. The only acts that I could carry out in the Daily Worker were to try to justify what Moscow had already decreed that I should think, and I saw that I was being destroyed as a person of integrity. First I said, "Well, I am an agent of the Soviet State." I said that to my wife, "I am an agent of the Soviet State, but at least we are fighting Hitler." And then I asked myself, "What about this remote control; suppose Naudoff, who is one of the big four in the Soviet oligarchy, Naudoff, Stalin, Molotov and Manuilsky—suppose he becomes head of the Soviet State. Why, he is just—of course I know nothing about Stalin, either, except his writings, but Naudoff, I don't even know his writings, except very few of his

speeches, one of them at the 18th Party Congress of the Soviet Union, and that was under of course the general discipline. What will happen to me as an individual under this constant moving about like a pawn on a checkerboard? I don't mean physically what will happen to me, but morally—what sort of a person am I becoming? And I decided I had to have a standard of morals outside of the will of the dictators of the Kremlin, which is the only standard of morals politically that a Communist can have. Therefore, I began to return to the old standard of morality which I had had in my youth and I found it fitted my needs and I returned to the Catholic Church, both spiritually and in the sense of again accepting the philosophy inherent in Catholic thought, which emphasizes so much the principle of the dignity of man as an image of God, the dignity of the human personality which I saw being trod in the mud of so many countries by the slave state which I thought still had some justification. Also, the philosophy which stands for the principle of voluntary association which the Soviet slave state absolutely crushes out, its so-called trade unions being an ironic jest as such, being merely agents of the Soviet State. That I learned very thoroughly as managing editor of the Daily Worker, though it isn't pertinent to this investigation.

Q. Does Communism, or does it not, destroy all spiritual and moral values?

A. Communism is based on the so-called science of Marxism-Leninism. This pseudo science declares that by reason of the fact that it has destroyed all spiritual values through dialectical materialism, all idea of the Divinity and of the Spirit, that thereby it has freed the intellect of man. The intellect of man, thus freed, can work out his destiny with this so-called science, especially with such master scientists as Stalin, who seems to know the whole science just one hundred per cent, but nevertheless, with the aid of this science, man can work out his destiny, even to the attainment of the Earthly Paradise, the Socialist State and the Communist Society. The Socialist State now existing in Soviet Russia, the Communist Society about to exist in Soviet Russia, where all abuses will end, all personal problems will be solved, all wars will cease, and each will give according to his ability and receive according to his needs. But in reality, well, what we have found before us, and certainly it was after painful and reluctant acknowledgment of this fact on my part, I did not cease being a Communist without a great deal of reluctance, and I will explain that in just a moment why that was. In reality we see before us a Frankenstein created, a slave state which constantly is demanding more and more slave labor, which will not allow any expression on the part of the people whatsoever, which is committed purely now on the basis of its dialectical materialistic viewpoint to the fact that there is only one standard of morality and that is the will of the political bureau in Moscow, namely, of the Dictators in the Kremlin. What they declare to be moral one week they can declare immoral three weeks from now and the Communist must, with the same acclaim and the same approval with which he greeted this act but one week ago, must greet the contradictory decree in the same manner. He cannot think, he cannot act in contradiction. Every Communist leader in the United States, therefore, whether his name be William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis, or whatnot, can only have one standard of morality so far as political events, and even so far as his personal acts are concerned, and that is which is in accord with the decisions of Moscow. As a matter of fact, every Communist leader every day feverishly rushes forward to try to find how this minute, this hour, he can carry out Moscow's wishes in the United States, and

consequently, by very reason of the fact that spiritual values have been destroyed, moral standards have been all wiped out and accept the will of the Dictator, if you can call that a moral standard, and that brings about the utmost degradation of intellectual effectiveness.

There is one other thing which follows from this—may I continue?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

THE WITNESS: There is one other thing that follows in this that I wish we would all think over very carefully. It is one of the favorite weapons of the Communist movement, and that is, what results from its destruction of definitions. The Communists have utterly destroyed—when I say the Communists I don't mean individual Communists—I mean the Communist ideology has completely destroyed all definitions. For example, the Soviet Dictatorship, which is a dictatorship that puts people in prison labor camps, that keeps people from expressing themselves, that has a tremendous control over the country by the secret police. Your brother may be a member. You dare not talk out loud in your home. That dictatorship is represented as the highest degree of democracy. Not only does Soviet Russia claim that it has reached the highest degree of democracy, far above America, but the Communist Party of the United States has said that. William Z. Foster, its present leader has said so, and therefore, we can see that all definitions are destroyed. With Hitler, at least he said he was a dictator by intuition, whatever that is, and he recognized he was a dictator. That isn't the case with the Soviet dictatorship. It says that this dictation, this business of crushing you, of being ruthless to you, that is the highest form of democracy. This, as we have seen, can lead to the disappearance of the head of the Soviet secret police in Leningrad one day, and nobody knows what happens to him, and yet here, the Communist apparatus that should know will know that he was an enemy of Soviet Russia. That is the highest form of democracy.

Secondly, anything or any policy which disagrees with the current policy of the Soviet dictators is immediately labeled Fascist, and we therefore have no definition of Fascism anymore. Democratic movements can be called Fascist. Anything can be called Fascist that serves the purposes of Soviet and Communist policy at a specific moment. We have the example of Franklin Delano Roosevelt being called Fascist, that being taken off, being put back again, and the like. We could cite many other examples of outstanding men and likewise of various movements and instances.

They practice Fascism one day, then being admittedly democratic in part, though not yet fully progressive—that word is over-used of course by the Communists, progressive the next time—and finally in the long run the word Fascist means nothing at all. It is purely he who will disagree with the almighty decrees of the Soviet dictatorship. That is a Fascist, according to the Communist definition. If we only had time and I had certain documents with me here, I could even cite instances in the Communist Press over many years to that effect. If time permits, I will volunteer to file with the Committee some exhibits of that character, showing that certain institutions were called Fascist, were removed and put back only in accordance with the policies at that time of the Soviet Union.

Q. Now, Professor, is it a tenet of Communism to use the basic reality of the lie?

A. The policy of deceit is one of the basic or moral principles of Communism. Lenin has developed this in his writings and it has been practiced

over and over again. You are supposed to deceive your friends and your foes. Your friends are supposed to travel with you up to a certain point when you have to make Communists out of them, or else, and then, why you proceed to dispatch them or liquidate them politically, at least.

Therefore, from the very beginning, the Communist begins to practice falsehood. Hitler may have talked crudely about the big lies, but Marxism-Leninism invented them, and the Communists use it more skillfully.

We see it here in these exhibits we have had of the use of these various organizations, and further exploration of them would show it even more vividly. The Communists contend they have no connection at all with Soviet Russia, whereas as a matter of fact this man Gerhardt Eisler was here in the United States first under the name of Edwards and then under the name of Hans Berger, directing the Communist Party. They had Peters here, also part of the Bureau, or at least underground apparatus which can direct the Communist leadership. This man who wrote this pamphlet advocating the overthrow of the Government by force in this country, this illegal alien here. They have other men of that character directing the party secrets. One of my greatest surprises when I came into the party in 1935 from the people's front viewpoint was to find all these mysterious characters running the organization. I had thought I knew the Communist Party pretty well. I had heard vaguely of Maurice Williams, a C.I.O. representative once when a certain question was up.

As a matter of fact, I had thought as many people do, "Well, this is a lot of Red baiting, they talk about these characters; that's Red baiting." So when I came into the Party after many years in the labor movement when I had worked with and against, with Communists and again in the united front, I was against them when they had these Red trade unions, but I was for them when they abandoned that policy, and when in 1935 I came into the office of the Daily Worker as labor editor, I was amazed. Here was Eisler running Clarence Hathaway, the editor-in-chief of the Daily Worker. Right in front of my eyes he did this. He came in and just simply castigated Hathaway for an hour. Now Hathaway was a member of this so-called powerful political committee of the Communist Party, and that amazed me, but I soon found that there was this man Brown. Let's not forget these people, when the Communists talk about Red baiting. Who is Mr. Brown, who stayed up on the ninth floor and directed the Communist Party in so-called military tactics, demonstrations and the like for a number of years? He was an illegal alien, an Italian. Well, one of his names was Marini, but he has another name, it has just slipped me for a moment. I know him very well,—who has now gone back to Italy rather than to face deportation proceedings. These men were running the Communist Party and that immediately is an indication of the magnitude of the lie which they practice against the American people. They state they are an American organization, whereas—and put certain native Americans forward, but every native American that is put forward at least in the national scale as an observer who is not a native American, by the way, watching him. Mr. Hans Eisler was sent to Hollywood, for example as an alleged musician, but we were advised that he was there to help supervise politically the Hollywood writers and the others in the Communist Party, and this deceit is constantly practiced. A person says, goes into a union, a man like James Matlas, in the United Electrical Radio Machine Workers Union, goes in there and says to members and works hard, I'll admit that, to build up

the organization, but always for Communist purposes, goes in there and tells the members he is not a Communist, whereas I have seen him time and time again in the trade union commission of the Communist Party making reports. Julius Emspak, the general secretary who I mentioned, will say he is not a Communist. This man was on the President's labor committee. I sat for three days next to him in the national committee meeting in June, 1945. He was making cracks about the way that the Communist leadership didn't know parliamentary law, but that was not at all a sign of his lack of devotion, because with Comrade Juniper, he was put on the editing committee of the resolutions of that convention. And so, I could mention person after person who deliberately lies to those with whom he is associated in regard to his Communist affiliation in order to get their good will, to organize them and then at a certain point persuade them to follow a pro-Soviet policy.

Q. I don't want to lead you back over your testimony, Professor, but I want to be sure that my understanding of it is correct. Is it your testimony that atheism and the denial of God is a basic tenet of Communism?

A. It certainly is. That is a requisite. It is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. As a matter of fact, we have a rather amusing admission of that in Gill Green's speech to the Seventh World Congress. The Seventh World Congress was the congress that was supposed to be going out to influence religious organizations on a big scale, and there Gilbert Green, reporting for the Young Communist League of America, shows that religious youth are to be worked with in order, however, not to compromise the atheistic principles of the Communist movement. Set down right there by an American representative of the Young Communist League, Gill Green, who is now the district organizer in Chicago. That appears in the International Press correspondence, I think for 1936 in the reports of the Seventh World Congress. Inherent in Marxism-Leninism under its philosophical theory of dialectical materialism that there is no God is the concept, of course, that you must be atheist. Now, Lenin gave the advice that—in writing—that the ordinary rank and file worker could for a while be allowed to have his religion when the Communist first came in contact with him, but that was in order patiently to show him that religion is the vehicle of the ruling class and therefore to wean him away from religion and to destroy his belief in God.

Q. From your experiences in the Communist Party, Professor, would you state that it strait-jackets your mind and thinking, is that what you are trying to say?

A. Well, that is certainly what I have endeavored to indicate. Not only does it strait-jacket your thinking, and I have by the way, I have brought this out in my book "This Is My Story," the chapter on the Red strait-jacket I hope every American will read. I think it is temperately written; it has no animus in it against any individual Communist, which I have not today, by the way. I would wish every Communist to be able to get out of the mental concentration camp which is the Communist Party, but there you will see the atmosphere which is being a Communist leader. It is something which the ordinary American cannot appreciate. In mental concentration camp, is the word. Now we have recently had some examples of people who try to get out of the Communist Party and have been caught before they could reach the goal, they were severely punished and threatened with character assassination if they didn't go on probation and give up their duties and the like.

In other words, first of all, there is the mental strait-jacket whereby you can only think as it is decreed that you shall think. You are very carefully observed. You are reported on. You have to file your biography every so often in order that a thorough knowledge of your background will be known to the Party which can be used against you, or can be used for pressure purposes. In other words, you do enter a concentration camp mentally, right here in the United States, and that is something which America should know more about.

Now, from that, of course, the person does have one advantage, and that is that he is able, without thinking any more, to rush forward and do vigorously as I have said, those things which he has been told to do.

Q. Professor, is the use of fear and the surrounding of people in an atmosphere of fear a common practice of the Communist Party?

A. Well, it is the immediate atmosphere of the Communist Party. This prevails, by the way, in regard to its leadership. There is one thing that amazed me as time went on, and that is the sense of fear existing in men like Earl Browder, Jack Stachel and the like. Now these are not men who lack courage. They have been in very many dangerous predicaments. But this is a sense of moral fear, of being constantly hounded and harassed and rushed and pressed and that is very amazing. It's only found in that sense in my experience in the Communist movement. That is, I have seen cases of brutality and of oppression, and all that, but this sense of fear, of being in accord with Moscow, constant, of being certain that we are correct with the line, that sort of thing pervades the Communist headquarters all the time. That is, the national headquarters of the Communist Party. Now whether it is so pronounced always out through the country I am not in a position to say, except in Chicago. That same atmosphere prevailed there, though that was a rather large center.

Q. Well, Professor, yesterday you testified that as a member of the national committee you heard the district organizers, Rappaport and Henry Huff from the Northwest, report upon their desire and program and plan to take over the Washington Old Age Pension Union and that subsequently Mr. Rappaport reported that they had taken it over, and controlled and dominated it. Did Mr. Huff ever make such a statement?

A. Mr. Huff repeatedly reported on the Old Age Pension Union. Indeed, at national committee plenums, whenever the State of Washington came up, you could be sure you were going to hear about the Old Age Pension Union in the report, and the reports indicated progressive control of the organizations by the Communists.

Q. In other words, that loomed large in their thinking, as of a program of the Communist Party in the Pacific Northwest?

A. That's correct.

Q. Now, Professor, we hear a lot about why they want to control organizations—why they want to penetrate them. Can you give us any explanation for that? What reason would they have in wanting to control the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. Well, the reason—that seems to me rather obvious. Of course, maybe I speak from my experience as a Communist. If they can put into motion masses who are non-Communist, that is the first thing. If they can persuade thousands of Americans to take a stand which is pro-Soviet without their

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knowing it fully, by certain resolutions under the guise that you are trying to win peace, which they always talk about, why then you have a big agency of public opinion. Secondly, you have a source of agitation and political pressure for Communist purposes which you can use or not use, as you see fit. You can hold or withhold, as you see fit. I have been in many sessions when it is decided that for the purposes of the party a certain organization would not make a move, along a certain line; in order to discomfort a leader of another union, for example, the party would decide that the union they had would not go out for a wage increase at this time, and leave the other fellow out on the limb. Things like that, so that they used these organizations also for Communist political purposes.

Now of course they are limited in that by the fact that—well, sometimes they may want to destroy the organization, too, but they wish to hold onto it likewise. They are limited to a certain extent but that is in the background. And then of course it is also the means of having the workers obtain positions, offices and the like.

Q. Is the tenet of rule or ruin a Communist tenet in one of their organizations?

A. That is the Communist tenet always, and at all times—rule or ruin; anything that they enter is for that purpose. They may, of course, soft-pedal the crudity of this operation if they think they haven't the proper strength. You can appreciate that, but when they feel that they are strong enough and of course they will ruin an organization, rather than surrender its control. The wreckages of organizations ruined by the Communists is all over, like skeletons on the desert—is all over America. There are the Federated Farmer Labor Parties and this organization and that scrapped at the behest of the Party.

Q. Now, Professor, what importance does the Communist Party and National Committee attach to the Pacific Coast?

A. In many discussions in the political committee and in the National Committee, at national headquarters by subcommittees, and by Communist leaders, the Pacific Coast is considered one of the most important parts of the United States. In the first place, because of its industries. This was demonstrated in the North American strike in California, to which I previously referred. The vice president or representative of the United Automobile Workers there was Lou Michener, a Communist. Mr. Michener's activities I am fairly familiar with because I sat in the conferences before the North American strike, but particularly after it, at the United Automobile Workers Convention, I think it was in Buffalo in 1941. I met Mr. Michener there, talked to him a long time with Roy Hudson, and other leading Communists.

Now, they had used the North American strike, whipping it up at that time in order to stop American defenses, and in order to halt lend-lease to Britain, in order to help Hitler, in other words. That was the policy of the Party, to help Hitler. In order to help Hitler, they pulled off the North American strike, and that indicated the great aircraft industries here, the importance of the Pacific Coast as we have always understood it. In addition to that there is the importance of shipping and other things of that character along the Pacific Coast.

Q. Do you have any knowledge of Communist influence in the Allis-Chalmers strike?

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A. Oh, yes, very definitely. That took place at the same time approximately, as the North American strike. There again I was personally involved in certain conferences in that connection, and the Communist Party definitely ordered the Allis-Chalmers strike to be called in order to tie up those millions of dollars in defense material which were being produced at that time, because this was an Imperialist war at that time. It was a very logical step from a Communist viewpoint. Since this was an Imperialist war you do everything possible to stop the Imperialist war and turn it into civil war, if you can. That is the Leninist prescription. In accordance with that prescription, and loyal to their viewpoint, the Communists pulled the big Allis-Chalmers strike, ordering it directly in order to tie up those materials.

As a matter of fact, at that time William Z. Foster, now the head of the Communist Party but then national chairman, advocated a policy of snowballing strikes, if possible, in order to prevent Great Britain from getting defense material. This was all done in the name of peace and the Yanks are not coming.

Q. Would you go so far as to say that the Communist leaders examined every source to try to help Hitler during that period of the strikes?

A. I believe they examined every possibility of tying up such American industry as would help Britain or could be designed to help Britain in the immediate future. That was the policy of the Party and if anyone reads the 1940 convention proceedings within the limits of course of legality—of course the Communist Party always watches very carefully, not to get caught but within the limits of legality you will find there the Party is declaring war on President Roosevelt and from that, as the leader of the nation, and from that proceeded all these various acts.

Q. Do you wish me to interpret your statement there that the Communist Party always operates in a legal manner? Was that your thought, or did you mean that?

A. No, I did not. No, the Communist Party, as one of its chief divisions is its illegal activities. As a matter of fact, that has been threshed out in Marxism-Leninism discussion and the facts. The legal and illegal activities of the conspiratorial apparatus has been known as the Communist movement has been threshed out over and over again. Now, as a matter of fact, the Communists always have an illegal activity going forward, as I have shown with these false passports. They have many other illegal activities than that, but what I am speaking about is that officially, in print, as a rule the Party endeavors to so express itself that it will be legal, it will not be suppressed, or it will not come in for too great public indignation against it at any specific moment. However, there are times when, because of the pressure of the Soviet Union's position, or for some other like reason, the stark truth has been told, even despite the possibilities of illegality, as when Foster before the Fish Congressional Committee declared the Soviet Union in effect to be his fatherland, and the Soviet flag, in effect, to be his flag, and also at the same time spoke slightly in regard to workers who had religious affiliations. That was at a moment when the Party felt that it should come out strongly in what they call a left position, but which really means a truthful position. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact there were similar tendencies, although they were more carefully guarded because the conviction of Browder made the Party—and the possibility of the conviction of other leaders, which sent them all underground—made the Party more careful and discreet. Nevertheless in

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this May, 1940 convention you will find those who know how to read Communist statements will find there a declaration of war against the United States because of the possibility of its aiding Great Britain.

Q. Professor, what relationship, if any, does Alaska and Hawaii play in the Communist program?

A. Well, they are considered of great importance. The infiltration of Hawaii has been a rather important part of the Communist program. Well, I know that in 1939 this came up, because certain changes had to be made in the infiltration process in Hawaii. This process was directed largely from California district, however, not from Washington, but the idea was to infiltrate Hawaii in every way possible, among the teachers, among the workers there, who in my opinion sadly need organization, but it is a crime that this need for organization should be misrepresented by any Communist abuse of it. At any rate, the idea was both among the workers and among the teachers every place possible, to infiltrate Hawaii.

Q. That was a definite plan of the Communist Party?

A. It had been going on at least for a couple of years to my knowledge prior to about 1939, yes, that period, because I attended conferences where a change had to be made in the methods of infiltration.

Q. What plans—how did they intend to do that—through what vehicle?

A. Well, they intended to do that largely through the activities of Harry Bridges and the fact that he could send organizers into Hawaii who would actually be Communists, but under the guise of being unionists. One of these men was Jack Hall, and there were a number of—there were several others.

Q. Did the Communist Party use Harry Bridges?

A. Most decidedly. He was charged—that is to say, the California district also had a responsibility, but he was charged with the infiltration of Hawaii.

Q. Do you know Harry Renton Bridges?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are referring to the president of the International Longshore Workers Union?

A. Nobody else, yes, sir.

Q. Is he a member, or has he been a member of the Communist Party?

A. He has been a member of the Communist Party, yes, sir. Under Communist discipline always up to the time I left the party.

Q. And you participated in these conferences where the program was made that was forwarded to him to carry out?

A. That's correct.

Q. Did you ever get any reports as to whether he did carry it out or not?

A. We had reports that Jack Hall was active for the party in Hawaii, and Mr. Hall, I understand, is the representative of Mr. Bridges. There were several other names mentioned also, their local names, and just for the moment I can't recall them.

Q. In party circles, how did you know Harry Bridges—by what name?

A. Well, we just called him Bridges as a rule in the Communist National Headquarters. As a matter of fact, in the 40's, Adam Laffin, the very well-advised and informed correspondent of the Daily Worker sent out a dispatch to the Daily Worker which ran in all editions, saying Harry Bridges, the well-known West Coast Communist leader. Well, that was a serious slip, but that was due to the way we always talked about him. We knew he was a Com-

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munist and we always talked of him as a Communist. When I wrote up the defense material for Bridges in cooperation with Roy Hudson and others, it was because he was a Communist. Robert Minor was put specifically on the job of working for Bridges' defense because of that fact. We knew, of course, that he had originally had a card under another name, and at one time he was also referred to as Rossi, during a brief period of time in 1937 and 1938, because at that time he was mentioned or elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party and the name Rossi was supposed to be used by us in referring to Bridges because of his connection with San Francisco.

Q. Did Harry Bridges have any other name in the party?

A. He did have another name—

Q. Do you think you would recognize it if you were to hear it?

A. I think—I think I would—I know his name, it was sort of an Irish sounding name.

Q. Does the name Harry Dorgan mean anything to you?

A. Yes, that recalls the name to me.

Q. That was Harry Bridges' party name?

A. I was so advised, yes.

I have never seen any card under the name of Harry Dorgan. I was simply told at Communist National Headquarters during these various events by Communist leaders that his name had been Harry Dorgan. We discussed the case.

Q. Now, did you receive any instructions as to your editorial and news policies concerning dispatches involving Bridges?

A. Regarding Harry Bridges? Well, he is one of the most favored sons of the Communist Movement. I mean to say everything is supposed to be released when he says it, and likewise he is supposed to be given the most favored publicity. We had on the Daily Worker a list of people, an oral list which I was supposed to keep as managing editor. I was not permitted to have a written list, but I was to keep a mental list of different people and their standing in regard to the Party. Now, Harry Bridges stood very high on that list, always. As a matter of fact, anyone who examines the Daily Worker will find that Harry Bridges is without any defect, whatsoever, according to the Daily Worker. I mean, we could even quote praise of him, commendation of him, and other things of that character.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, if you recognize anyone in that picture?

A. I recognize Mr. Bridges.

Q. You recognize Mr. Bridges. Which one is Mr. Bridges?

A. Right here.

Q. The one on the right? Do you recognize anybody else in that group?

A. Oh, yes, Mr. Molotov.

Q. Mr. Who?

A. V. M. Molotov.

Q. Which one is he?

A. Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Union.

Q. The man drinking the toast is Harry Bridges.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like for identification purposes to introduce this as an exhibit in this hearing.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will accept it as Exhibit No. 9.

A SPECTATOR: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask if this investigation is being conducted with taxpayers' funds?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If you have any remarks to address to this Committee, upon proper application you may be permitted to appear before this Committee under oath to answer any questions that you may want the Committee to ask you, and some we may want to ask you.

(Demonstration.)

This demonstration was made by the above-mentioned spectator, an unidentified woman, who after being cautioned by Chairman Canwell, sat down and made no further disturbance.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: For the information of any who may not have heard remarks to this effect before, anyone wishing to appear before this body may do so upon proper application, and having a time assigned to them, but there will be no rabble rousing. It will not be made a Communist rally or any of that sort of thing, and anyone wishing to disrupt these proceedings will be removed forthwith.

Q. Professor Budenz, I will ask you if in the infiltration of Hawaii, Hawaiians were trained in the United States?

A. The Hawaiians were brought over here to these secret schools in California. I wish to be specific there. I know in this report that they were brought prior to 1939 or about that time. They were brought to the mainland of California and San Francisco, to secret schools there in Marxism-Leninism, which I have called schools for treason, which are what they are in reality, because there people are taught that Marxism and Leninism means the overthrow of the government of the United States. This secret school was a state school; I am not sure at this time whether it was a regular state school, or whether it was a special school for the Hawaiians. It was probably a regular district training school, secretly held, and several of them were brought there, according to the reports to the national office.

Q. How was this campaign financed, Professor?

A. Well, in part through the California district it was financed by money raised from the Communists in Hollywood, which was a very large source of supply to the Communist party. This source of supply was so great that at one time V. J. Jerome went out from the national committee to see that these funds were put under the control of the national organization. They used to go all to the California district.

Q. Professor, I will ask you—does the name Harry Jackson mean anything to you?

A. I have heard of Harry Jackson. I do not know him personally.

Q. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party and under Communist discipline?

A. He was.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, if you recognize the name of J. Ruben of New York City?

A. Oh, very much so. I know J. Ruben quite well.

Q. Do you know J. Ruben personally?

A. I do—on many occasions.

Q. What's that?

A. On many occasions.

Q. Is J. Ruben a member of the Communist Party?

A. J. Ruben is an old and veteran member of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, I think very easily you can find public records in regards to Ruben, because he was in charge at the Red unions in the Patterson strike and has also been involved in other pro-Communist activities. He is a member of the Communist Party—for a long time. Incidentally, to show Communist methods there since the name of Ruben is mentioned, if I may, he and Obermeyer, the man who has now acknowledged that he was a Communist, this alien, acknowledged that he is a Communist in New York, after he had denied it for years. That is very interesting. Mr. Obermeyer, who by the way has a rather pleasant personality himself, was officer of the—one of the international hotel and restaurant workers' unions. He denied always that he was a Communist, although I met him constantly in the trade union commission and as a Communist; however, recently he acknowledged that he had been a Communist, and in the deportation proceedings, because the evidence was too strong against him, particularly documentary evidence. Now, Ruben and he joined in writing the life of Edward Florey, the late president of the International Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union in order to pat Florey on the back and to help Communist infiltration in the A. F. of L. This was a very laudatory, saccharine story of Mr. Florey, which was put out in order to deceive Mr. Florey and to aid the infiltration of the A. F. of L. where the Communists were having some difficulty.

Q. Professor, I will ask you—has it been a part of the program of the Communist Party to place people in key and essential positions in industry and public life?

A. That is one of the chief objectives of the party.

Q. Have they been successful to any degree in that?

A. They have been widely successful, more than the American people suspect. They had used this method, of course, of placing people in positions in unions, in governmental posts when they can, and the like, sometimes as secretaries in order to watch the mail of the person, sometimes—as a matter of fact, I have seen many reports of people's private mail—also when Charlotte Carr was the head of the relief agency in New York, many of her private communications used to come to me in the Daily Worker when I was labor editor, just like that, right quickly. Hardly were they written until I had a copy of them. Well that goes in part—I don't want to say that is too extensive, but it goes on. Then they have these placing in key positions wherever they can—in every division of life they endeavor to penetrate. These people are apartment house contacts—that is to say, they are met with by the leaders of the party secretly in various places where the conference cannot be detected, and very frequently only as individuals. Then again of course they have penetration which is on a more organized basis, where they have even branches or cells set up which are working in a uniform fashion, in an organized fashion.

Q. Professor, are you familiar in a general way with some of the subjects taught in these secret training schools that you have referred to?

A. Well, I know I haven't attended too many of these schools, although I was asked very repeatedly to teach in them. I didn't have the opportunity on the newspaper. As a newspaper man now, you are pretty much with your nose to the grindstone in regard to getting out the newspaper itself. As a matter of fact, these calls that I had from the political committee and the

national committee in regard to various pieces of information within the Party were in order that I would be advised in the paper as to how to handle them, although of course from time to time I did get out through the country, but not as much as would otherwise be the case.

Q. Does the Communist Party teach its members tactics on how to break up meetings?

A. Oh, that is a well-known Communist method. It has been practiced over and over again. As a matter of fact it used to be when the Communists had the Red trade unions, at that time I disagreed with them. You couldn't organize the workers at all. They would denounce you for not organizing the workers in those days, if you were in the A. F. of L., and if you did organize them they came in and broke up your meetings and your strikes. I used to say watch out for the Reds and the labor spies. They act a lot alike. You take for example in the Patterson strike where I was in charge, they would bring in alleged strikers from Allentown and come into the meeting and instead of discussing things intelligently or going by orderly procedure, they would try to break up the whole strike meeting, even though there were thousands of people there whose lives might have been in peril. Then they had the tactic of women fainting—I don't wish to teach any new ideas here, but—(laughter)—they had the tactic of women getting up and fainting, of creating riots. This is the old history if you can just look back into the newspapers—it was taught, trained, it was an elementary principle of Communistic tactics. It was supposed to have a military significance to it, but at any rate, the point of the matter was that the Communists are taught, particularly when the truth is being told, to try to break up, or where there is real opposition that they cannot combat, to break it up, so when strikes are called they are frequently broken up, just as they have gone into unions and broken them up when they would not follow Communist leadership.

Q. In the conduct of some of the people in this hearing, do you recognize any of the old tactics?

A. Very familiar, indeed.—

(Laughter)

A. (Continuing) An effort to suppress the truth by illegal and disorderly manner.

Q. Well, Professor, before we turn to another phase of our subject, I would like to ask you a hypothetical question. Mr. Chairman, I believe this man through his years of service as the editor of the official organ of the Communist Party, as his years of service upon the National Committee of the Communist Party and the positions of trust that he has occupied in the Communist Party can be qualified as an expert, and I wish to ask him a hypothetical question, with your permission.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. The question that I wish to ask you, Professor Budenz, is, you have testified here that it was the program of the Communist Party repeatedly reiterated to infiltrate, dominate and control the Washington Old Age Pension Union, which you have testified subsequent reports stated had been carried out. But had they been unable to control, infiltrate and dominate the Washington Old Age Pension Union would their next objective then been to assist it as a non-Communist organization, or to destroy it?

A. There is only one answer to that question—to destroy it. If the Communists cannot control the thing that they set about to control, they destroy the organization.

Q. Would the Communists—

A. That is not a hypothetical question at all. It is a very practical question, because it's been over and over again, or at least it has been attempted many more times than it has been successful, because after all, the American people do have a native intelligence and finally wake up to what is going on very frequently. They can't be deceived forever.

Q. Were the leaders and officers in high positions of the Communist Party as interested in our war against Japan as they were in the war against Germany?

A. They were interested in the second front, whether America was ready or not; namely, to get our boys over there to save Soviet Russia.

Q. Well, now, Professor, yesterday one of your statements was that the decision to run a third party in this coming Presidential election year was made by a Communist Party, long before Mr. Wallace ever announced his candidacy. Can you enlarge further on that, or was that just—

A. Yes, I can. I can reiterate perhaps in a more definite way. If any one reads the Communist theoretical organ of political affairs, you can tell what the Communists are going to do in the next period of time. Just as if you read the New Times you can tell what the Communists internationally are going to say in the way of propaganda against the United States. The great propaganda of the Communist movement at the present time is against the United States and against the Catholic Church. If you examine New Times you will find those two organizations are held out to be the two chief enemies of mankind at this moment. That goes on week after week in the New Times, and of course has its reaction among the Communists as they can in the various organizations in which they are active. So with Political Affairs within the country. That is the theoretical organ of the Communist Party. That is for the elite of the Party. That is for the leaders of the Party, though of course other people can subscribe to it if they wish to do so. You can't subscribe to the New Times. In Political Affairs, as I have said, in June, 1947, Alexander Bittleman wrote an article. Every Communist immediately knew that this was a very important article. Why? First, because it was written by Alexander Bittleman, one of the chief important theoreticians of the Communist Movement sent here in order to teach Americans how to think and secondly, it was written against Earl Browder, against the book that Earl Browder had written. That made it a very important document from the viewpoint of Communism. In that document, we find that the whole substance was the necessity of forming a third party. Now, how did this begin—this Third Party was formed because of the fact that there should be a people's and democratic peace. The article started out by saying that there should not be a Soviet-American peace. I call this to your attention to indicate Communist tactics. There should not be a Soviet-American peace as Mr. Browder stated. There should be a democratic and people's peace, but what, lo and behold, was a democratic and people's peace—it is that for which Soviet Russia stands. Well that is a good example of Communist thinking. In other words, that which Soviet Russia stands for is peaceful and democratic. Now, this is not the attitude of the Truman administration, this article went on to say; the Truman administration is pursuing an Im-

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perialistic policy. Of course, Russia has grabbed Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania and penetrating other countries. That is not Imperialistic, that is people's and democratic, you understand. But the Imperialistic policy of the United States consists of feeding Europe and other things of that character. So this is an Imperialistic policy being followed by Mr. Truman—always this policy to be met by a Third Party. And it explains in more detail than I am here, I am just giving the outline of it. This Third Party is to be launched if it has an opportunity subjectively in the American people's mind. Objectively, the party already should exist. That is a great Communist method of speaking out at the last moment, if necessary, by saying objectively this should take place, but subjectively it may not. At any rate, the leaders of this party should be Henry Agard Wallace and Claude Pepper, and in other words, anyone who has read intelligently Communist documents for years would know in advance that now the Communists are going to have meetings, secret meetings, mobilize more organizations in advance, for this Third Party idea. They did precisely that very thing. The very next month it was brought out in one of the New York papers, I think the Journal American, that there had been this big secret mobilization of the Communists to forward the Third Party idea. In other words, the Communists already foretell what Mr. Wallace afterwards does. This is not surprising. In 1944 Mr. Wallace stood in this great slave empire in Northwestern Siberia, Dulstroy, where thousands of men have been killed under the most miserable slave labor conditions as Mr. Dahlin shows in his book, published by the Yale University Press.

Mr. Wallace stood there and proclaimed this to be an example of Western pioneering, which has built up our great far-West. Is Mr. Wallace that naive? He had his picture taken with the N K V D boss there. Then the word came over here to the party leaders through Gerhardt Eisler and Hans Berger, in other words, from Moscow, that Mr. Wallace should be supported against Mr. Truman by the Communists under cover in the Democratic convention. By the way, the Communist leaders here didn't like that much. They weren't sure that Mr. Wallace was so dependable as Moscow sources seemed to think. But they had to go through with it. I know that Jack Stachel didn't like it a bit. He told me so. And he had to go through with it. And they went through with it and did what they could, encouraging those whom they could to support Mr. Wallace in that convention. Then as I have noted, Jacques Duclos later mentions Mr. Wallace as one of those fearless leaders in the United States who are deserving of commendation. In other words, the honeymoon between Wallace and Soviet Russia in the Communist movement is not of short duration. It has been going on for some time.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, just a couple of questions for the sake of the record here. The papers Izvestia and Pravda. Are they the official propaganda of the Communist Party putting out the line that the Communist Party wishes the world to receive?

A. As a matter of fact, yes, that is correct. They are the ones that are watched. Izvestia and Pravda are watched very carefully and feverishly by every Communist leader in the national headquarters. Formerly that was an easy task, because you got all this paid for, subsidized propaganda which Mr. Biddle B-i-d-d-l-e, halted when he was the Attorney General. That was to what I referred yesterday. Now, today the process is more difficult. Immediate sharp word of what to do comes through people like Eisler and others, the underground agents of the Communist international apparatus.

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Three or four men on the political bureau know exactly what should be done, what agrees with Moscow's policy.

They do not know, fully, as I have said, how to explain it all. These comrades, however, watch, and all of us watch feverishly the New York Times, because it is supposed to be a fairly large in its reportorial scope, to see what Pravda and Izvestia said. That is brought every morning into the political committee upstairs, or at least into an informal meeting. Whatever Pravda and Izvestia has said is immediately taken up in the National Committee office on the ninth floor of the Headquarters at 35 East 12th Street, New York, also known as Fifty East 13th Street. There is an entrance at each end. In that national building, which is the national headquarters of the Communist Party, on the ninth floor, that is where the national committee members reside, and those who are in touch with Moscow agencies reside. I mean, have their offices. Now, they meet every morning to discuss—they have a meeting every morning, to discover what Pravda, Izvestia and the Soviet Leadership has said and what that means, and then one representative congregating to the Daily Worker editorial board, one comrade who was appointed for that purpose as liaison man at one time was this Mr. Bittleman. At one time it was Eugene Dennis, at one time it was Foster, and recently was Jack Stachel, but now that has been changed. At any rate, they would come into the editorial board meeting of the Daily Worker and have advice in regard to the interpretation of these editorials in Pravda, Izvestia and the like, and the Daily Worker editorials were written on the basis of what Pravda, Izvestia and other Soviet publications or leaders said. That is, in the international sphere.

Q. Professor, I will ask you if a person or organization actively engaged in disseminating articles of Pravda and Izvestia, would that be furthering the Communist party line?

A. Oh, yes. Precisely.

Q. Now, Professor, I will ask you—

A. Of course, what the Communist leaders do here, what the Communist Press does here is take the editorials and articles from Pravda and Izvestia and work them over in American language and the American idiom, you understand, with American illustrations. If Pravda says that Henry Wallace is a great man, the Daily Worker says he is—well, he would try to find the word that would exemplify that even more vividly. Now, I will give you an example of how Pravda followed this.

Henry Wallace spoke at Madison Square Garden, unfortunately I can't recall the date, but that could be easily checked up. It is a matter of public record. He spoke in Madison Square Garden and he was booed by the Communists. They didn't understand some of the things he was saying. In the middle of the week Pravda says, that, well in effect, I mean, they said, "well, Wallace may not be the most intelligent man in the world, but he is a real progressive." The next Monday night, one week later, at a Communist meeting in Madison Square Garden, the Communists cheered Wallace to the echo. In other words, Pravda on Thursday or so had changed the whole Communist mind here, and William Z. Foster represented him by getting up and praising Mr. Wallace, and therefore a tremendous uproar and acclaim arose for the great leader who just the week before had been booed. He could hardly finish his speech. He had to cut sections of it out. Everyone remembers that incident. He had to cut down his speech because the Com-

munists had been sent in there, and we know how that takes place. They had been sent in there and told that if Wallace didn't come through, then to give him the Bronx cheer. All the Communists met, and so that was done. Then as I say, in the middle of the week Pravda praised Wallace, and on Monday night following Foster praised him and immediately, almost before Foster could get his name out, the place went into an uproar of acclaim.

Q. Professor, what is meant by the National Control Commission?

A. The National Control Commission is a very mysterious organization, I wish I knew what it meant fully, myself. However, this I do know. It is supposed to discipline the members of the party. Very frequently the people chosen on the National Control Commission are very slightly known to the National Committee members, they're mysterious figures. I will not mention their names now, because they will probably come up later, but some other time—but very mysterious names. For instance, Jacob Golos I have mentioned. He was chairman of the National Control Commission. I know that once he was supposed to come down with an iron fist on the Daily Workers staff, because an editorial on China was lost, and this was a subject for the Control Commission. They didn't have to act. Mr. Golos when he died, as I have said, was reported as a non-Communist in the Daily Worker, as a friend of the Communist movement. He had been chairman of the Control Commission. He was the man of world's tourists, and now the Control Commission was supposed to discipline the party.

Another member of the Control Commission was Clarence Zurba, very little known to the rank and file members. I venture you ask many of the members of the Communist Party right here in Seattle who was Clarence Zurba, what is his background, what kind of a looking man, what did he do, on what platform did he ever speak on, they wouldn't know him at all. Yet he was a powerful man. He had all the records. He kept the file for the Control Commission. Everyone made out a biography, if they were Communist functionaries, and these biographies all went to the Control Commission were kept very carefully, and the records of every comrade, reports on them were kept by Zurba in these files. That much I know, so that Golos was chairman for a number of years and Zurba as the active secretary, although he didn't have that title so far as I know, were permanent more or less. But there were others, also.

I remember one time Mike Quill and I were sitting in a meeting, a dinner meeting, after the National Committee of the Communist Party had been chosen and the names of the control commission—always at the end of the National Committee meeting plenums. Then the National Committee members meet privately to elect the Control Commission, supposedly, although you elect whatever the leader hands out to you. It is a very unanimous and rapid affair. Nobody disagrees about anything. The Control Commission will elect the general secretary and one or two other functions of that character; it is very brief and of course there can be executive sessions in any organization of that character which are brief, but generally you know who you are voting for, at any rate.

Frequently on the Control Commission, many members of the National Committee didn't even know who they were voting for. As a matter of fact, on this occasion Mike Quill turned to me and said, "Who is that person?", naming one of these people. I said, "I don't know, and neither do you, but we are going to vote for him." At any rate, we did. We voted for them. Now, I wanted to give you the general background of the method of electing

the so-called Control Commission. It was handed out by the general secretary and everybody voted for them without question.

If anybody had dared to question that, a well-disciplined Communist know they must not question anything that comes from above, he would have been bowled over in the bureaucratic manner. I will give you an example of that from another incident. I have never heard anyone question the Control Commission personnel. In this July, 1945—or June, 1945 session, (June, 1945 is correct) of the National Committee which demoted Browder, Comrade Juniper was made a member of the editing committee and of course even with all the training there is somebody who is damn fool among the Communists, too, just as among all other people. So someone arose and said, "Who is Comrade Juniper?" Why, you could just see everybody getting rigid. That is a thing that must not be mentioned. It was clearly a name that was an artificial name. John Williamson arose—he is one of the important members of the political committee—he rose and said, "We will not permit any reflection on the integrity of Comrade Juniper. He is a well-known and veteran member of our organization." Nobody had reflected on his integrity but that immediately let this comrade know that if he dared to ask another question he would be considered to be a liquidationist or probably a Trotskyite.

Now the thing is, the Control Commission had the function of disciplining the members of the Party. It also had the function of finding those members of the Party who could do secret espionage work in the United States, and who could do secret missions for the Soviet purposes, the reason I know that is, that it was the Chairman of the Control Commission that introduced me to the Soviet Secret Police. Understand I was not told that we were planning the assassination of Trotsky; I was told that we were planning the halting of the infiltration of Trotskyites into the Soviet Union, but events show what transpired.

Q. I will ask you, Professor Budenz, do you know a man known as Joe—

THE WITNESS: Oh, by the way, before we get to that, there are special, and extraordinary control commissions which are created in emergency times of the Party which are more above ground and more public. I want that to be put in, because recently there has been a control commission examining into the trustworthiness of all leading Communist Party members. There is a great deal of distrust among the comrades at the present moment in high quarters, and there was a special extraordinary control commission appointed at the time that Browder was expelled to stamp out all vestiges of Browderism, and that was a public commission. John Williamson and Robert Thompson particularly were active members and they are known publicly as leaders of the Party. I didn't want to confuse those two. The permanent control commission generally functioning is of the character that I previously indicated.

Q. Do you know Joe Zack?

A. Yes, I do. I only met him, though, recently. But I knew of his history and his activities as a Communist, that he was a leading member of the Communist Party.

Q. He obtained high positions with the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was a member of the political committee, I am sure, at one time. That was prior to my membership in the Party. But I know of him well from reading Communist literature, and talking to Communists and the like. And then I met him recently.

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Q. Do you know a man by the name of Nat Honig?

A. Yes, I did know him fairly well. He was in Communist newspaper work from time to time, organizing and other things of that character.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Manning Johnson?

A. Oh yes, I have known him. I knew him when he was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and on other occasions. I knew him within the party, that is, different from Zack, whom I only knew recently.

Q. Professor, do you think that Communism is any threat to the United States at the present time?

A. Communism is a most serious threat to the United States. The American people do not yet appreciate the ruthlessness of the foe with which they are contending, the Soviet Dictatorship. Recently the Gallup Poll showed that seventy-six percent of the American people now know that Soviet Russia means to dominate the world. That was a great gain in public education. It is a fact, and is attested to by some of the evidence I have given, but by mountains of documentary evidence that could be brought in in support of my declarations. Soviet sources, Communist sources, which have proclaimed time and time their determination to set up the world Proletarian dictatorship which is now interpreted as the personal rule of Stalin and his associates over the entire globe. What the American people do not yet appreciate is the method, the deceit, and falsehood that the Communists practice, and that this is a basic foundation, not only of their morality but of their tactics. As an example of that, very frequently the people can be confused, their wills can be divided and paralyzed by the activities of the Fifth Column, which always studies the weaknesses of other people, weaknesses which they employ.

For instance, recently in the New York Herald Tribune this young artist Bill Mauldin, the cartoonist, at the time when I was bringing out the facts about Gerhardt Eisler, these facts are now substantiated by the two convictions of Eisler—the fact is that Gerhardt Eisler traveled back and forth as we know, on false passports from Moscow to the United States as an alleged American citizen in defiance of our laws and institutions, but at that moment the Party wanted someone to smear me, to discredit me, so they whispered in Bill Mauldin's ear and he put a cartoon in the New York Herald Tribune which indicated that Claire Boothe Luce and I had joined the Catholic church in order to get \$20,000.00 lecture fees a year. That was an outrageous falsehood, in the first place and secondly it was printed at the very time that it would discredit or tend to discredit the person who was exposing the chief agent of the Communist movement in this country. Now, they were using a thoroughly non-Communist publication. I will agree it was very weak in its constant appeasement of the Communist; I could go into that more fully; but the point is, this is a Communist tactic used over and over again. They employ people like Bartley Crum of California. This man down here, this Kenney and others using them to get these contacts, and to develop further these associations, so that non-Communists will frequently find themselves through this method peddling out what the Communists want peddled. That makes the Fifth Column very serious. Now as a matter of fact, this Fifth Column is serious for another reason and a very important reason, too. What is that? We do not yet appreciate the power of a Totalitarian regime. Soviet Russia is in great difficulties at the present moment. It has been purging writers and others over and over again in the Ukraine in particular, and some people in a spirit of appeasement have said Soviet Russia is unable to wage

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war, but it is very interesting to know that this country unable to wage war is gobbling up country after country, with only ten per cent of the people at the most being in any way sympathetic with such action.

This results from America's still lack of appreciation of the ability of a Totalitarian power to wage war, which is being waged right now against the United States; not military war, but a diplomatic war and economic war, and political war. And always in Communist ideology a political war is the prelude to a military conflict. That is set down, quoting Von Flasovitch, the Prussian general. That was hammered into our heads until at least I believe I know that thoroughly, and that is a fundamental Communist concept, that a political war leads almost inevitably to a military conflict.

Now, the Soviet Union is engaged in political warfare at this moment against the United States in every country in which it is operating, belittling our nation as one that is starving out the rest of the world, or when we do send it food, trying to dominate it. If you don't do it, then you are starving. If you do do it, then you are dominating. This makes it very serious because this Totalitarian power with less expense would be required by the United States to get out, for example, an atom bomb, and by the sacrifice of thousands of lives, produce the same purpose. The possibilities, then, of the Totalitarian regime in waging war have not been thoroughly understood, and that makes the Communist movement of serious concern to us, particularly when we understand that its loyalty is one hundred per cent to Soviet Russia. In any case, whatever slogans it uses, of peace or this or that or the other, it will be for the purpose of aiding Soviet Russia because it is the Fifth Column of Soviet Russia. This to my mind is one of the most serious considerations before the American people. But we must face it temperately, but we must face it realistically. The realism of the situation is such that it is absolutely necessary to appreciate the urgency of defending America itself, and in order to do that we do have to understand the possibilities of the Fifth Column in moving organs of opinion into positions to confuse the public, and the position of the Fifth Column to deceive Americans by infiltrating into their organizations and eventually, which may not be too long away, also to injure America by the service which they give Soviet Russia should military conflict break out. It seems to me that the greatest contribution toward peace, toward preventing world war three would be to take a position against the Fifth Column which would be to regard it as a conspiracy. That would win peace along with a strong stand against Soviet Russia. It is the hope of America.

Now this is not as difficult as it appears. It is not as difficult as it appears, even though the Communists make use of American democratic processes and American legal processes in order to destroy it. That is, of course, a Communist tactic, to take advantage of American devotion to civil liberties, to destroy American civil liberties, as they have destroyed civil liberties in every country where they have infiltrated and come to dominate.

Some of them realistically, the Communists should be known. They need not be known as card-bearing members. They need not be distinguished as that any further. The American people must judge people by their actions. If they have followed a line which has been helpful to Soviet Russia over any period of time, that stamps them as a Communist. If they wish to distinguish themselves from the Communist by becoming anti-Communist and thereby rid themselves of this position, that is their responsibility. They can no longer go forward crying "Red baiter," they can no longer go forward trying to break up hearings and meetings to suppress the truth. Their actions

speak for themselves. Anyone who supports the Soviet line over and over, time after time, does it consistently, he is a Communist, whether you can produce a card or not. If America will appreciate that and understand that it is important to know that, then we will be on the beginning of American defense in the correct manner, temperately, but realistically.

Q. Is Joseph Stalin the author of the statement that it takes a thousand men to build a bridge but one can blow it up?

A. Yes. It is important, it seems to me, that American leadership be acquainted with Stalin's writings. They can learn a great deal about the ruthlessness of the Soviet dictatorship and its policies. He has written that statement at the time he discussed the Trotskyite conspiracies in Soviet Russia, but it was a fundamental principle in the law of conspiracy that he was stating. It is the way the Communists act—I don't mean physically blowing up bridges, but I mean in the sense that one person poisoning the wells of an organization or a neighborhood or a city can undo the work of a thousand men in a constructive manner. That is, in a constructive manner one person can undo the work a thousand men constructed. If we appreciate that idea, the idea on which the Soviet Fifth Column operates within America we will understand that mere numbers are not all that count. The position of this Fifth Column, the methods by which it controls organizations and the other unscrupulousness with which it proceeds and particularly its constant affiliation with the idea that it is promulgated by Soviet Russia.

Q. Now, Professor, yesterday when I handed you these two exhibits here, checks drawn on the account of the Robert Marshall Foundation, I didn't present them to you. You have testified that you know George Marshall well.

A. I know him well and also—

Q. Just take a look at the signatures and see if you recognize those as the signatures of George Marshall.

A. Well, I am not a handwriting expert but in so far as common experience goes, I would say this is the signature of George Marshall whom I know. I have received letters from him, and communications which have been similar to this.

Q. And you would accept that in your opinion as the signature of George Marshall?

A. Yes, I would, indeed.

Q. And that is the George Marshall you have testified to, who is the well-known member of the Communist Party and a brother of Robert Marshall?

A. Well, he is well known to the Communist officials. He keeps his Communist membership very secret, indeed. In fact, the reason for my association with him was as I indicated that there be no Communist taint, as you might put it, on the committee which he was then directing, but this interview was first obtained through Earl Browder, and as a matter of fact, George Marshall is well known to all leading members of the Communist Party as a loyal and veteran Communist.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you have another witness before noon? I believe that we should proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, we will be very pleased to.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused, then, Mr. Budenz, and thank you very kindly.

(Witness Excused)

(Recess)

(Hearing was resumed after taking a short recess, and the following proceedings were had:)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes. I would like to ask Mr. Sullivan to take the witness stand.

Mr. Chairman, will you swear the witness, please?

JAMES T. SULLIVAN, having been sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name to the Committee?

A. James T. Sullivan.

Q. Will you spell your name, please?

A. S-u-l-l-i-v-a-n.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Sullivan?

A. Seattle.

Q. How long have you resided in the State of Washington?

A. Since 1923.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, have you ever held any official position here with the State of Washington?

A. Yes. In '36 I was elected Speaker of the House, and served in the '37 session. In '38 I was elected a member of the Senate and served in the '39 and '41 sessions.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, have you ever held any official position with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes. I was the first State President.

Q. Would you detail, please, Mr. Sullivan, a brief history of the organization of the Old Age Pension Union as you know it as its first State President?

A. Yes. The first time that any thought came of starting a pension organization in this state followed the return of myself and many others from King County from the 1937 session. At that time those of us elected here in this county who considered themselves liberals and progressives, were down trying to do something to clear up the mess in Social Security and to help the aged people of this state under the policies of Charles F. Ernst. We were told repeatedly during the sixty days down there that if we would withhold any legislation that we had in mind, that he, Charles F. Ernst by himself, would do the right thing for the old people of this state. Sixty days of this session had passed and there was nothing done. We came home here to Seattle and I discussed it with Howard Costigan who was then on the air for Dr. L. R. Clark, and others of us, and conceived the idea then of forming a pension organization in this state for the purpose of forcing justice to be done for the old folks in this state. Immediately we filed Articles of Incorporation, about April of 1937. I and others, I can recall Bert Collins who has now passed away, who was a member of the Legislature, and others that went from one end of this state, especially on this side of the mountains, organizing and setting up pension organizations. There wasn't a night that I was home with my family. I was out all the way from the Canadian border to Longview and Kelso on the Columbia, setting up pension organizations. We had

rapid success. It was a loose organization. We met every Saturday in the Moose Temple Saturday afternoon and we would have a sort of a meeting. Understand there was no formal organization set up—it was just a loose organization, but it was growing like wildfire. People were coming into it from all ranks of life, not alone aged people, but other people who believed in the things that we did, of helping the old folks in this state, and nothing else. In about October of 1937 we issued a call and delegates came from all sections of the state, and we held our first convention. It was held at the Broadway High School auditorium here in the City of Seattle. At that time I was elected state president. We immediately started then an increasing effort to line up proper support with the people in the State of Washington to help obtain for the old people the justice that was theirs. In a very short while, I might say that within a year's time, we possessed a membership of better than thirty thousand. When I say thirty thousand, I mean that many cards were issued to members in the state, and there was only one purpose in mind at that time, as it was at the beginning, and that was to set up an organization—a state organization with one purpose in mind, of getting better pensions for the aged people of this state. We weren't concerned with what political belief, religious belief or anything else of the people. We wanted the people who believed in that same thing. We had rapid success as I stated, and we continually grew. Our first convention that followed that—we held them about every six months or year—it was the same story. We were getting more and more members into our organization. We were effective politically. We had a lot of the politicians in this state plenty worried. In 1939 the Legislature met. I was then a member of the Senate. In all this time in 1937, '39, and going back to the efforts of one Charles F. Ernst again, he done nothing.

I don't have to mention that. That is common knowledge in this state that he attempted to starve the old people, rather than to feed them. In the '39 session of the Legislature many will recall, was introduced the—then as I remember—the fight I put on the floor of the Senate to try and defeat these infamous poverty, pauper acts of Charles F. Ernst.

He reached back to the time almost in which this state first became a state and took out those old pauper acts and they were introduced as three bills that were introduced in the Senate at that time. They were shoved through. They were shoved through against the opposition of myself and many more who appeared on the floor of the Senate. We came back after that session and as I told many members in the Senate at that time, you fellows have had your last chance of attempting to do something for the old people of this state. We are going to do our own legislating. I wrote along with Homer Huson, who was then the secretary of the Pension Union, to every state in the United States, to get the copy of the Social Security laws that that state had, and we got replies from about every one of the forty-eight states. I think there were about two or three that didn't have any Social Security laws pertaining to old age assistance. But we received replies and exact copies of all these laws from all these Secretaries of State. We took these laws—various—I would say the forty-five or forty-six states, and we took the best features out of every one of these laws, and that became what was then known and passed by the people of the State of Washington, as Initiative 141. In other words, I done it for this reason. I knew that if it was legal in California to do certain things, it was legal in the State of Washington, so we took the

best part of the California law; we took the best parts of the Utah law; the best parts of various laws, and we passed the best Social Security law for the old people in 1940 that was ever passed in any state up to that time.

I want to go into some of the details showing the changes possibly in the Pension Organization at that time.

When we were discussing this initiative we were then—had different ones in there that I had reason to believe that weren't in there for the purpose of doing the thing that myself and others wanted to do, help the aged people of this state. In fact, I can recall one meeting in particular down at the courthouse. I was there; being state president I could go to any of the meetings whether I be invited as a speaker or not—I went down there after someone had spoken, whose name I don't recall at the present time and all he gave was a song and dance about the glories of the Soviet Union. Here was the look on the faces of these old people who all came there to these meetings. I may state that, by the way, that every meeting that myself or any speaker ever attended—Pension Union meetings—after we would give a talk more than that time was spent with pensioners asking questions—their own to help themselves personally, or to help someone that they knew personally, upon problems that they were confronted with and our interpretation of the law. In other words, they wanted to know how they could be helped; how they could get more money; how they could get a better pension.

When these ones would go around and speak at these meetings, they didn't know the pension laws of this state and the result was that they couldn't answer any questions or anything that were asked them. I recall about '38, '39, that that was the time when the Workers Alliance had folded up. That released a lot of the boys for duty elsewhere. We became a very attractive bait, 30,000 members is an organization well worth having some control over.

Q. Pardon me, Senator, who were some of these people who had been running around, making these speeches—

A. (Interposing) Well—

Q.—that you refer to, about not knowing the pension laws?

A. N. P. Atkinson, Tom Rabbitt, Bill Pennock, that's three of them. These people knew absolutely nothing about the pension laws of this state. In fact, the first time that Pennock moved into the organization he was then secretary to Howard Costigan; at the convention we held in Tacoma in the spring of '39, at that time Homer Huson was removed, which I found later through the pressure of the Communist Party, and Bill Pennock put in in his place.

I jumped on Howard Costigan after that, because I belonged to the Washington Commonwealth Federation and he was executive secretary. I asked Howard what was the idea of taking out a man who was doing a good job for the old people of this state and putting in someone that knew absolutely nothing. Well he said, "Jim, we have got to build Bill politically." I said, "Politically, Hell," because I felt that we were sacrificing a man who was doing a good job. When I mean a good job I mean this—every Monday when the commissioners would meet, the county commissioners would meet, we would take down what was called "grievance cases." In other words, people would come in and they would have a just grievance, and under the law they could have these grievances heard and a determination made whether they had a valid claim for what they were seeking. And Mr. Huson worked at this without any reward, without any pay. When I say pay, I think he got

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his lunch money. And he worked with this and he done a good job. I imagine he handled as many as fifteen to twenty thousand of these grievances in this period of time. Well, when the transformation happened where Huson went in—out and Pennock came in, this stuff just dropped like that, I know that I went up to the organization's office in the Lyon Building the following week, and it was like walking into a morgue.

Q. What do you mean when you said this stuff "dropped like that"?

A. Well, there was no one around there to answer the questions. In other words, any time that you would go into the Pension Union's office you would find people there from all sections, not alone of the City of Seattle and this vicinity, but even other sections of the State. They would come in to find out if we could do something to help, and it was continuous help. When they went up there and they would ask someone for some help and he knew less about the law than they did it certainly discouraged them from coming back.

Q. Senator, going back just a little bit to the early organization of the Old Age Pension. What was the attitude of the Communist Party when the Old Age Pension Union was first organized, thought of, first set up?

A. You mean in '37? You are referring to?

Q. Yes, back before it became an organization of some 30,000 people.

A. Well, they made no effort to do anything with it. It was until the Workers Alliance folded up, because it was—work getting plentiful then and Workers Alliance was formed to take care of the workers on W.P.A., so that left a lot of busy beavers with nothing to do. They had to find a place to light.

Q. Now, let's get right down to cases here. Will you at this time portray in your own words the infiltration of the Communist Party in the Old Age Pension Union, as you saw it—

A. Why yes, the first notice that I had of it, we would hold our state board meetings which were held in one of the courtrooms—smaller courtrooms, justice courtrooms, down in the courthouse every Saturday—they would come in from all sections of the state. It would be the form of resolutions that would be introduced. In other words, resolutions were foreign to Pension organizations. I mean they had nothing to do with the pensions which the organization was primarily set up to do something about. But they would take into matters of international scope and well, I can take one illustration that was very personal. At the time when Russia invaded Finland, you recall that President Roosevelt just lashed out—with—didn't mince any words about declaring that Russia was an aggressor nation and the same thing that he declared when Mussolini and his group moved in from Ethiopia. At that time, in order to clarify things, because there was a lot of muddled thinking in the minds of a lot of Liberals in this state, seven of us who were in Legislature at that time—I recall Ellsworth Wills, West Seattle, Senator Paul Thomas, Army Armstrong, Bert Collins and myself signed a statement that we released to the paper upholding and complimenting President Roosevelt for his statement. At the very next meeting of the state board of the Pension Union a resolution was introduced following the noon recess. And at the noon recess when the boys really met and mixed the poison that they tossed out in the afternoon meeting. They come in with a resolution at this time, condemning me for my upholding President Roosevelt in his condemnation of the aggression of Russia.

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Q. Do you mean to say they introduced a resolution condemning you for upholding the President of the United States?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Incidentally, who introduced that resolution or championed it on that occasion?

A. That was one thing that really burnt me up. The fellow that introduced the resolution—I am going to give you the background. Just about as we formed our pension organization—we formed the pension organization, and say, these members were coming in fast and furious, lots of them. Some of these people who had ideas that possibly there was a chance of making some money for themselves—two of them from Pierce County set up a booth in the fair at Puyallup. One named Pettus, and the other named Tom Brown, and they set up the booth there and they were taking in dues for another organization other than the Pension Union that we had formed. A lot of the old folks thought it was a state organization and they paid their two bit pieces and they received thousands of dollars from these people. Myself and others made many trips for months and months over to Tacoma to attempt to acquaint the people of the state that this was just an organization to milk these old people and to do nothing for them. This was common knowledge. Now this fellow Pettus, lo and behold for some unknown reason—I suppose he met favorable with the boys who were mentioned to move in with these resolutions—in he comes with this resolution condemning me.

Q. Now will you further identify for the record, Senator—just which one of the Pettuses you are referring to?

A. I am referring to the elderly Pettus—the one who is a representative from Tacoma.

Q. Is that, incidentally, the gentleman who was excluded from the building here yesterday—in yesterday's morning session?

A. Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, I would like some clarification on that resolution. He said "resolution attacking him," and we were talking about a resolution condemning President Roosevelt. Just to be sure that the record is straight on what resolution he is referring to there.

Q. Incidentally, will you clarify that here?

A. Yes. The resolution condemned me because myself and others—me, because I was an officer of the Pension Union—had seen fit to back up President Roosevelt when he condemned the Russian aggression into Finland. And, I may say, the resolution passed.

Q. Was there anyone else interested in the passing of that resolution besides Mr. Pettus at that time? Anyone else speak on it?

A. We had several from Snohomish County. I recall one Rose Parks spoke for it. In other words, they—it came right after the noon recess, and I found later that they while they were sitting around their teacups they cooked it all up and figured the spot that each was to play when they came back to the meeting.

Q. What further evidence of the Communist Party infiltration did you first note in the Pension Union movement?

A. Well, it was the activities of people that I knew that were known to me as being Communists that were getting very active in this Union and setting up policy.

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Q. Did you know at that time a man by the name of N. P. Atkinson?
 A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was N. P. Atkinson?

A. The first I knew of N. P. Atkinson, he ran a scab printing shop in the basement of the Alaska Building, and I found that out through the Typographical Union—I am a member of the Electrical Workers Union, so I get around quite a bit in labor circles. And then he used to come in to meetings of the Washington Commonwealth Federation of which I was a member, also on the state board, and he always represented and spoke for the League Against War and Fascism.

Q. Do you know whether or not at that time, or soon thereafter, he headed that institution known as League Against War and Fascism?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that the same League Against War and Fascism that was declared recently by the Attorney General to have been a subversive organization?

A. The same organization.

Q. I would like to ask you at this time if N. P. Atkinson ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you at this time to state who succeeded you as president of the Old Age Pension Union after your term of office expired?

A. N. P. Atkinson.

Q. I will ask you to state if you know Charley Legg?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you to state if you know Bill Dobbins?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you if they ever took any interest in the so-called infiltration into the Washington Pension Union movement?

A. Quite a bit.

Q. I will ask you to state if Charley Legg ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. I will ask you if Bill Dobbins ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you if you know of your own knowledge of the activity of the then-executive secretary of the Old Age Pension Union, William Pennock, his solicitation of young people into the Communist Party?

A. It was common knowledge among those of us who built the Pension Union, especially in the Federation, that that was the part that Pennock played amongst the young—especially when he was going to the University of Washington.

Q. I will ask you to note—I will ask you to state if you know Al Barnes?
 A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew Bill Ziegner?
 A. Yes.

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Q. I will ask you to state if that was the same Al Barnes, same Bill Ziegner who were officials of the Building Service Union, and installed in their positions by reason of their Communist activity in that union?

A. They are the same ones.

Q. I will ask you to state what part they played in the infiltration of the Communist Party into the Old Age Pension Union?

A. They took a very active part at conventions and these conventions.

Q. Do you know John Caughlan?

A. Yes. John Caughlan appeared in the picture of the Pension Union—at the start we had a lot of good lawyers who were as sincerely interested in pensions as we were. I recall Henry Kyle, Mark Litchman, and Ed Henry and Paul Coughlin who were interested in the things that we all were at that time, of helping the old people of this state. They handled free of charge any legal difficulties to help the old people get better pensions. Well, then they were shoved out, when the change was made, and John Caughlan moved in.

Q. When did John Caughlan move in—when did he move into the picture?

A. Oh, I'd say the latter part of '38, '39—about '39.

Q. Now, one other thing before we get off this subject that I would like for you to bring out. What dues were charged these Old Age Pensioners at the start?

A. At the start there were no dues.

Q. What salaries were paid you officers of the Old Age Pension Union at the start?

A. None.

MR. CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, may I interrupt here. I will ask you if you have a convenient spot here so we may recess.

MR. WHIPPLE: I am just coming to it. Just in about half a second.

Q. You mean to state that you officers received no salaries at the beginning of the organization?

A. I would leave my job here in Seattle and many the night I have done it. I have gone as far north as Blaine, Washington, and Nooksack, Washington, Longview, Washington, and I have been back to work the next morning. I would drive all night and I never even received expense money. In fact, I thought it would be a disgrace to even ask it, from people who were receiving \$30 to \$40 a month. I traveled to Spokane the same way.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, this represents probably about a fourth of the testimony that this witness will offer, and this is a convenient place to interrupt.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If this meets with your approval, we will reconvene at 1:30. Is that satisfactory?

MR. WHIPPLE: It is.

(Recess)

(One Thirty o'clock, January 28, 1948)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are you ready to proceed?

MR. WHIPPLE: Call Mr. Sullivan to the stand.

JAMES T. SULLIVAN resumed the stand:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Are you the same James Sullivan who was testifying at the hearing this morning, before we recessed?

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Sullivan, you testified this morning, as I remember it, that N. P. Atkinson, who succeeded you as president of the Old Age Pension Union on one occasion solicited your membership in the Communist Party. When did that occur?

A. Just about a few weeks before the 1939 session of the Legislature convened. He called me up. I was working at the courthouse at the time—head of the electrical department—he called me up and wanted to know could he meet me and have a luncheon date. We had lunch across the street there in the hotel, the restaurant across the street, and we no more than sat down, in fact the waitress hadn't even taken our order yet, and he approached me with the idea that I join the Communist Party. I laughed at him and told him that he didn't make sense, for me with the beliefs I had, of being a Communist and he attempted to paint a picture of how the program would be taken care of and all I had to do was follow.

Q. Now was he president of the Pension Union at that time?

A. Oh, no.

Q. That was before he succeeded you as president of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes.

Q. You also testified that on one occasion Charley Legg solicited your membership in the Communist Party. Now, when did that occur, and where did that occur?

A. Oh, it was right the first time that I was elected to the House. I would say possibly '37 over in Ballard.

Q. All right, where did it occur?

A. At a meeting, W. C. F. meeting.

Q. A W. C. F. meeting in Ballard in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes.

Q. You stated this morning that on one occasion Bill Dobbins solicited your membership in the Communist Party. Will you tell the committee when that occurred?

A. Right on my back porch in the City of Seattle. In fact, Bill came down 8th Northwest, and as though he came just for that purpose. In fact, there was one of the—if a Communist could be honest, there was the most honest one I ever knew, because he was one that has never denied it. It was a religion to him, and he couldn't understand why everyone else couldn't see it the same way. He was amazed that I couldn't. That was just after I came back from the 37th Session.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, you testified this morning that on one occasion you served as a member of the Senate of the State of Washington?

A. That's right, '39, '41 session.

Q. I will ask you if during that period you became acquainted with a gentleman by the name of Lenus Westman?

A. Yes.

Q. Just state briefly to the Committee the nature of that acquaintance.

A. Well, Lenus Westman came down to take his seat in the '41 session and there was enough information on hand when the Committee was set up, to convince this Committee and the Senate that he was a member of the Communist Party, and the State Senate of 1941 refused to seat him.

Q. For that reason?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. For the reason that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. That he was a member of the Communist Party. Hearings were held in Olympia by a committee appointed by Lieutenant Governor Vic Meyers and at the end of these hearings took about two or three weeks, why on Friday afternoon, why we voted on the report of the committee and refused to seat Lenus Westman. The county commissioners of Island and Snohomish Counties then appointed an engineer, a civil engineer by the name of Pat Crane.

Q. All right, who introduced the resolution Westman be not seated?

A. Who set up the committee?

Q. Yes.

A. I did.

Q. You did that yourself personally? Now, was that the same Lenus Westman who was excluded from the hearing room here this morning?

A. Yes, he was sitting over here.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, after—going back to the 1940 convention held here in the Moose Hall, that was the occasion when you more or less severed your connection with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. That is right—that is, as an organization.

Q. As an organization. Now, just state briefly to the Committee what took place there at the Moose Hall in 1940 in reference to any public statement that you made at that time to the convention relative to the reason that you were severing your connection with it as it was at that time organized?

A. The statement I made to the convention that Sunday morning was to the fact that the Pension Union had ceased to be an organization that was striving to help the aged people of this state, that it was more concerned in furthering the welfare of a particular European nation, namely Russia, and I walked out of the convention following my speech.

Q. You discussed this morning the infiltration of certain Communists into the Pension movement. Now, after N. P. Atkinson and Bill Pennock were the president and executive secretary respectively, of the Old Age Pension Union what then did they do concerning the raising of finances?

A. Well, after Atkinson moved in, I was no longer in the organization, so the only information I would have would be from talking with members that I knew.

Q. What information do you have as to their activities before you left the Old Age Pension Union relative to their sale of pamphlets, et cetera?

A. Oh, this really was amusing. When we were circulating a petition for Initiative 141, our committee met, I say our committee for the Pension Union Committee met here in Seattle, and we were always figuring ways and means in which we could get more signatures on these petitions. N. P. Atkinson came up with the idea that we charge these old people for the petitions that we gave

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them, and they took out then and got signatures placed on them. The idea was laughed down, because it was so ridiculous. No one went for it.

Q. Now when did that happen?

A. In the spring of 1940.

Q. The spring of 1940. Incidentally, do you know a person by the name of Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes.

Q. What was his attitude toward the United States preparedness program in 1940?

A. My information on this will have to come from my reading of the papers, as I was in Spokane at the time. If memory serves me right there was a strike out at Boeings at that time and he, with others, and I am still figuring on what the papers—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think we had better confine ourselves—

Q. You weren't there personally, yourself?

A. No.

Q. I beg your pardon. I thought you were there.

A. No.

Q. All right. Do you know of your own knowledge, Senator, whether or not any contributions were made by the Pension Union to any so-called Communist front organizations?

A. Yes, a lot of them.

Q. Could you name any of them to the Committee at this time?

A. Oh, League Against War and Fascism and Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and Defense of O'Connor, and these other two seamen in California that were convicted on a murder charge, murdering some fellow by the name of Albert, I believe.

Q. When you mention the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—is that the same Abraham Lincoln Brigade which was mentioned by Professor Budenz this morning as being a Communist front organization?

A. Yes.

Q. You mentioned the League Against War and Fascism. Is that the same League Against War and Fascism that was headed by N. P. Atkinson and designated as being a Communist front organization?

A. That is right.

Q. By Professor Budenz, as well as the Attorney General of the United States?

A. That is right.

Q. What, if anything, did the Pension Union do during the year 1940 concerning the sending of delegates to the Chicago convention of American Peace Mobilization?

A. Well, in 1940—I want to get this across. In 1940 the only activity that I can speak for at first hand would be the actual convention itself, because I was at that time working in Spokane.

Q. You were not present at the convention?

A. Oh, yes. I come over to the convention.

Q. All right, go ahead.

A. But as to what would be happening here in the City of Seattle in the Pension Organization, this would only come to me through second hand.

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Q. Well, state what took place at that convention—can you answer that question as to whether or not they sent delegates to the American Peace Mobilization?

A. Yes, they did. That was handled at the convention.

Q. That was handled at the convention?

A. Yes.

Q. That is the same American Peace Mobilization committee which was declared by the Attorney General as being a subversive organization?

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Pardon me. Answer yes. Nods will not record on that machine.

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know who railroaded that through the convention?

A. Well, from the looks of the audience that day, it was easy. I am speaking as a delegate, and when I looked out in that Moose Hall that day, the number of old folks you could almost put inside of this small area there. There were people there that wouldn't have been drawing old age pensions for thirty years, and some of them I don't think had attended a Pension Union convention. In other words, it was just a packed meeting of Communists.

Q. That was the 1940 convention of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. That's right, yes.

Q. Where, sir?

A. What?

Q. Where did you say that convention was held?

A. The convention was held in the Moose Temple in the City of Seattle.

Q. Do you remember what month in 1940 that was?

A. July.

Q. Did you ever hear of the organization known as the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever hear that organization mentioned at any convention or any Pension Union meetings?

A. At board meetings, yes.

Q. All right. Tell us when and where that occurred?

A. Well, that happened quite frequently along in '39.

Q. What was the occasion of its being mentioned—what was discussed there?

A. Well, the discussion was the usual line—the resolution was brought in and all the canned speeches were made and it was all put across.

Q. Do you know whether any money was donated to that organization?

A. Oh, yes, always.

Q. Do you have—do you know of your own knowledge the amount of money that was donated?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Now, you referred a while ago to this O'Connor-Ramsey-King—or Ramsey-King-O'Connor Defense Committee.

A. Yes.

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Q. Do you know whether or not that committee was a committee of the Communist Party or not?

A. Yes.

Q. Raising funds to defend those three Communists who were in San Quentin penitentiary?

A. That is right.

Q. That is the organization you now refer to?

A. That is right.

Q. That is the Ramsey-King-O'Connor Committee?

A. Right.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, do you know, or did you know along back during those years a man by the name of O. R. Mundy, commonly referred to as Bill Mundy?

A. Yeah, Bill Mundy worked in the office. He was an elderly gentleman and handled a lot of the grievances.

Q. Will you spell that man Mundy's name?

A. M-u-n-d-y.

Q. What was his—what were his duties in the office of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. He was just in charge of the office. In other words, he kept track of the books in there—people who would come in with any grievance, he would take their name and what their grievance was and then it would be turned over to Mr. Huson to take down to the Commissioners or welfare authorities to see if something could be done about it.

Q. Was your attention called to—officially called to any of his actions at that time that you thought were peculiar or out of the way?

A. Yes.

Q. What were they?

A. It was brought to my attention that he was mixing business with pleasure. What I mean by this was that instead of taking care of the needs of the old people who came in there with a grievance, he would try to sell them a Communist card.

Q. What do you mean by the fact that he would try and sell them a Communist card?

A. Well, he wanted to sign them up as members of the Communist Party.

Q. That was in the—

A. In the office of the Pension Union.

Q. Office of the Pension Union. Now, what year did this occur?

A. Well, that would have occurred in the year of '38.

Q. Here in the City of Seattle?

A. Here in the City of Seattle in the Lyon Building.

Q. Do you remember—I think you mentioned this morning that the Workers Alliance had been merged with the Pension Union?

A. That is right, following the folding up of W.P.A.

Q. Now, do you know whether or not any of the officers of that Pension Union were consulted about that merger, or not?

A. No, they just happened.

Q. What do you mean by that expression?

A. Well, at a convention there would be new faces show up.

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Q. Go ahead and just explain, Mr. Sullivan.

A. Well, in other words, the delegates would be—different ones would show up as delegates—people that were not in the pension movement, and a lot of younger people than there was when we formed the organization in 1937. In other words, they weren't people that were identified in any pension movement, whether it was the Townsend, or whether it was our organization. In other words, they were from other organizations and they kept coming into the Washington Old Age Pension Union, and attempting to set the policy.

Q. Were you familiar back there in those days with the newspaper referred to as the Washington New Dealer?

A. Yes.

Q. And I think also with the Sunday News?

A. Yeah, Sunday News—there were several names.

Q. And also the present paper referred to as being the New World?

A. New World, that is right.

Q. I will ask you to state when you were the president of the Old Age Pension Union what paper carried on its masthead the fact that it was an official organ of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Well, the Washington New Dealer.

Q. And what has been the official publication of the Old Age Pension Union since then?

A. The New World.

Q. That is a paper that—

A. A paper published in Seattle.

Q. The present paper now being published in Seattle, successor to the Washington New Dealer?

A. Right.

Q. I would like to ask you, Mr. Sullivan, if you were acquainted with a gentleman living over in Everett by the name of Art Johnson?

A. Yes.

Q. Also a lady by the name of Rose Parks?

A. Yes, both of them.

Q. I think they are probably married at this time, are they not? At the time you knew them were they married, or not?

A. No, they were not.

Q. Now, do you remember a Mr. W. E. McCarter, who was secretary or treasurer of the Everett local at that time?

A. Yes, I do. I recall McCarter real well.

Q. Will you spell McCarter's name?

A. M-c-C-a-r-t-e-r.

Q. All right, did any—was there any circumstance that was officially called to your attention by Mr. McCarter of the activities of Art Johnson and Rose Parks?

A. Oh, yes. The first time that I met McCarter, I went there on a Saturday evening to speak to their Pension Union meeting and the thing that impressed me with this fellow, and I never forgot him, was the fact that every time the Committee report was called for, up hopped this fellow. He was one of these—well, he was a man along in years, ruddy complexion, but he had the energy and the ambition of a young man, and every committee that was

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reporting, he would hop up; finance committee, he would hop up, and I was talking to him myself and some of the members after that, and he would go out of Everett and catch salmon and then put on salmon feeds. They would put on a little feed there for the Pension Union and raise funds. In other words, he was just a bundle of energy. Well he come to find out that after he was getting his money into the organization that they were supposed to have been sending delegates to a meeting—speakers to a meeting up in Darrington, and when the old fellow checked on it he found out that they didn't go up there to a Pension meeting in Darrington, the Pension Union in Everett financed delegates to go up to a Communist Party meeting in Darrington, and it burned the old fellow up so that he pulled out of the organization along with about half the membership and set up another organization in the spring of 1940.

Q. Now, you say that was called to your attention officially?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, did you subsequently make an investigation of that complaint?

A. Yes, I—

Q. What investigation did you make?

A. I went up there one Saturday night. Etta Tripp, no not Etta Tripp, but Bertha Atwood, Mr. Dixon and my wife and myself went up there, because they were putting on a lunch. We went up there to McCarter's Local, that was during the drive for Initiative signatures for 141, and incidentally, when he left the Union he was still circulating petitions for 141. We went up there to his meeting and we took part in the meeting and I gave a short talk and there we had a lot to eat afterwards, a general good time. When I went up there I know that the pressure was put upon me and upon two that accompanied me by Atkinson that we shouldn't be going up there to see this fellow because—well, he just—didn't belong in the Pension organization, and I recall one remark of our educational director, I said, "What's wrong with McCarter?" The educational director of the Pension Union at that time was Mrs. Etta Tripp. She says, "The trouble with him, he is getting dangerous. He is starting to think for himself." That's—

Q. And that is the remark she made relative to Mr. McCarter?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, what were your findings officially about the trip Art Johnson and Rose Parks took up to Darrington?

A. Well, I found out when I checked on it in Darrington that it was true.

Q. That they did go up there to this Communist Party meeting rather than the Pension Union?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, referring to some of the present as well as past officers of the Washington Pension Union, William Pennock, Thomas Rabbitt, N. P. Atkinson, Mabel Conrad, the present executive secretary, are any of those people receiving pensions at the present time?

A. No.

Q. Or are they even eligible to receive pensions?

A. Not for a long time.

Q. What segment of the membership of the Washington Pension Union are pensioners?

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A. That I couldn't say. I don't know what the makeup of the union is at the present time.

Q. Well, what segment of the Washington Pension Union at the time you left in 1940 were pensioners?

A. Oh, a large majority of them were drawing pensions.

Q. I have reference to the officers now, such as the president, the executive secretary and the various officers.

A. Well, I would say about half—half of the officers.

Q. And the other half were not drawing pensions?

A. That is right.

Q. Can you think of anything else, Senator, that is pertinent to this investigation that I haven't asked you?

A. No, but it might possibly be of interest to this committee and the hearing to just give my opinions on the Pension Union from the time I was in it, up to the time I got out, to the present day. The effect of this—of any organization, whether it is a pension organization or what it is, is based not upon its ability to do a job through its own membership, but to get help from outside its membership. I can go back to 1940 when we were circulating petitions for Initiative 141. We could have never, with our 30,000 membership in this state, put over Initiative 141. We had to do it through the help of other organizations. We had to be respected by other people throughout the state. As an illustration, myself, as a member of organized labor I was able to go, and I did, every night I would speak before different labor organizations and get their endorsement and get funds from them to support Initiative 141. I held meetings with the State Grange, with Mr. King, who is now dead, and with Railway Brotherhood, and in fact with the King County Medical Association. In other words, we had access to any organization in this state. We were that well thought of by the people of this state, and the fact, when Initiative 141 was voted upon in 1940 it was certainly shown that the people of this state were wholeheartedly behind us. I don't think there was a county in the state where Initiative 141 didn't carry by an overwhelming vote. Now what happened after 1940 is this—that the picture of leadership in the Old Age Pension Union drove out people who could draw other people to that organization and to its support.

That is one thing that the old people in this state need today, and they haven't got. They can't go to other organizations and get support. I was down to the Legislature the day in last session when the old folks were down there and they were down there on a just cause. But when they looked out and seen who was traipsing along with the old folks, all the good that they might have felt toward the old folks froze and nothing was done.

Q. Who were these people?

A. Well, there was Rabbitt, and there was Pennock, the usual coterie of them. In other words, members of the Communist Party. And as long as the people of the state know that these people are leading these old folks, even though they feel like they want to help, they won't.

MR. CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, before we go on, there is one point that I would like to clarify here, in that we want to at all times be as fair as possible. I think a statement was made which I feel perhaps was not made in the way that it should be made if there is information to support it. That is that a certain man was collecting thousands of dollars. I wonder if the witness has

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the facts to support that, or if he wishes to revise that statement. This is not the sort of statement that we wish to make unless it is supported.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. According to your testimony this morning, Senator Sullivan, regarding Mr. E. L. Pettus of Puyallup. Just what did you have in mind in making the statement that you made there as to the amount of money that he received?

A. This is common knowledge. Any person that attended the Puyallup Fair will remember a booth set up there in the year of 1938, September, and at that fair this organization, and Tom Brown was the leader of it—I don't give Pettus half the credit that I do Tom Brown in leading the people astray, because Tom Brown is a younger fellow and he knew better, but they were there and issuing membership cards and a lot of these old folks thought they were joining the Washington Old Age Pension Union and they found out they were joining this other organization. We hopped upon this thing so quickly that we isolated it just to Pierce County. I myself went over to Pierce County many a Sunday evening and spoke at their meetings.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Sullivan, may I interrupt? Did you have complaints from old people who joined this group who felt they were joining another organization? That is what we want to know.

A. Yes, sir. To show you the smallness of Brown, one time this old lady come into our office and told us about it. She lived outside of Puyallup. Never called up—didn't say a word. Brown came out there to her house in a car and said he was going to take care—help her to get an increase in her pension. Well, she was all for that, even though she didn't know him or anything about him. Well, then before he left he charged her for the gasoline that it cost him to go out there, and I think she paid him a dollar besides. She tells this herself in the office. But I mean, this was a common occurrence. I mean the members of the Pension Union at that time and the members of the State Board will well remember the fight that we had in our State Board meetings of clearing up that situation in Tacoma. It existed for at least six months.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Sullivan, you would not indicate that you had any knowledge of the amount of money that might have been raised through that channel; that was the point I wished to clear up.

THE WITNESS: Yes. It ran into thousands of dollars and we made every effort on our part, the Pension Union, of forcing them to turn the money over to the Washington Old Age Pension Union. We done it at our State Board meetings. We never got a penny.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is all.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, Senator, that is all.

WITNESS EXCUSED.

HOMER HUSON, having been duly sworn, testified on direct examination, as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name?

A. Homer Huson.

Q. How do you spell your last name?

A. H-u-s-o-n.

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Q. Where do you live, Mr. Huson?

A. 6024—32nd Ave., Southwest.

Q. What business or occupation are you engaged in at this time?

A. I am a truck driver, but at the present time I am working for an export company—an export package company for foreign goods.

Q. Mr. Huson, are you appearing here at this time voluntarily or as a result of being subpoenaed by this committee?

A. As a result of a subpoena.

Q. Mr. Huson, I will ask you to state whether or not you have ever held any official position with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. For quite a long while as the executive secretary of the Pension Union.

Q. Was that before the Pension Union was organized as a state organization, or after it was organized as a state organization?

A. After it was a state organization.

Q. Mr. Huson, I will ask you to state at this time if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not to my knowledge. I have not been a member of the Communist Party, although I have had the privilege to sit in in their fraction meetings, due to the fact that a member of the Communist Party came to me, stating that my dues were paid in the Communist Party and I was eligible to sit in in their fraction meetings.

Q. All right. Now, who was this member of the Communist Party that came to you with that information?

A. Keith Bradley.

Q. When did that occur?

A. That was in 1937.

Q. And where?

A. At his home.

Q. Here in Seattle?

A. In Georgetown, Seattle.

Q. Here in Georgetown, Seattle. I would like for you to tell this Committee, Mr. Huson, whether or not you were subjected to any criticism by the Communist Party at the time you were an executive secretary of the Old Age Pension Union relative to Communist Party affairs?

A. On numerous occasions I was criticized by the Communist Party, but for my being "thrown out," so to speak, it came about through the northwest organizer of the Communist Party, Lou Sass, which I was called to his office—shall I explain?

Q. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: How do you spell that?

THE WITNESS: L-o-u S-a-s-s.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Go ahead and explain that circumstance.

A. I was called to the office of Lou Sass with Bill Pennock and the proposition was put up to me that I was on my way out because they wanted to put William Pennock in as executive secretary—it would give him more prestige as running for office—some political office.

Q. Who made this proposition to you?

A. Lou Sass.

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Q. Where was this proposition made?

A. The number, I believe, is 1718 Smith Tower, Seattle.

Q. And when was this proposition made to you?

A. 1938.

Q. Do you know whether or not that address you gave was the Communist Party headquarters at that time?

A. It was not a Communist Headquarters that I know of, although it was the office of the northwest organizer who at that time was Lou Sass.

Q. It was the office of the Northwest organizer—

A. Not "organizer," excuse me. It was the secretary—northwest secretary. Rappaport—Morris Rappaport was the northwest organizer at that time.

Q. The office of the northwest secretary of what?

A. Communist Party.

Q. Thank you. Mr. Huson, what was the attitude of the Communist Party originally toward the organization of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Very definitely opposed to the Union in principle, as they wouldn't be any advantage to the Communist Party, first; second is they were opposed to the initiative proposition because previous to that an initiative had been put on the ballot, Number 115 by John C. Stevenson and which they used that, at that time, as stating that we had no possible chance of putting over a pension initiative.

Q. Mr. Huson, just going back one word further to that occasion when Mr. Sass made the proposition that Pennock take over your duties in the Old Age Pension Union, was there anyone else present other than Sass and Pennock at that time?

A. That was all.

Q. Just the three of you?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Thank you. Now, how long did you continue attending these Communist Party fraction meetings that you refer to?

A. As far as the Pension Union meeting fractions themselves, I continued even after William Pennock was the executive secretary, but it wasn't long—it was only a short while and it was due to the fact that N. P. Atkinson was placed into the Pension movement, and it seemed that at the time that he went in I was more or less isolated and forgotten about on these fraction meetings, or the understanding of how the pension union should work according to the line of the Communist Party.

Q. Now, you referred to the Pension Union fraction meetings. What were those fraction meetings—fraction meetings of what?

A. Of the Communist Party members.

Q. Within the Pension Union?

A. Party members of the Pension Union.

Q. Yes.

A. No member of the Pension Union unless he was an avowed Communist could attend these fraction meetings.

Q. Could attend those fraction meetings and you sat in those meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. Now then, what other members of the Washington Pension Union sat in those meetings whom you say would have to be an avowed Communist at the time you sat in? Will you name them, please?

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A. I can give you quite a list.

Q. Well, let's start out. Do you know N. P. Atkinson?

A. Correct.

Q. Did he sit in those meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. Those meetings generally were during what years?

A. Basic year was when the drive was on, and the political move, as I stated, on Initiative and infiltration into the Pension Union, was 1938.

Q. 1938—and you continued to—you say—a while after William Pennock was executive secretary, and what year was that?

A. Up until I imagine the middle of 1939.

Q. Middle of 1939. Did N. P. Atkinson sit in those fraction meetings in the Communist Party within the Pension Union?

A. Well, N. P. Atkinson has been a problem to the Communist Party. The members themselves don't know whether he is in or out of the party. Now he has been expelled two or three times to my knowledge, so there has been different times when he hasn't been in on the meetings, due to that fact.

Q. Do you remember a Mr. Ed Pettus, whose name has been mentioned here by Mr. Sullivan?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he sit in those fraction meetings?

A. Not to my knowledge. He was in Pierce County and most of this was done in King County.

Q. Do you know anything about those resolutions that Mr. Sullivan referred to, that Mr. Pettus introduced at the 1940 convention?

A. I recall the resolution definitely coming before the state board, and I also know the reason for it was that Tom Brown and Edward Pettus were in this organization in Pierce County and setting up a dual organization, as we called it at that time, whereby they were taking under a different heading twenty-five cent dues which many of these cards came into the office from pensioners themselves when they were being charged for these cards. Now as to the amount of money; no knowledge has come to me or at that time, on the report from the committee who investigated that, as to the actual figure of funds taken, but there were many cards, many of these application cards with signatures on them where they had paid twenty-five cents a card to Edward Pettus and to Tom Brown.

Q. Going back to this resolution now. Who introduced that resolution?

A. The resolution, I don't recall whose signature was on the resolution. In fact I read the resolution, but I can't recall—

Q. Now, did you ever hear of a Mrs. Clara Wheeler?

A. Yes. She took over on the grievance committee in place of O. R. Mundy. O. R. Mundy's job was to, as people came in, to ask them what their grievances were, and whether or not they could be helped through the County Commissioners or State Welfare, or whatever procedure we were using in order to have increases in their pay. O. R. Mundy was very well liked by the Pension Union and it was a mystery to me at that time why he was thrown out. He was a likeable person and he got along well with the old people and they came in more or less to talk to him after, if something could be done or couldn't be done in their case, nevertheless they liked to visit with him. Of course he'd have his weak moments and the Communist Party was

quite free at that time with their membership cards. It wasn't very much of a job for anybody to join the Communist Party. There were times when Mr. Mundy would very openly wear his Communist button, lay his card on the counter and ask the old people—in my estimation at times it sounded like it was intimidation, that if they didn't join the Communist Party they couldn't expect any results. Well, many of the old people took that attitude that they couldn't receive anything from the Pension Union and therefore it was more or less up to the officers to put him down to keep affiliations with the Communist Party.

Q. That was done, was it?

A. That was done fairly well, to our knowledge.

Q. You said a while ago that a number of persons sat in these Communist Party fraction meetings within the Pension Union, with you. Now, during the years 1938 and '39, would you be kind enough now at this time to enumerate those that you remember that were in these fraction meetings?

A. Well, as I stated, there was William Pennock, N. P. Atkinson, Clara Wheeler.

Q. Who?

A. Clara Wheeler. She took the place of O. R. Mundy. Mrs. and Mr. Roy Everett.

Q. Everett, E-v-e-r-e-t-t?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Anyone else?

A. Of course there were many more. There was J. C. Bourne.

Q. Did you know a John Boan back at that time?

A. Yes, and there is a little story behind John Boan. He was quite an active person for the literature being distributed to our conventions and our meetings. It seemed to fall on him to always have the papers and so on there at the door where people could buy them that wanted to buy them, and these papers naturally covered all issues, not necessarily pension issues, but issues for and to pensions, as well as others.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, for the record, there are two names: Bourne and Boan.

MR. WHIPPLE: He spelled them out, B-o-a-n and B-o-u-r-n-e, John B-o-a-n and J. C. B-o-u-r-n-e. Is that correct, Mr. Huson?

THE WITNESS: That's correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's the way I remembered them.

Q. You referred to this John Boan. Was he one of these Communists who sat in these fraction meetings with you?

A. No, I have—I couldn't say whether he was or not, but accordingly he followed the line of the Communist Party, which seems to me automatically explains itself whether they are in the Communist Party, because they don't dare vary from that party line.

Q. Now let's get back to the question of these persons who sat in fraction meetings of the Communist Party with you in the Old Age Pension Union. Did you know of a lady by name of Mabel Conrad?

A. No, I don't only that she was on the state board, but I had no meetings with you.

Q. Do you know Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes.

Q. What part did he play in the Old Age Pension Union with you?

A. Well, he is more or less of the higher bracket. He was president at that time of the Washington Commonwealth Federation. I had a little set-to with Hugh DeLacy on an issue over N. P. Atkinson. At a state board meeting a question came up that had to be referred to the Washington Commonwealth Federation after we had affiliated to them, condemning N. P. Atkinson for some misdemeanor that he had made, or something that he had done before the board—I can't recall just exactly what it was, but nevertheless in the minutes it shows that I have—that I was on that committee to report it to the Washington Commonwealth Federation and have an answer.

I went to the Washington Commonwealth Federation with that and brought it up in due time in the meeting to Hugh DeLacy, and Hugh DeLacy accused me of trying to disrupt their meeting, and at the same time Bill Dobbins there called me out in the hall and he was acting as their floor leader, as he usually does at conventions, both at the Pension Union and Washington Commonwealth Federation, and after I told him my story he said that he would take care of it and see that the proper steps was taken toward N. P. Atkinson, but from that time on I heard no more report, nor anything to the action that was taken on the request I was asked by a committee from the Washington Commonwealth Federation to report back.

In other words—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Just a moment, please. Will you have somebody abate that noise out there?

Q. You refer to the name Bill Dobbins. Did he ever sit with you in any of these fraction meetings, of the Communist Party?

A. For a long while Bill Dobbins—it really goes back further than the Workers' Alliance here, or the Washington Commonwealth Federation. It goes back to the time of the Project Workers' Union. Bill Dobbins has been active in all those organizations since that time.

Q. I think you mentioned the name Tom Rabbitt, did you?

A. Tom Rabbitt was more or less of a stranger to me. He came from across the lake, and approximately at the time of this here drive for political figures and he came in and it seemed like he wasn't in to the Pension Union a month he was made an officer and from there he seemed to have climbed right on into the Legislature.

Q. Did he sit in these fraction meetings with you?

A. Not—possibly he has, but I don't recall of any particular instance.

Q. Do you know a man named Merwin Cole?

A. Yes. Merwin Cole, we've sat at times for meetings of the Washington Commonwealth Federation of which Merwin Cole was on the committees of a fraction—Commonwealth Federation, that is.

Q. You refer to these fractions. Are you talking about fractions of the Communist Party?

A. Fractions are all by the Communist Party. I refer to all of them as from the Communist Party.

Q. And these persons that you referred to as sitting with you or you sitting with them in fraction meetings, you are always referring to fraction meetings of the Communist Party?

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A. Of the Communist Party. We don't have them in other organizations.
 Q. Do you know Art Johnson and Rose Parks?

A. I knew Art Johnson as state board director and Rose Parks also was state board director. I believe she was the—I am sure she was the organizer of the Everett County Council for the Washington Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Did a complaint come to your attention officially as executive secretary from this Pension Union about their activities?

A. Yes. There was a resolution sent in from the Everett Council by—I believe it was the same name mentioned from the former witness, of a Mr. McCarter setting down funds and what-not that had been used for promoting a Communist Party meeting in Darrington, Washington.

Q. When was that?

A. That was in '38. Of course I can't give you the exact date on that one, although I went up there to Darrington on an investigation of that charge.

Q. And what did your investigation officially reveal?

A. I investigated—my investigation shows that a Pension Union had been set up. While Mr. Sullivan was making a talk before the group, two women that I was introduced to and was sitting talking to, stated that this is under the Pension Union, but it isn't anything but the Communist Party; that we are only from the Communist Party and we have a lot of old people up here that would like to come into the Pension Union but we can't go for these old—these Communist members that they had in at the time.

Q. Mr. Huson, do you know of your own knowledge whether or not any of the Old Age Pension Union money was donated to any of the Communist so-called front organizations?

A. I don't believe there was any of them that the Pension Union didn't assist by delivering their literature or donating funds of those that have been mentioned here, namely, the League Against War & Fascism, O'Connor-Ramsey release, Harry Bridges deportation—oh, numerous of other ones of the same brand.

Q. What effect, Mr. Huson, did the infiltration of the members of the Communist Party have in the Old Age Pension Union so far as their losing the affiliation of other worthwhile organizations?

A. Well, first and foremost, we had a membership I know was over 38,000 people. With that 38,000 people, when an issue comes up before some other organization, they stop and think twice that they would like to have our support as well as we, theirs. We had pension meetings—

Q. What organization do you refer to?

A. Such as these names, A. F. of L., C. I. O., all organizations of that type. Then also the Communist Party or any other party. After all, 40,000 votes is a lot of votes for any politician.

Q. Okay. Now, will you continue with your—did you lose the influence and support of these organizations at any time?

A. Yes, we have on numerous occasions. We lost the Grange. How this happened, I don't know. It was referred to previously.

Q. Just name some of these you lost in order to kind a—to get into the record here. You lost the Grange. Do you remember any others?

A. We haven't got any. We lost everything.

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Q. You lost everything. Now, when was that first called to your attention?
 A. In 1938, at the time that the Communist Party took over the Washington Pension Union.

Q. I guess that is all, Mr. Huson. Thank you.

(Witness excused)

WARD F. WARREN, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Warren, will you please state your name and spell it out, and as you pronounce names that we haven't been discussing here, new names, will you spell them out for the sake of the record, because we have a recording device and it can't always get this spelling.

A. Ward F. Warren. W-a-r-d F. period, W-a-r-r-e-n, Warren.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Warren?

A. 905 Jefferson Street, Seattle, Washington.

Q. What is your occupation?

A. Stevedore, longshoreman.

Q. Has this always been your occupation?

A. No, it has not, for the past four years, approximately.

Q. What was your previous occupation?

A. Starting in 1933 I was King County storekeeper for a period of about two years, then I took a position in the Assessor's office, as deputy assessor for King County. I was on that position for approximately six years. Following that, I—prior to the war then that would be, just a—six or eight months prior to the outbreak of war I went to Portland, Oregon, and worked in the Kaiser shipyards there as a boilermaker and rigger, later returning about the middle part of the war to Seattle, working in the Lake Washington Shipyard as a rigger. Following that, and up to the present time I have been a stevedore and a longshoreman.

Q. Were you ever connected with the Washington New Dealer?

A. I have been advertising manager for a period of approximately six months of the Washington New Dealer, which is now the New World.

Q. Can you fix for us that time—what six months was that?

A. Well, Mr. Houston, that has been pretty near ten years ago. I would say approximately the latter part of 1938.

Q. Latter part of 1938?

A. Possibly the early part of '39.

Q. Was it shortly after the paper came into existence, or was it the latter part—I am trying to fix it a little more closely.

A. Well, the paper had had several names prior to the time I became advertising manager. My first remembrance is Washington Commonwealth; prior to the Washington Commonwealth, I should say the Commonwealth Builders, the Washington Commonwealth, the Sunday News, then I believe it went to the New Dealer and from there on it has gone now to the New World.

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Q. Were you connected with it when it was the Sunday News?

A. I believe the name was New Dealer—possibly it was the Sunday News, but I was connected with it right up until 1940 as far as promoting it and knowing practically all the staff at all times.

Q. Now you have mentioned the change of name of this paper. Was it the dissolution of one paper and the starting of another?

A. Well, I believe when the name of the paper was Sunday News, The Voice of Action, which is now a discontinued publication as I remember in 1937, the subscription list is the decision of the Communist Party, I later learned, to carry on the subscription list of The Voice of Action which is a well known Communist publication edited by Lowell Wakefield, I believed at one time, who ran as a Communist for the City Council here.

Q. When the paper changed then from the Sunday News to the Washington New Dealer did they again merge the subscription list?

A. When the paper changed from this Sunday News to the New Dealer?

Q. Yes. Part of your testimony here is that the paper was first the Voice of Action, then the Sunday News, then the Washington New Dealer.

A. No, it was first the Commonwealth Builders, to my knowledge.

Q. But that was back of this period that you were connected with it, though, was it not?

A. Well, I was connected with it more or less in a general way. I knew of its existence and belonged to it, to some extent, from 1934 and '35 on.

Q. Let's approach it in this way, then. Was it a merged subscription list or was it a totally different paper?

A. It was a totally different paper until 1937. The Voice of Action ceased to continue publication and the same people who previously were active in publishing the Voice of Action came up and took over control of what is now the New World.

Q. In other words, you testified that the Voice of Action is an openly known Communist paper?

A. That's to my knowledge.

Q. And those people took control of the new paper?

A. That is correct, and in taking control they decided to continue the subscription list of the old Voice of Action which they published.

Q. You are testifying here today in response to a subpoena issued by this Committee, are you not?

A. That's correct.

Q. Are you, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I was a member of the Communist Party. I believe I became a member in the latter part of 1937, possibly early part of '38, and was in good standing for a period of at least a year and a half or two years, in the Communist Party.

Q. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you were advertising manager for the Washington New Dealer?

A. Under the political circumstances that was absolutely necessary. Practically the entire staff, at least ninety per cent of them, were all members of the Communist Party when I was advertising manager, including the editor, circulation manager and some of the other people who contributed to its publication.

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Q. Can you list those names for me? Who was the editor?

A. James Cour, C-o-u-r, editor at the same period as when I was advertising manager, and Louise Sheffield who is now I understand married, and her last name is different; also a member of the Communist Party. She held a position more or less as circulation manager. Of course myself as advertising manager. Emma Taylor, who later—at the present time I understand she is now also married and her last name changed—she was also, if I remember, a member of the State Legislature—also a Communist. She worked in the office doing general clerical and office work in what is now the New World.

Q. These people worked right with you at the same time you worked on the paper?

A. That's correct.

Q. How do you know that they were members of the Communist Party?

A. Well, we had in the Commonwealth Federation as well as in the Pension Union, and we had what was called opened and closed fraction meetings for the purpose of controlling and discussing Communist political strategy in those organizations and people of course who attended those closed Communist unit meetings,—fraction meetings of those organizations, had to be Communists in order to attend. Generally speaking all the staff. We discussed among ourselves—we discussed the Communist political line and how best we could carry it out, very freely when no one else outside of the members of the Communist Party were present.

Q. Then you sat in the fraction meetings with these people?

A. I have sat in fraction meetings with all those that I have named, both in fraction meetings of the Commonwealth Federation as well as in the Communist fraction meetings of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Now I will ask you, Mr. Warren, at the time you were connected with this paper, did the masthead carry the statement "Official Publication of the Washington Old Age Pension Union"?

A. I know it was recognized as that, and to the best of my knowledge I would say it did. I know we recognized that and discussed making it that, and a vote was taken on it in the Pension Union, as I remember.

Q. Now, Mr. Warren, at the time you were in the Communist Party, was the Communist Party interested in the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Very much. It was interested in any people's organization as I later learned when I became a partially learned Communist, for the purpose of promoting the Communist political line as laid down, of course, by the Kremlin and the USSR.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Warren, if while you were active in these movements an effort was made to get control of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. An effort was made in the original organization of the Old Age Pension Union and then it was pretty much spearheaded by men like Howard Costigan who at that time was not a member of the Communist Party, to my knowledge, and Mr. James Sullivan, Mr. Huson who has just testified here, and many others. I did a lot of so-called campaigning for it in my line of signing up members, promoting the paper and so forth and so on, and that was of course in its early inception, 1937; along about 1938 it was very obvious that the Communists had infiltrated to the extent that they were going to dominate and control it, and they eventually did.

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Q. They eventually did get control of it?

A. That is correct. The same as they did to the Commonwealth Federation, which I attended the first Commonwealth Federation convention in 1935, was Sergeant-at-Arms in Tacoma, when some approximately fifteen Communist delegates came with Communist credentials stamped by the official seal of the Communist Party and they were voted—not seated by the convention—the convention voted not to seat them, and passed a ruling empowering them as such. I being Sergeant-at-Arms ushered them out the door. Of course later they came back disguised as labor delegates—Workers Alliance delegates and any other political organization outside of the Communist Party that they could penetrate and get elected as delegates to the Commonwealth Federation. The same strategy of infiltration was used in the Pension Union very largely.

Q. Who solicited you for membership in the Communist Party, Mr. Warren?

A. Bill Pennock, the president of the Old Age—state president of the Old Age Pension Union. He not only solicited me but he signed me up.

Q. He signed you up? He was successful in soliciting you?

A. That is right.

Q. Have you ever subsequently sat in any Communist Party meetings with William Pennock?

A. Bill Pennock was a member of my unit, as we called the Central District—the 35th District unit—it has a number, I believe, but met right downtown. They met all over the 35th District. I say the Communist Party, because it is a secret political organization to move their several meeting or unit meeting places from time to time so that the general public or other political groups cannot identify them. Pennock for a period of almost a year met in my unit, took charge in the Communist closed unit meetings with myself and many others.

Q. Now I will ask you for the sake of the record to fix, as closely as possible—you have testified that it was in the middle of '37—the time that Bill Pennock solicited you for membership in the Communist Party.

A. It's very difficult. It's either late in '37 I'd say, or '38. It's almost ten years ago. I—

Q. Late '37 or—

A. I had two membership cards. It was a policy that they changed their cards each year in order to check up on the amount of dues you paid, and the percentage of your salary. To be a good Communist it is necessary to pay a per cent of your earnings as dues, plus the contributions to such organizations as League Against War & Fascism, and other Communist front organizations.

Q. Now you have testified that you belonged to a little unit which met at various places. You have testified that Mr. Pennock regularly attended these meetings. Who else attended the meetings?

A. Well, if I remember, we had one of the largest units of that type in the city, being the downtown Communist unit. People who were members of my unit, Bill Pennock and some of the outstanding ones are Ernest Olson who is now active, I understand, in the Building Service Union and the Pension Union in Pierce County, Tacoma.

Q. That is the former state senator, Mr. Olson?

A. Yes. He is a present senator, I believe, Ernest Olson,—and he also, while he was a member of my unit, the 35th District, he was successful in

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recruiting his mother and father. They were quite elderly people and they joined my unit, the 35th District of the Communist Party.

Q. You have sat in closed Communist Party meetings, then, with Ernest Olson?

A. Numerous times. We met one time at my apartment when my wife was away. She was not a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Now, who else met in that unit with you, Mr. Warren?

A. Well, quite a few. A lady by the name of Bernice Steele who was a member of that unit. Mrs. Fox—

Q. Who was that?

A. Mrs. Fox.

Q. Do you know her initials?

A. Well, she is the wife of Ernie Fox—

Q. The wife of—

A. A well-known Communist that attended my unit. John Boan, an elderly man—

Q. Now will you spell that—we have several names of Boan here. Is that B-o-a-n?

A. I believe, yes, it would be B-o-a-n. John Boan, a small and elderly man. He was active in the Pension groups later.

Q. That man is presently the vice-president of the Washington State Pension Union?

A. That is my understanding, that he is. I saw him, I believe, here yesterday.

Q. He was here in this meeting yesterday?

A. Yes, he was. I don't see him here today, however. I—

Q. Well, do you recall the names of any others, Mr. Warren?

A. Well, names of just average rank and file Communists, unless they are outstanding—you get well acquainted with them. You are warned not to use their correct names in the meeting, and you just know them as Communists or by their Communist Party name.

Q. Did you have a Communist Party name?

A. Well, that was optional. When I first went in I just—well, I just give my right name and that's okeh by me, and the second year when they changed cards—party membership cards, they advised me that I should take an assumed name, and I did.

Q. Let's come back a little bit to the time that you were employed by the paper. At that time who controlled the policy of the paper?

A. Well, the policy was controlled of course by the Communist Party here locally. However, there was—the people most active in laying down the policy after it became a Communist controlled paper were such people as Hugh DeLacy, a member of the Communist Party; Howard Costigan, a member of the Communist Party; Bill Pennock; and of course the executive boards of the Old Age Pension Union, Washington Commonwealth Federation, with their chairmen upon various executive boards.

Q. You have testified that the Communists have infiltrated the Old Age Pension Union and the Washington Commonwealth Federation. Had they

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infiltrated to such a degree that they controlled the executive board at that time?

A. By 1940, yes. In 1938 practically they controlled it.

Q. Would it be a correct statement—is it your testimony then, that the Communist Party through its members controlled the policy of the Washington New Dealer?

A. Absolutely. They discussed very openly with the rest of us Communists when they came up from the Voice of Action in 1937, as I remember it, and ceased publication of the Voice of Action by a—as to how to best carry out—to take care of subscribers or subscriptions to the Voice of Action. They said, "Well, we will just carry on with this paper."

Q. You have testified that Hugh DeLacy is a member of the Communist Party. Upon what do you base that testimony?

A. Well, I've visited DeLacy's home. I've been in campaigns with him. I have met in closed Communist fraction meetings with him, concerning the Commonwealth Federation, Communist work and how best we could carry it out. He never denies it to me, and,—ah—in the last campaign we originated a little idea of offering a new car free to anyone who could prove that he ever had opposed Russian foreign policy while a Congressman of the United States, because no Communist is allowed, up to the present time at least, to—in my experience as a Communist, to oppose Russian foreign policy and side with any other nation. We offered this car on the basis that,—I believe the slogan was, as I remember now, "Prove that DeLacy has ever supported the United States' foreign policy and opposed Russian foreign policy when a conflict existed," and there was much conflict while he was in the Congress of the United States, but he never attempted, or any one else, to win the automobile.

Q. No taker then?

A. No takers.

Q. Your testimony then is that you have repeatedly sat in closed fraction meetings with him. Was there anybody present there but Communists?

A. No, there wasn't. They wouldn't be allowed in closed fraction meetings.

Q. In fraction meetings—you have to be a Communist to get into closed fraction meetings?

A. That's right. However, Communists do hold what they call open fraction meetings.

Q. Now I didn't have the paper at the time I was questioning you. Is this the paper you worked for?

A. Yes, that is the paper.

Q. You can identify that as the name and—

A. Yes, that is the same copy.

Q. And that carries the statement "Washington Old Age Pension Union," does it not?

A. That is correct.

Q. Then that is the basis for your statement and document that this was the official publication of the Old Age Pension?

A. It was to my knowledge and used to feed propaganda to the old age pension groups—the Communists' propaganda, after the Communists got control of the paper and the Commonwealth Federation.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 5.

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Q. Now, while you were an official connected with this paper in an official capacity, did it ever deviate from the Communist Party line?

A. No, it never deviated from the Communist Party line. The Communist Party don't permit that sort of thing. No Communist deviates very long. I was charged with deviating, and I didn't last very long.

Q. You deviated but the paper didn't. The paper is still in business, and you're not.

A. That's right.

Q. Now you mentioned Howard Costigan as a member of the Communist Party. What leads you to believe that?

A. Why of course I had a long association with Howard Costigan. I started in 1935, when I was assisting him in his work as organizer of the Commonwealth Builders, at first, and then the Commonwealth Federation. I purchased a new automobile on the salary of \$150.00 a month, and figured that as long as he was working—organizing these peoples who were in more or less of my class in society, and helping as I thought to solve some of the unemployment problems as well as the paper problem, that the car was his, free, and he used it of course for two years. I later sold it to him for \$300.00, after two years' use. Previous to this I spent considerable money and time helping him and of course we became very close friends and political associates.

Q. Has he admitted to you that he was a Communist?

A. Well, he has never said that he held a book—a membership book in the Communist Party. However, he was the man who came back to me after I had been forced off two jobs in the courthouse by indirect Communist political pressure, and getting two other jobs by them, and he was the man who reported to me that the Communist Party had made the decision that I was just too active in the organizations that they were interested in, with the idea of forcing me out of those organizations, and forced me into the Communist Party, and I of course knew by the meetings that he was attending that he had become a trusted Communist at that time, so about six months after that I joined the Communist Party.

Q. Mr. Warren, we have a large group of people here and they are interested in your testimony. If it doesn't inconvenience you, would you speak just a little louder?

A. Yes, I am sorry. I have a cold, of course. Virus-X I guess it is.

Q. Did Bill Pennock ever make any statement to you about his past history or employment or activities within the Communist Party?

A. Well, he said that it was the wishes of the Communist Party, or a directive—an order—an order from the Communist Party is something like an order in the Army. You either do or else, and for him to leave his position—I believe it was the Bon Marche he was working in, and to work in the Commonwealth Federation, and later, of course, in the Old Age Pension Union. It was an assignment—that is known by the Communists as a Communist assignment for the purpose of control and infiltration.

Q. Do you know N. P. Atkinson?

A. I know N. P. Atkinson very well, yes.

Q. Did you have any association with N. P. Atkinson in any of these organizations that you have detailed to us?

A. Over a period of several years' time, yes. N. P. Atkinson was of course a Communist same as myself, and met in secret fraction meetings with Com-

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munists discussing policy concerning these various organizations—Workers' Alliance, Pension Union, Commonwealth Federation are three of the key organizations, and later are listed as local democratic parties.

Q. Whenever you can, get as close as you can on dates, but for the sake of the record, all of this testimony of yours is for that period of a year and a half or two years you were in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, that is right. 1938, 1939, 1940—and a portion of '40.

Q. Do you know H. C. "Army" Armstrong?

A. I know H. C. Armstrong very well. He is a former state legislator and also a member of the Communist Party. I understand that several years ago, though, he left the Communist Party, or the Communist Party left him. Those things are never known completely.

Q. Was he a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?

A. Yes, he was, and he was also what we call "purged"—liquidated at the time I was in the Communist Party.

Q. Did you ever sit in any Communist Party meetings with him?

A. I have sat in closed Communist fraction meetings with him, yes. The Commonwealth Federation discussed Communism with him, as well as all the rest of the United Nations' hearings.

Q. Do you know Terry Pettus?

A. Terry Pettus is the present editor of the New World and he is the editor who succeeded James Cour and came in shortly after I left as advertising manager. I have known him for a number of years—known his wife very well. Always—as long as I have known him he has been a member of the Communist Party, since he became editor of the—

Q. Did you ever sit in any meetings with Terry Pettus?

A. Oh, yes, all the Communists mentioned met in the—particularly the most active ones, met in these closed fraction meetings of these various organizations.

Q. Ever sat in any meetings with his wife?

A. Oh, yes, she was present at least fifty per cent of the time. I drove Terry Pettus on an assignment down to what I believe they called the Clam County Democratic convention, down past Aberdeen—down there at one time when he was sent to attempt to get the—that democratic group there to go along with the Commonwealth Federation program, which of course, was the Communist front organization at that time. I drove he and his wife down there and another young lady, making four in my car.

Q. And your relationship with him was so close that there was no attempt made to cover up your membership in the Party—it was just accepted between all of you?

A. Absolutely none whatsoever.

Q. Do you know Morris Rappaport?

A. I know Morris Rappaport. I visited his home, and talked to him on Communist matters. He is organizer—northwest district organizer of the Communist Party in this section. We called him Rapport. The name should be pronounced Rappaport. For short we all called him Morris Rapport. I visited Morris Rappaport's apartment when he was in hiding because of an Immigration difficulty. I couldn't set the exact date—possibly in 1939. It may have been later, in order to discuss a change or an important political decision which involved the Commonwealth Federation, and discussed this with him

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in the presence of Howard Costigan, Bill Dobbins, former president of Building Service Local 6. He is also a member of the Communist Party. I have seen his membership book, of course.

Q. You have seen Bill Dobbins' membership book?

A. Yes. He showed me his book after I became a member of the Communist Party when he was foreman—foreman of the Haller Lake District—that's North King County road district.

Q. Was the book issued in his name or some other name?

A. Well, I didn't look at the name because I didn't want to be too inquisitive. It was a Communist Party membership book. He pulled it out and he made the remark to other Communists present in the office out there and I was advertising manager of the now New World, and I was soliciting greeting ads for one of the conventions—I don't know whether it was the Pension Union or the Commonwealth Federation at the time—and we got into a discussion about Communists, and there were some people there—one or two—friendly but not Communists, and Bill Dobbins pulled out his membership book and said, "Well, I am not afraid of being a Communist, and I am not ashamed of it." He said, "I will show you my Communist membership book," so I looked at it, and so—

Q. You recognized it as a Communist Party book?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And similar to the one you carried?

A. The same thing, exactly. It is a very good book, incidentally, that he has, and he has a number of donation stamps in there—donations to the League Against War and Fascism which I didn't have in my book.

Q. Now, did Morris Rapport ever exercise any control over the editorial policy of the paper—did he ever give any orders or did you ever see him around the office?

A. No, he would not. They were being used—these organizations, both the Pension Union and by that time in the Commonwealth Federation were being used as Communist front organizations under their control, and any known official of the Communist Party was very careful not to be seen in those offices. That was part of the strategy of keeping the Communist control secret, and orders that came as far as the paper and any other policy that concerned Morris Rappaport was done either by messenger or usually by a visit of a top Communist to his office or his home.

Q. You have testified that James Cour was the editor. Was he a Communist?

A. James Cour was a member of the Communist Party for a number of years, and was a member of the Communist Party in good standing when he was editor of the paper and all during the time he was editor of the paper. However, he is since—he is a very close personal friend of mine, and I understand he has since left the Communist Party and that was about the time he ceased to be editor of the paper.

Q. You have sat in Communist Party meetings with him?

A. Oh, yes. We discussed Communism for several years.

Q. Now did you know an employee on the paper by the name of Baba Jeanne Sears?

A. I knew Baba Jeanne Sears very well. She was a very capable office worker, a good speaker and very active in carrying out the Communist Party

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line. She has since married. She was active in assisting in the paper up there —what is now the New World and I believe her name now is Baba Jeanne Decker.

Q. Baba Jeanne Sears Decker?

A. Yes. That is her present name since she married.

Q. Do you know Irene Borowski?

A. I knew her very well. She is also a member of the Communist Party and works in the Commonwealth Headquarters as well as assisting with some of the newspaper—putting the newspaper together—newspaper work, typing, clerical work—such as that—general office work.

Q. Do you know Elizabeth Taylor Andrak?

A. Well, that is the lady that I already mentioned—Emma Taylor as I remember her. Emma Taylor in the office there. However, the name Andrak —she married a man by that name in later years. She was also a member of the state legislature and she took care of subscriptions in the office and office work of the New World.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, will you also keep in mind the spelling of these names so that it may go in the record correctly?

Q. Andrak, is it spelled A-n-d-r-a-k?

A. That is correct.

Q. Borowski, B-o-r-o-w-s-k-i, Borowski?

A. I think it is pronounced that way, however.

Q. Do you know Thomas Rabbitt, state senator?

A. I know Thomas Rabbitt very well.

Q. Is Thomas Rabbitt a member of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes, he was a member of the Communist Party, at the same time as I was, and has continued right up to the present time to carry out the Communist Party lines. My observations here in the recent campaigns—

Q. You have sat in closed meetings with Thomas Rabbitt?

A. Oh, a number of them, and discussed Communism with him many times.

Q. I believe your testimony was that you also sat in closed meetings with Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes, I sat with Hugh DeLacy in the presence of Morris Rapport, the northwest district organizer of the Communist Party when I was a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know John Caughlin, C-a-u-g-h-l-i-n?

A. Yes, I know John Caughlin, attorney here in town, very well. I knew him as a Communist, or rather as a member of the Communist Party. He apparently still carries out the Communist Party line from my observation in recent campaigns—recent political activities, and in his profession as an attorney and in newspapers.

Q. Would the same testimony be true of him that you have sat in fraction meetings with him?

A. Yes. He often attended closed Communist unit—closed Communist fraction meetings in both the Commonwealth Federation and the Pension Union after it became Communist controlled for the purpose of giving legal advice to the Communist members there and how to best carry forward their political activities and various initiatives and they would discuss in regards to such things as pension initiatives, and that sort of thing. I also had an assign-

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ment to drive Attorney John Caughlan to Aberdeen during the Dick Law case in which he acted as attorney on behalf of Dick Law. That was the Aberdeen case. I drove him down there and in the car was Howard Costigan and Ellen McGrath—we called "Scoop McGrath." She was a reporter—was here at that time, and I believe still does some of that work for the People's World in San Francisco; also does a little side reporting for the New World and is a member of the Communist Party the same as John Caughlan, Howard Costigan and myself during that period of time.

Q. Were you told to drive them down and make this trip to Aberdeen by officials of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. That is, leading Communists—Communists who ranked above me advised me that it was the wishes of the headquarters of the Communist Party that I drive John Caughlan down, because there was considerable disturbance down there, and they felt that there was quite a bit of danger of labor difficulty going on over this Dick Law, and the murdering of his wife. This assignment was to go down there—John Caughlan, mine to drive him down and his, we discussed it on the way, was to go down and pick up the evidence that was available down there in regards to the Dick Law case which we did, and returned here late at night, and John Caughlan when we got back —Howard Costigan suggested that the three of us come up to my room, and I was living at the time at the Windsor Apartment-Hotel. They came up to the room and John Caughlan stated that he was a little leary about—afraid to go home that night across the lake—he was living across the lake at the time—with his brief case full of evidence which he had. The opposition to Dick Law in Aberdeen—some of those people were very desirous of getting hold of some of this evidence that he had in his brief case. So I invited him to stay in my hotel room that night; that I could stop across the hall with some friends and he could have the room there. He decided to do that, and Howard Costigan stayed with him. The two of them occupied the room all night that night because there was—apparently afraid of going home alone.

Q. Do you know Hazel Anne Wolfe?

A. Yes. I knew her as a Communist and I was subpoenaed in Federal Court over—her application for citizenship was denied because of Communist activities or her denial of them, she was a member of the Communist Party. That is apparently carrying out the Communist Party line. I so testified in Federal Court under oath. Her citizenship was refused.

Q. Do you know Richard Seller, commonly called "Dick" Seller, who was secretary to the former Congressman DeLacy and was campaign manager for Mr. Savage in the Third District for the recent Congressional election?

A. Yes. I know Dick Seller. I knew him as a Communist, when I was a member of the Communist Party and we worked in Communist front activities somewhat together in various mayoralty campaigns here.

Q. The fact of the matter, Dick Seller joined the party about the time you did, did he not?

A. Well, I wouldn't be too sure of that, but that was my observation and I never checked into it. But it would be my opinion that he joined at approximately the same time as I did. However, I could not be sure of that. That would be my own opinion.

Q. Do you know Harvey Jackins?

A. I know Harvey Jackins very well, yes. He is a member of the Com-

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unist Party. He is former business agent of Building Service Local 6. I have known him for a period of about eight to ten years. He was a member of the Communist Party and I appeared at the Building Service Local 6 trial and so stated there under oath, and I understand that he has since been removed from several unions, Local 6 and another union, as I understand, because of his Communist activities.

Q. Do you know William Ziegner, commonly called Bill Ziegner?

A. Know him very well. Bill Ziegner, I worked with him in the North Road district for a few weeks when we were both members of the Communist Party. He's a member and his mother also, to my knowledge, is a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know Robert Camozzi?

A. Yes, I know Robert Camozzi. He is an employee of the Post-Intelligencer.

Q. An employee of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer?

A. Yes, in the circulation department of the Post-Intelligencer.

Q. What was said about him?

A. He is a member of the Communist Party, of course—he is continuing to follow the Communist Party line. We used to both follow it together.

Q. Have you sat in party meetings with Bob Camozzi?

A. He belonged apparently to a different section of the Communist Party than I did, and when I would sit in—the only meetings I would sit in with him would be the same closed Communist fraction meetings in these front organizations. He was very active. He never denied to me that he was a Communist. I knew him as a Communist in the recent '46 campaign when I organized the Progressive League for Communist factions. Though maybe he thought that I was a fine fellow at one time, but I certainly was no good now because I was opposing Communists. We generally had a very bad time because of my political activities against the Communists.

Q. Do you know George Hurley?

A. I knew George Hurley for approximately ten years. He is a member of the Communist Party—a Communist at the same time that I was and still up to as late as the last campaign. My observation as a former Communist is that he is still following the Communist Party line.

Q. Do you know Merwin Cole?

A. I knew Merwin Cole probably ten or twelve years. He also was of course a member of the Communist Party, and I learned that he has been a member for approximately—at least fifteen years after I became a member of the Communist Party and I so stated in the Local 6 Building Service, A. F. of L. that is, union trial, and as a result he and—he was—he and the president—he was the secretary-treasurer and Ward Coley, were all removed from leadership in that union.

Q. Now these people that you have named and we have been discussing, were they active in the Old Age Pension Union?

A. They were—not all of them were assigned to that. Communists work more or less through assignments, and some of them were, such people as Bill Ziegner, Thomas Rabbitt, and Merwin Cole had done some work, I believe, but I wouldn't say that he was too active in it to my knowledge, but the great majority of them were from time to time, particularly during the infiltration process or when the Communists were out to capture the organization.

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Q. Were all of these people active in some form of Communist front activity?

A. Well, you must—to be a good Communist you must remain active and carry out your assignments, and they are very active if they are good Communists, and all those that you have mentioned here were very good Communists, and very active.

Q. From your knowledge of the Communist Party, and the activities that you participated in, would you be in a position to state whether or not the party line in all these organizations you have mentioned today, would be the same at the same time?

A. The party line all over the world, as I learned it, is the same as far as the Communist Party is concerned. It is just a matter of getting the orders through from time to time, as far as the political line is concerned. We are allowed—of course the Communist front organizations are—they don't announce that they are Communist in their activities, but they always follow the same political line, and of course they are all at the present time anti-Marshall Plan and anti-relief to any country that isn't Communist controlled or Communist.

Q. Now to sum up, during the period of time that you were a member of the Communist Party, did the Communist Party have control of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. The Communist Party, as soon as the Old Age Pension Union became an outstanding political organization, they of course became very desirous, and it was discussed by the Communists of capturing it, and that process was completed thoroughly by at least 1940, but they were pretty much in control in '39 on, and have remained so as far as top offices of the Pension Union is concerned, up to the present time.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be at recess for—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, may I make a suggestion? We have two witnesses here who have come under great difficulty to get away from their business and it's very pressing, and the testimony of neither will take over five minutes. May we put these two on, with the understanding that we confine it to five minutes?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, you may proceed.

(Witness Excused)

CLIFFORD A. STONE, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. Clifford A. Stone.

Q. How do you spell your name, Mr. Stone?

A. C-l-i-f-f-o-r-d S-t-o-n-e.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Stone?

A. 5003 26th Avenue South.

Q. And your business, please?

A. Photography.

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Q. Do you know a man by the name of Ed Friel?

A. Yes, sir, I do.

Q. Spell Mr. Friel's last name?

A. I believe it is F-r-i-e-l.

Q. Did you know him during the fall of 1938?

A. I did.

Q. Where did he live at that time?

A. He lived a few blocks from me, I think on 12th, 11th or 12th West.

Q. Are you here as the result of subpoena today?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have occasion to visit Mr. Friel at his residence in the City of Seattle in 1938?

A. Mr. Friel?

Q. Mr. Friel.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What period of 1938 was that?

A. Around October or November.

Q. Who was with you on that occasion?

A. My wife, or wife-to-be, rather.

Q. Where did you visit Mr. Friel?

A. At his home.

Q. Who was present on the occasion of that visit?

A. Mr. and Mrs. Friel and Mr. John Caughlan.

Q. Further identifying John Caughlan. Will you state who he is at the present time?

A. An attorney.

Q. Do you know whether or not he is also a vice-president of the Washington Pension Union?

A. I couldn't be sure, no.

Q. Did you have a conversation with John Caughlan at Mr. Friel's residence on the occasion you have just mentioned?

A. Yes, we had a conversation.

Q. What was that conversation, briefly?

A. It dealt principally on questions of politics at that time which was around the 1938 campaign and also question of my membership or proposed membership in the Communist Party.

Q. What, if anything, directing your attention now to your proposed membership in the Communist Party, what, if anything, did Mr. Caughlan propose to you?

A. He asked me to join the Communist Party.

Q. You say your wife or your wife-to-be was with you at that same time?

A. That's right.

Q. I understand you were soon married thereafter?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you to state if you later during that same year had occasion to visit the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Ziegner, Jr.?

A. I did.

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Q. When was that?

A. I can't be sure of the time. It was shortly after we were married, however, because we had obtained a residence at 1200—6th Avenue North.

Q. What year, Mr. Stone?

A. Either the latter part of '38 or the beginning of '39.

Q. Now will you state please who was present at this meeting?

A. It was a fraction meeting of the Communist Party. I wasn't informed of that, however, until I got there. I understood it was a meeting of the Democratic Precinct Committee meeting.

Q. Who did you find present after you did get there?

A. Well, there was Mr. William Ziegner, Sr., and Bill Ziegner, Jr., Mr. John Caughlan, Ed Friel and another gentleman who was chairman of the committee that I had previously met in Tacoma, but I just don't remember his name.

Q. Is that the same Ed Friel in whose home you were visiting previously?

A. That is right.

Q. When John Caughlan solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. That is correct.

Q. Going back to that occasion just for one other word. Did Mr. Friel divulge to you at that time his membership in the Communist Party?

A. You mean at his home?

Q. Yes.

A. No, he did not.

Q. Now, on the occasion of this visit at the home of William Ziegner, Jr., was there anything said on that occasion about your joining the Communist Party?

A. Yes. I was invited to join the Communist Party again.

Q. Who made that invitation?

A. Practically everyone present.

Q. Did any particular person present make such invitation or request?

A. The meeting was a fraction meeting of the Communist Party.

Q. How did you determine that fact?

A. Because everyone there made it a point of trying to get my wife and I to join the Party.

Q. Were you solicited by John Caughlan on that occasion to join the Communist Party?

A. Yes, by Friel and also William Ziegner, Jr.

Q. Do you know a party by the name of William Pennock?

A. I do.

Q. Is that the same William Pennock who at the present time is president of the Washington Pension Union?

A. That is what I understand.

Q. May I ask you if you were ever solicited to join the Communist Party by William Pennock?

A. I was.

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Q. Will you designate the time and the places, please?

A. The place was at the Washington Commonwealth Federation headquarters when it was at Third and Marion—I've forgotten the building. The Pension Union also had their headquarters there at that time and so did the New Dealer, I think.

Q. Do you remember what year that was?

A. I think that was in 1939. It might be '40, but I think it was '39.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Harvey Jackins?

A. Yes, sir, very well.

Q. Were you ever solicited to join the Communist Party by him?

A. I was.

Q. Where and when?

A. At the same place. Not at the same time, though.

Q. What year was that, if you remember?

A. Approximately 1939.

Q. What was the occasion?

A. Just met him in the hall and he solicited my membership—asked me to join the Party. At that time I was active in the Aeronautical Mechanics Union and it seemed that my membership was desirable.

Q. Do you know a Mrs. Kay Telford?

A. Yes.

Q. Telford. Will you spell the last name?

A. T-e-l-f-o-r-d. She is the husband of Sam Telford.

Q. Wife of Sam Telford?

A. The wife, I mean.

Q. Do you know Ernie Fox?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not if either Kay Telford or Ernie Fox ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Both of them.

Q. Where, or on what occasion was that?

A. In the room of an artist in the IOOF Hall. I think it was on the third or fourth floor.

Q. The name of that artist was what? Do you remember?

A. Dick Correll.

Q. How would you spell that?

A. I think it was C-o-r-r-e-l-l.

Q. I will ask you to state if you know a person by the name of Victor Hicks?

A. Very well.

Q. I will ask you to spell his last name.

A. H-i-c-k-s.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not he ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. When, and on what occasion?

A. About a block from our home on Aurora Avenue one night when we were returning from a meeting in the Ballard Hall, of Browder.

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Q. You use the name Browder. Do you refer to Earl Browder, who formerly was the head of the Communist Party in the United States of America?

A. That is right.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Glen Kinney?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Eugene Dennett?

A. Yes.

Q. Spell the name of Kinney and Dennett, please.

A. D-e-n-n-e-t-t, I think is Gene Dennett's name, and Kinney's is K-i-n-n-e-y.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not they ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party.

A. Of Kinney I am sure; I am not positive right now about Dennett.

Q. All right. Going to the occasion of Kinney's soliciting your membership in the Party, where did that happen, and upon what occasion?

A. In the home of Hugo Lundquist who was then the business agent of the Aeronautical Mechanics' Union. We had lunch at his home.

Q. I will ask you to state if you remember a meeting in the Union Cafe over on First Avenue?

A. That is correct.

Q. Back in the spring of 1939?

A. That is right.

Q. Were you solicited to join the Communist Party there?

A. Yes. As I now recall, it was Ernie Fox, Gene Dennett and Hugo Lundquist, a little fellow from Port Angeles—I have forgotten his name now, and I think one or two others—I have forgotten their names.

Q. Who of that group solicited your membership in the Communist Party, then?

A. Ernie Fox. I am not quite positive—I think Gene Dennett, but I am not positive of that. I wouldn't want to state that—

Q. Thank you, Mr. Stone, for all this—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you, Mr. Stone.

(Witness Excused)

ANNE M. STONE, having been duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. You may state your name.

A. Anne M. Stone.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Stone?

A. 5003—26th South.

Q. What relation are you to the previous witness who just testified?

A. Wife.

Q. What business or occupation are you engaged in at this time?

A. Photography.

Q. Here in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes.

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Q. Mrs. Stone, I would like to ask you just a general question. Has your membership ever been solicited into the Communist Party?

A. Yes, it has.

Q. Will you tell this committee when, where and by whom?

A. Mr. Hicks is one I remember and he handed me a card, along with Mr. Stone at the time we were coming back from the meeting at the hall in Ballard.

Q. Do you remember about that year—what year it was?

A. Yes, 1939.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of John Caughlan?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Did you ever have occasion to be present at a meeting where he was present, in the home of Ed Friel?

A. Yes.

Q. Where was that?

A. At Ed Friel's home on Queen Anne Hill.

Q. Do you remember the year or date, approximately?

A. In 1938.

Q. I will ask you to state if your membership to the Communist Party was solicited on that occasion?

A. I don't believe they solicited my membership. I was not then married to Mr. Stone, but I know they solicited his membership, and I put up an argument on it.

Q. You put up an argument on the question. Is that the reason you remember it?

A. That's right.

Q. All right. Now, then, did you at any time thereafter visit in the home of William Ziegner?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Were you married to Mr. Stone at that time?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Where was that meeting held?

A. At Bill Ziegner's home.

Q. In the City of Seattle?

A. Yes, about a block from where we lived on 6th Avenue North.

Q. Do you remember what year or what time of the year that was?

A. It was in 1939, because it was after we were married.

Q. Just relate if you will, to the stenographer, please, the names of the persons that you remember that were present on that occasion?

A. I remember Mr. and Mrs. William Ziegner. Mrs. Ziegner invited me to the meeting. She came down and declared it was a precinct committee meeting of the Democratic Party, and I reported that information to Mr. Stone and we went up there in the evening, and Bill Ziegner, Jr. was there, and John Caughlan and Ed Friel, the gentleman from Tacoma that Mr. Stone mentioned—I didn't know him, but I did know he was there, Mr. Stone told me so.

Q. All right. Was the subject of the Communist Party mentioned on this occasion?

A. Yes. It was declared as a fraction meeting and that we were the only

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members who were not members of the Communist Party and they were soliciting our membership at that time.

Q. Now who, Mrs. Stone, made that declaration?

A. I know that Ed Friel did because he was getting quite a laugh out of Mr. Stone not knowing that he was a member of the Communist Party and that he had been the treasurer of the Queen Anne unit for quite a few years, and he hadn't divulged that information at the time he spoke to him at his own home, but did tell us at that time that he was.

Q. In other words, if I understand you correctly, at the time John Caughlan solicited his membership in the Communist Party at the Ed Friel home, Mr. Friel did not divulge the information that he was a Communist at that time?

A. That is right.

Q. At this later meeting at Mr. William Ziegner's home, he did divulge that information?

A. That is right.

Q. Together with the fact that he had been the secretary did you say, of the Queen Anne unit?

A. I believe he was the treasurer.

Q. Treasurer of the Queen Anne unit. Was there anything stated by the persons present there as to whether the other persons present were Communists, or not?

A. I believe the statement was made that we were the only people there who were not members of the Communist Party and that it was a fraction meeting, and they got quite a laugh out of inviting us to a Democratic Precinct committee meeting and having it turn out to be a Communist fraction meeting.

Q. Mrs. Stone, did you or your husband, or either of you, ever join the Communist Party as the result of the solicitation of these various persons?

A. Definitely not.

Q. Mrs. Stone, going back to the time you visited at the Friel residence, who was present, besides yourself, there?

A. Mr. and Mrs. Friel; Mrs. Friel was not in attendance at the conversation for the whole period of time, but was going in and out between the kitchen and the living room. And John Caughlan and Mr. Stone and myself.

Q. I think that's all. Thank you very much, Mrs. Stone.

(Witness Excused)

(Recess)

(After recess of a few minutes, the hearing was resumed and the following proceedings were had):

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will now be in session. Proceed, Mr. Houston.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please call the witness, Mrs. Fogg.

KATHRYN FOGG, having been duly sworn, testified on direct examination, as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. As we proceed, Mrs. Fogg, will you spell all names that are being used here.

Please state your name.

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- A. My name is Kathryn Fogg, K-a-t-h-r-y-n F-o-g-g.
- Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Fogg?
- A. 7764—14th Avenue Southwest.
- Q. What is your occupation?
- A. I am working at the present time on the information desk.
- Q. Are you the Kathryn Fogg who formerly was a member of the legislature of the State of Washington?
- A. I am.
- Q. What years did you serve in the Legislature?
- A. I served in the session of 1939.
- Q. I will ask you, Mrs. Fogg, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?
- A. Yes, I have.
- Q. Can you state the approximate date that you joined the Communist Party?
- A. Either the last month or so of '37 or the first month of '38. I can't exactly determine the actual date.
- Q. Did you receive a book in the Communist Party—a membership book?
- A. I did.
- Q. Was that in your name?
- A. It was.
- Q. Did you belong to any other organizations that were Communist dominated or Communist controlled?
- A. Yes, I was in the Pension Union, Commonwealth Federation, and before becoming a Party member I was interested in the radio work in the League Against War & Fascism.
- Q. You mentioned the Pension Union. You refer to the Washington Old Age Pension Union, do you not?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Was that a Communist dominated organization?
- A. Not in the beginning.
- Q. But at the time that you were active in it was the Communist Party interested in the Old Age Pension Union?
- A. Indeed they were.
- Q. Were you aware that they were attempting to get control of it?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Are you aware, Mrs. Fogg, for what purposes they wished to get control of the Old Age Pension Union?
- A. Yes. It was an extremely large organization and could be used as an organization to get votes for people who were following the Communist Party line, and elect them to offices.
- Q. Was it used as a vehicle to further the propaganda of the Communist Party line?
- A. Yes, it was.
- Q. Did you ever hold any office in the Old Age Pension Union?
- A. Yes, I was on the state board.

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- Q. Was that during the period of time that you were a member of the Communist Party?
- A. Yes, it was.
- Q. Were there other members of the Communist Party on the state board at the time you served?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did the Communist Party have sufficient control in the latter part of your service there to where they could control the policies of the Washington Old Age Pension Union?
- A. Yes, definitely.
- Q. Did they control the policies?
- A. They did enough to dislodge Jim Sullivan as the president.
- Q. Now, who served with you on the executive board that you recall?
- A. Bill Pennock.
- Q. William Pennock, the present president of the Union?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was William Pennock a member of the Communist Party?
- A. He was.
- Q. How do you know that?
- A. I have been to fraction meetings where he was there—policy meetings.
- Q. Who else was on the state board?
- A. N. P. Atkinson.
- Q. N. P. Atkinson, now was he a member of the Communist Party?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And did you attend fraction meetings and policy making meetings with him?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you recall any others that were on the state board? Was William Dobbins a member of the state board?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was William Dobbins a member of the Communist Party?
- A. He was.
- Q. And you attended fraction meetings with him?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was H. C. Armstrong a member of the state board?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Was he a member of the Communist Party?
- CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mrs. Fogg, will you answer a little louder, because it is being recorded, please.
- A. Army Armstrong was a member of the state board and I attended fraction meetings, policy making meetings where Armstrong was one of the—in attendance, never, unit meetings or anything like that.
- Q. Now you attended very few unit meetings while you were a member, is that correct?
- A. That is correct.
- Q. Why was that?
- A. Because I was a political figure, the fact that I had a number of campaigns and was running for office.

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Q. And because of your importance in the political field they attempted to have your membership kept a secret, is that right?

A. That is right.

Q. Do you know William Pennock very well?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he ever tell you how he happened to get in the Communist Party?

A. He mentioned something about a youth—the Young Communist Party League I believe it was called at one time, but I accepted him as a party member when I came into the Commonwealth Federation office as a secretary.

Q. Do you know John Caughlan?

A. I do.

Q. Did John Caughlan serve with you in the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, he was in those fraction meetings.

Q. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was in the—I can't—I never saw his book, but I've sat in fraction meetings with him.

Q. Sat in fraction meetings with him. Do you know Thomas Rabbitt?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Was Thomas Rabbitt active in the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Did he occupy any official position?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. What was the position?

A. Secretary. He was very active though. He was on the state board and—

Q. He was a member of the state board?

A. Yes, he was a member of the state board.

Q. That's what I wished. Was Thomas Rabbitt a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you sat in closed fraction meetings with Thomas Rabbitt?

A. In fraction meetings, yes.

Q. Have you sat in policy making meetings with Thomas Rabbitt?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did Thomas Rabbitt ever disclose to you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. We discussed it many times.

Q. Discussed it many times. Did he admit membership to you?

A. We were discussing the policies of the Communist Party. Occasionally we were arguing about it, because I always objected to the fact that there was no democracy.

Q. And he stood up for the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. You accepted him as a Communist?

A. I did.

Q. And he accepted you as a Communist?

A. Yes, sir.

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Q. And you both sat in closed fraction meetings together?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Terry Pettus?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Was Terry Pettus active in any of these front organizations that you have referred to?

A. He was the editor of the paper that spoke for the Pension Union and the Commonwealth Federation—also the Communist Party.

Q. Was this paper the organ of the Communist Party?

A. They didn't have an official organ in King County at that time—the Communist Party didn't, but it was the paper that carried the news and the party line, I should say, and all of that.

Q. Well, was its policies controlled by the Communist Party?

A. Yes, it is. Definitely so.

Q. Is Terry Pettus—was Terry Pettus a member of the Communist Party?

A. I never attended a unit meeting with him, but I have certainly sat in many policy forming meetings.

Q. Did he speak as a Communist there and in the interests of the Communist Party?

A. In the interest of—supposedly the Pension Union and of the Commonwealth Federation when it was not an absolute closed meeting.

Q. Did he accept you as a Communist?

A. He did.

Q. Did you accept him as a Communist?

A. Yes.

Q. And you together carried out the program of the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. From party sources did you ever receive any information as to the particular assignment given William Pennock?

A. No, it was an accepted fact that that was his job; other than that I don't know.

Q. When you refer to "that was his job" you mean his activity in the Pension Union?

A. Yes, I do. That's right.

Q. Did you ever attend a national convention of the Communist Party as a delegate?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What con—when did you attend the national convention of the Communist Party?

A. 1938.

Q. Where was this convention held?

A. In New York City. It lasted two or three days in May and two or three days into the month of June.

Q. Were there any other delegates from the Pacific Northwest that you met back there?

A. Yes, there were.

Q. Who were those other delegates?

A. Rapport, and Lou Sass, Phil Gillette.

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Q. Now, that is a new name that hasn't come up before. Will you spell that for us?

A. Phil—I can't spell her real name, but it is P-h-i-l G-i-l-l-e-t-t-e.

Q. Gillette?

A. Yes. She was Morris Rapport's secretary in the office.

Q. She was what?

A. She was Morris Rapport's secretary.

Q. Now when you speak of Morris Rapport, do you refer to the man who is called Morris Rapport and Morris Rappaport?

A. Yes.

Q. They are one and the same?

A. Yes.

Q. And he was the Northwest chairman of the Communist Party then?

A. That is right.

Q. Now did you sever your connections with the Communist Party?

A. I had.

Q. When did you sever those connections?

A. I was never purged from the Party officially that I know anything about. I wanted to quit a long time before I got into the position where I could get out. After having attended the national convention I certainly didn't want to go any further, but through the pressure that was put on me by Lou Sass and others, I must say I had a sense of fear of doing it; not only physical, but otherwise.

Q. Is that a tenet of the Communist Party to surround the members with fear and to threaten their jobs if they do not do just as they wish?

A. Definitely so.

Q. Do you know Hugh DeLacy?

A. I do.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not Mr. DeLacy was a member of the Communist Party?

A. I think he was a Communist Party member because he attended all the fraction meetings, of the policy forming group of the WCF and in attendance with the Communist—The Pension Union also.

Q. Now you are referring to Hugh DeLacy as a Communist?

A. I am referring to Hugh DeLacy.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Those were Communist Party fraction meetings?

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Have you discussed Communist Party programs with Mr. Hugh DeLacy and have you joined with him in following through on these programs and carrying them out—in other words, you and Hugh DeLacy have accepted assignments in the Communist Party?

A. Under the guise of the Commonwealth Federation.

Q. Now at that particular time was the Commonwealth Federation dominated by the Communist Party?

A. It wasn't in the beginning, but they soon came in and took over control.

Q. And at the time you refer to now, they had complete control of the Washington Commonwealth Federation and you were on the executive board of the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

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A. I was. I was the only woman on the political welfare committee.

Q. Now why did you break with the Communist Party?

A. First and paramount—the most important reason—basic reason is that they do not believe in democracy. They do not practice democracy. They have no intentions of practicing democracy.

Q. Orders come from the top down?

A. You cannot ask questions without being ridiculed before people—members and non-members.

Q. How did you become the delegate to the national convention? Were you elected?

A. I was not elected. I was chosen and told that I should go. I objected for two reasons: First, I wasn't sure I wanted to go, and secondly, there was illness in my family and I did not want to go.

Q. Did you carry credentials as a duly elected delegate?

A. We had credentials.

Q. But the election consisted of your being chosen?

A. By Lou Sass, and no other.

Q. Lou Sass. Now, what happened after you decided to break with the Communist Party?

A. There are too many to enumerate here. Many of them were very personal.

Q. Were you ever threatened?

A. Yes. I was threatened. Again I must hark back to Lou Sass. He seemed to be the one who was putting on the heat. He came to my home and told me that I could not quit the Communist Party; that if I did that the Communist Party if they were asked by the Federal Bureau of Investigation if I were a Communist Party member, that they would say that I was and in good standing.

Q. Did anybody else ever threaten you?

A. Yes, I—there were a few 'phone calls which I didn't—wasn't very disturbed about.

Q. Did Bill Dobbins ever threaten you?

A. Not alone, no. Hugh DeLacy threatened me in the presence of Hugh De—of Bill Dobbins.

Q. Now you are referring again to former Congressman DeLacy?

A. I am, to Congressman DeLacy.

Q. Will you relate that?

A. At a picnic in 1940, in August, I believe—I am sure, at Shadow Lake. He waved his finger under my nose and said, "Kathryn Fogg, we made you and we will break you."

Q. Was there any doubt in your mind about what he meant by "we"?

A. None whatever.

Q. Pardon?

A. I say, no doubt in my mind whatever who he spoke for.

Q. Who was he speaking for?

A. He was speaking for the Communist Party, in front of Bill Dobbins.

Q. Is Bill Dobbins a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

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Q. And was at that time?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting at Joe Butterworth's home?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Would you relate the circumstances of that for us?

A. Yes. Mike Smith and I attended the meeting. Neither of us used to go because we had been thoroughly criticized for the way in which we were conducting our campaign. We were both—Mike was running for re-election; I was running for election. We had been nominated but not elected as yet, and we didn't want to go, but we didn't know exactly why we were going, we didn't know where we were going, but even at that, attended the meeting, and—

Q. Now, who gave you your instructions to attend the meeting?

A. They were given to Mike. I don't recall by whom.

Q. But he told you?

A. Yes.

Q. That the Party had instructed that you were to attend the meeting?

A. It sort of came as a command. I didn't go—he came after me in a car.

Q. Who was present at that meeting?

A. Earl Browder, the national—

Q. Earl Browder?

A. Yes.

Q. The then head of the Communist Party in the United States?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who else? Was Bill Pennock there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. William Pennock. Was Ernest Olson there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was Tom Rabbitt there?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Al Bristol there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. A party by the name of Hildebrandt there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was this meeting as near as you can picture?

A. It was between the—it was near the end of the political campaign, which was probably during the last part of August.

Q. The last part of August, of 1938?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now when you were told to attend this meeting, you were told it was to be a Communist Party meeting were you not?

A. That it was one of the "must" meetings.

Q. One of the "must" meetings. Was this a high fraction meeting of leaders of different groups of Communists?

A. Yes, and people that had the Communist Party—the WCF paper, and under the guidance of the Communist Party, had supported in their political campaign.

Q. Well, we will have to go through this list, then. Was William Pennock, to your knowledge, a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mike Smith?

A. No.

Q. Mike Smith was not. Was Ernest Olson?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Tom Rabbitt?

A. Yes.

Q. At Bristol?

A. Yes.

Q. And this party Hildebrandt?

A. Yes.

Q. You don't know the name of this—first name of this Hildebrandt party?

A. Oh, —Beatrice Hildebrandt.

Q. Buford?

Q. Beatrice.

Q. Oh, Beatrice. Now, at this meeting did you discuss Communist Party strategy?

A. It was mostly bragging about the conduct and the success of the Communist Party campaign which was not true, because none of us were elected by the sole activity of the Communist Party. That's stupid. There were only a few members in this state. We were elected by people who believed in our program, and at that time, if you remember, the Communist Party policy was a united front. All liberal thinking people were working along that same line. The Communist Party wasn't being broadcast to the local press in that way—I mean they were not statements to that effect to the press, but those who were in the "know" knew that was true.

Q. Do you recall the name of the party who solicited your membership into the Communist Party?

A. Yes. I remember her first name only.

Q. What was her first name?

A. Esther.

Q. Now, where was this solicitation made?

A. Well I was asked to join the Party before that, but—had been many times, by a few individuals, but—what was the question, sir?

Q. Where was this solicitation made?

A. In West Seattle.

Q. In West Seattle, and that is where you live, is it not?

A. I did then.

Q. You lived there then. Now, who else has ever solicited you for membership in the Communist Party?

A. Harriet Dennett.

Q. Harriet Dennett. That's D-e-double "n" e-t, or two "t's"?

A. Two "t's".

Q. Two "t's", Harriet Dennett, and who else?

A. A Mr. Jolly—I don't recall his name—his first name.

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Q. That's J-o- double "l"-y?

A. Yes, and George Edwards. I can't tell you anything about him.

Q. George Edwards?

A. And a fellow by the name of Harris.

Q. Of what?

A. Harris.

Q. Harris. You don't recall his first name?

A. No, sir. I am sorry.

Q. Now when you did join the Communist Party, where was that? Where were you inducted into the Party?

A. Well, I signed this card and then the problem was, where would they put me. I couldn't go into the professional group, because—or the campus group; I didn't fit in a labor union group. All I was, was a housewife, and if they put me as a housewife in the local unit, I again would be meeting with the common herd, for I attended a very few unit meetings.

Q. Where was the meeting held when you were actually put into the Party—the first meeting you ever attended as a member?

A. In West Seattle, up on the hill. I couldn't give you the address. I don't know whose home it was, other than the fact that I thought it was Margaret Heglund's, but I am not sure that it was. There were a lot of strange people there that I didn't know.

Q. How do you spell Heglund, H-e-g-l-u-n-d?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Margaret Heglund. Did you know Margaret Heglund?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And she was present at this meeting?

A. She was.

Q. You have sat in various meetings in West Seattle, have you not, at various places?

A. Not a great number, no.

Q. Can you name some of the people that would be present at some of these meetings—this is when you were first inducted, wasn't it?

A. Yes. Margaret Heglund was there, Dr. Baxter—I don't know her other name.

Q. Was Al Bristol present?

A. Yes, sir, Al Bristol was present. Morris Rapport spoke at one meeting.

Q. Did you ever attend any meetings at the I.O.G.T. Hall?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you know these to be Communist Party meetings?

A. Well, we were usually called and told that they were having a meeting. I was never notified of a meeting in writing. They usually called. Phil Gillette usually called me.

Q. Now who would be present at those meetings in the I.O.G.T. Hall? Do you recall any of those?

A. Well, some of them were for campaigns on different things—I don't mean political campaigns, but initiatives, and I believe they held one meeting

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on Initiative 141, the Old Age Pension. That was a meeting held in the I.O.G.T. Hall.

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting in the I.O.G.T. hall to which you had not been invited?

A. Yes, I did. I went there to see someone who was at the meeting, in order to get a ride home, mostly to find out something about a campaign which was going on, and I wasn't well known, so I had quite a time convincing the man at the door that I should get in, but I was finally admitted.

Q. You identified yourself as a Communist?

A. I told who I wanted to see.

Q. Who did you wish to see?

A. Phil Gillette.

Q. Phil Gillette. Now, what happened after you got in?

A. Well, there were a lot of people there that I didn't know and hadn't seen before and there were a lot of people that I did know, and some of them were—it was rather crowded room, and sitting up in front I saw one said Hugh DeLacy, former Congressman. I don't know why the meeting was called, other than it was to do with union activities,—teachers' union might have been one of them.

Q. Do you Harold Eby's wife?

A. I have seen her, yes.

Q. Was she an employee of the Communist Party headquarters office?

A. I understand she was the treasurer.

Q. She was the treasurer?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you seen her in that office?

A. I did, once.

Q. Do you know Harold Eby?

A. I do.

Q. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

A. I'd say he was, yes. I have met him in fraction meetings, at the WCF and Pension Union meetings.

Q. And he conducted himself as a Communist?

A. Definitely.

Q. And worked toward the Communist program?

A. Yes.

Q. Were there any in these meetings that were not Communists?

A. Well, we had state and county conventions and state board meetings that he attended, but there were other people there other than Communists.

Q. Well, but I'm thinking—did he attend any meetings—did you attend any meetings where he was present and no one else was there except Communists?

A. At fraction meetings, yes.

Q. At fraction meetings. No one was admitted except Communists, and he was there?

A. Yes.

Q. You testified that you attended a meeting out at Joe Butterworth's home—was Joe Butterworth a member of the Communist Party?

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A. At that particular meeting Joe Butterworth's—I didn't see him. His wife—she's passed away, was there, and she was one of the people who did most of the talking during the meeting.

Q. You refer to Dorothy Butterworth?

A. I do.

Q. I believe you testified that you have sat in closed meetings with N. P. Atkinson and Army Armstrong, also John Caughlan.

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know Harry Jackson?

A. I did.

Q. What was Harry Jackson's position?

A. I think at the time he was only—I never encountered him but two or three times. I think he was secretary. I am not sure. He was in his office in the Smith Tower.

Q. He was in the headquarters of the Communist Party and was an official there?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Harry Jackson ever have a conversation with you pertaining to your duties to the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he did. After I came back from the national convention he suggested that I go out and speak throughout the northwest, organizing campaigns.

Q. Did you do such speaking?

A. I refused to.

Q. And did anybody remonstrate with you about that?

A. Yes, Rap did.

Q. Did he just remonstrate, or did he berate you?

A. He did everything but strike me, putting it mildly.

Q. Would it, in other words, be fair to say he abused you?

A. Yes, I think you certainly could. But had I been a man I would have struck him.

Q. We hear a lot about discipline. Is there iron discipline in the Communist Party?

A. Definitely.

Q. To be a good Communist you must subjugate your will to the will of the powers above you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there anything democratic about the Communist Party?

A. Not one thing.

Q. And that is why you left the party?

A. Yes, that is why I left the party.

Q. Within the party were you known as "Kay"?

A. A great deal, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

MR. CANWELL: Thank you. Before you call your next witness, I would like to have a conference. We will recess just a moment.

(Witness Excused)

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A short recess was taken, after which the following proceedings were had and done, to-wit:

SARAH MARY ELDREDGE, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Will you please state your name.

A. Sarah Mary Eldredge, Sarah, S-a-r-a-h, Mary, M-a-r-y, Eldredge, E-l-d-r-e-d-g-e.

Q. You are a resident of Seattle?

A. I am, for fifteen years.

Q. You are appearing here today under subpoena, are you not?

A. I am.

Q. I will ask you, Mrs. Eldredge, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, for about two years during the—about half of 1937, all of 1938 and about half of 1939—not active all the time, but—

Q. Now, while you were a member of the Communist Party in what general field were you assigned to work?

A. Before I was solicited—I will have to go back awhile—before I was solicited for membership in the Communist Party, I attended first just out of curiosity, meetings at the Y.W.C.A. of the American League Against War & Fascism. Later they asked me if I would like to be secretary and take minutes. I did. Later than that, Mr. Atkinson, who was the director—

Q. Which Mr. Atkinson?

A. Mr. N. P. Atkinson. —and his wife, Mrs. Atkinson, asked me if I would like to be the chairman of the League. I still had no idea that Communism was connected with the League. The subjects which we studied were the Nye Munitions Investigating Committee, the findings of that committee, the manipulations of the munitions group all over the world to provoke war and the things which we studied were innocuous and good information. But that was not the sinister part, of course, of the program.

Q. Did you consequently learn that the American League Against War & Fascism was a Communist front?

A. I did, and there—at the last meeting, we were down in one of the main rooms of the Y.W.C.A.—they used to send me over to the Y.W.C.A. to get the room, and Mr. Atkinson always said, "If you have any trouble, see Vera Harris. She will see that you are given accommodations." At this last meeting I was approached by a new figure that I had met just once, Lillian Minot. Whether or not that is her right name, I don't know. I understand the contact between the Communist Party and a new member is when they are not certain of the feelings of the new prospect that a contact is frequently made by an unknown person not of the group, so that it will not be traced back. She said to me, "You are very interested in all these problems, and in the distress of the world and of the people. Wouldn't you like to join a group which is devoted to the study of that?" and I said "I would be very interested." She said, "All right, meet me for lunch some day this week. When would it be convenient?", and I told her, and we met at a very fine tearoom downtown

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and she said, "Well now, I'll tell you"—after the lunch was over—"I am a member of the Communist Party. Now," she said, "don't get excited and worried, this is—we are largely devoted to the study of questions. It is not very much more than a subject,"—and as a matter of fact, at that time, you will remember, it was largely in the academic condition. It had not branched out into controlling groups.

Q. I am just worried about your health. Don't get yourself upset.

A. I took two tablets before I came up here. And she had a complete mimeographed sheet which contained a place for the name and everything and all the qualifications, what you could do best—what you liked to do—because they catalogue every member in the Party so that they can cross-index them and at a moment's notice find a person equipped to carry on the mission that they wish done.

So I joined the Communist Party—that is, I signed this application, and she said "Now, you had better have a party name," she said, "because your name is known to these groups that have been studying here," so I said all right, and on the spur of the moment she gave me the name of Mary Sanborn, which was my party name during my membership in the Communist Party.

Q. Will you spell that out? Is that S-a—

A. S-a-n-b-o-r-n. She said "Now, you will not hear from me directly again. You will hear from a contact from the Communist Party who will let you know whether or not you have been approved for membership." So I was still continuing the work, not knowing that Mr. Atkinson was a Communist, or his wife. I was still continuing attending other meetings. Mr. Atkinson every once in a while had a large meeting at the Senator Auditorium—

Q. At all times, now, you are referring to N. P. Atkinson?

A. N. P. Atkinson. So in about three weeks I was up in his office and he reached out his hand and he said "Well, welcome, Comrade," and I said "Oh," and he said "Now, here's the address of your first meeting," and I said "Well, my, I never dreamed—I never connected you with the Communist Party," and he said, "Oh, yes, I have been a Communist for some time."

So I went to that meeting and there is nothing drearier than a Communist meeting to a beginner. They go over a lot of—they study literature which you are supposed to—and there are endless reports, and it was quite a dreary performance and I was quite disillusioned. But I went to several others and then finally I stopped going to Party meetings and an Esther Norrie who had been—

Q. Is that N-o- double—

A. Mrs. Esther Norrie, N-o-r—I think, r-i-e. Her husband, by the way, joined the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, went to Spain and was killed, leaving her and two little girls here to make their own way.

She came to my house and said "Now, of course we feel that there is nothing wrong with you, Mrs. Eldredge, we feel that there must a reason for your not coming to Party meetings." She said, "You don't want to back out?" and I said, "Oh, no, I just have been busy." So I started going again to these Party meetings. And every six months we were what we called "controlled." Now the first time I saw what they call the "control night" put into effect—that means, they go over the list at your unit meeting, and anyone who has dropped out is cut off the Party rolls and they pay their dues up. The two people who came to control our unit were Ernest Olson and Bill Pennock.

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Q. That is Ernest Olson—

A. Ernest Olson who ran for the Legislature and spent a term in the Legislature from the 37th District and—

Q. William Pennock?

A. William Pennock who is—

Q. President?

A. President of the Pension Union. That meeting was held at the home of a Mr. Weinstein who has gone to New York, I understand—and who as a matter of fact was packing up at that time—in the University district.

Q. Who—what unit did you belong to, Mrs. Eldredge?

A. I belonged—I was transferred from that first unit because they thought I wasn't happy, I guess, there, to the closely guarded professional unit, and of that unit the following people were members to my best knowledge now—to the best of my memory. Weir Allen, A-l-l-e-n, his first name W-e-i-r; his wife Eugenia Allen.

Q. What are you reading from, Mrs. Eldredge?

A. I wrote those down.

Q. When did you write those down?

A. Just now while I have been sitting here.

Q. Just while you were sitting here?

A. Yes, uh-huh. Mr. John Caughlan was a member of our unit, and we met a number of times at his home.

Q. Is that the John Caughlan—

A. John Caughlan, the attorney who is associated with the Pension Union. Dr. Ralph Gundlach was a member of the unit, Glenette Golden; Dr. Bien and I don't know his first name—B-i-e-n, and he was a reluctant member at the time. He was just on the verge of leaving. Claretta Orton. We met a number of times at Claretta Orton's home when she lived in the same apartment with Mr. Costigan on Lake Washington Boulevard—not—the same apartment building. (Laughter.)

A. (Continuing) Mr. Ross Kingston was a member of that unit.

Q. Is that Ross Kingston, the attorney?

A. Ross Kingston, an attorney, who was in at one time with Mr. Caughlan. Also before he went to fight with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and got imprisoned in Spain, a Mr. Jenkins, who before he went to fight was the educational director for the unit—that is, the educational director brought the pamphlets from the bookstore that we were supposed to buy and read—and he went, if you will remember, to Spain and fought in the—and was captured, and we had a terrible time repatriating him and getting him back. Then a Mr. Farnham who is an insurance agent in the Central Building—I don't recall his first name.

Q. Mr. George Farnham?

A. Mr. George Farnham. By the way, Mr. George Farnham carried most of our books. We protected members didn't carry our books, publicly. Also Mr. Jesse Epstein of the Housing Authority was a member of our unit. We met also at the home of Irene Borowski and—

Q. Will you spell that, Mrs. Eldredge?

A. I think it's B—it's the same Borowski who was at the Commonwealth Headquarters—I think she was—

Q. Boro—

A. B-o-r-o-w-s-k-i.

Q. The same one who worked at Commonwealth Headquarters?

A. Uh-huh. Now may I say just one word off the record, if you wish—in naming people as Communists I am not calling names—I regret very much that some of the people who I must name are fine people and they were led into the Communist Party because they thought they could help the distressing situation which existed at that time among the old age pensioners and the unemployed and people who were living on ninety cents a week and they thought they saw no other avenues—the other two parties were pretty callous, and they joined the Communist Party seeking a solution. They joined it academically because they thought that it might offer a solution.

Now, these people have left the Communist Party as soon as they discovered their mistake, and that they were just—led into this—and it is too bad that we have to name them.

Q. Now what ones do you refer to?

A. Well, in this particular group that I have named here, I don't know of any that have left other than myself, but other people—well, I don't know—the Everett's, I don't know if they have left or not.

Q. You haven't named the Everett's. Who are they?

A. Well, they were in the first unit that I was assigned. Roy Everett and his wife, and they were at that time working on the WPA in the adult education department, I think.

Q. Now, as you sat here today and heard the other testimony, you were thinking in your mind of the names of Party members, is that why you jotted them down?

A. Yes, and I can't think of—after all, nine years is a long time, and it's difficult for me to remember, and besides, some of the people I didn't know. I have forgotten one group that were—they were not members of our unit, but they were working in close cooperation with us, and that was the Jameses. Burton James and his wife who had a unit in the Playhouse and still do have, to the best of my knowledge.

Q. In the Repertory Playhouse?

A. Repertory Playhouse.

Q. You are referring to Burton James?

A. Burton K. James, I think his initials are—and his wife.

Q. Florence Bean James?

A. Florence Bean James.

Q. Have you ever sat in Party meetings with them?

A. No, I have never sat in Party meetings with them, but they were—freely discussed in our unit, the professional unit—because—finally the Communist Party at one time was pretty well disgusted over the lack of effort and work that a full unit like that, a protected unit, can do. So they said we should do something about raising money, that would be a simple thing. So a plan of entertainment, they called it Cafe Society, was given every week or so for a while in the basement—a basement room of the New Washington Hotel, and the Burton K. Jameses furnished—and his wife, furnished the entertainment—most of the entertainment, and we discussed this for a dreary few weeks over the division of the money. Mr. James wanted some of the money

and the central committee thought that the money should all go to the Communist Party because it was for the Cause, it was the Cause, but he held out for some of it, and the sad part was that he had his hands on some of it already, so I believe the eventual solution was that we did give him about fifty dollars.

Q. Do you know Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Is Hugh DeLacy a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he is.

Q. Will you testify of your own—

A. (interposing)—I will have to go back to the time that I was elected vice county chairman of the Democratic Party. Although I was a Communist, the Communists didn't think that—the Communists who controlled the Commonwealth Federation who—had pretty well lined up the delegates and felt sure they could control the convention—were going to support another party, Mrs. Leavell—Mrs. Dorothy Leavell. Then they decided later that Mrs. Dorothy Leavell couldn't be elected because there was a group that very much didn't care for her. So they decided at the last moment, the night before the convention, to ask myself to run with Senator Kyle of Enumclaw and Mrs. Jesse Irving, I-r-v-i-n-g. Mrs. Irving was not a Communist but they felt that she knew so little about politics that she could be controlled. That's what the Committee thought. She was going to run for State Committeewoman and I was to be vice county chairman and Mr. Kyle was to be county chairman. So we ran, and with the help of Mr. Costigan, who lined up the Norman Latelle's and their friends, we were elected. And when I became vice county chairman I immediately put into effect the Democratic Party's five-point program for the women's division and I named as head immediately the next day, without giving the Communist Party an opportunity to tell me who I must name, I named five people who were very far from being Communists, Mrs. Therese Farrell, Mrs. Hughes who is sitting down here, and Mrs. May Avery Wilkins and Mrs. Gladys—what's her name?

SPECTATOR: Blankenship.

THE WITNESS: (Continuing) Blankenship. And—

(Laughter)

A. Pardon me. And I think one other, a Mrs.—she had charge of programs—Mrs.—the same name as the lady from Sedro Woolley, vice-chairman of the state, Mrs.—

Q. But these were not Communists, were they?

A. No, they were very far—so Mr. DeLacy and Mr. Costigan ordered Rapport—because we immediately reported to Morris Rapport, and cracked down on me.

Q. They—

A. They cracked down on me. They called me to a closed meeting at the home of Joe Butterworth.

Q. You mean Morris Rapport?

A. Morris Rappaport, northwest organizer of the Communist Party. They—Mr. DeLacy and Mr. Howard Costigan told Rappaport on me and Mr. Rappaport cracked down on me, and they called me up—I was called up by Dorothy Butterworth, Mr. Joe Butterworth's wife, and asked to come to a special im-

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ortant meeting at her home. When I got there a Dr. Rose somebody—I don't remember her last name—who was a Communist Party member, was there, and Dorothy was there, and as soon as I got there in came Mr. Rappaport, Mr. DeLacy and Mr. Costigan, and they proceeded to accuse me of being a reactionary and putting reactionary people in places of importance, when I should have been putting in Communist Party women. So I—there wasn't very much of a way out for me, so I just threw my book at Mr. Costigan and said to take the job, that I was all through and I didn't want to go on with the job, and then they—they were very alarmed and proceeded to pacify me and said, "Now, Sarah, you know—you mustn't act like that, but you mustn't do these things—put people that are reactionaries in places of power—they don't believe in any of these fine things like pensions that we believe in," and so they left. And Mr. Rappaport addressed Mr. Costigan as Comrade Costigan, and Mr. DeLacy as Comrade DeLacy. He said, "Now, I want you three Comrades to get along," he said, "A great deal depends on you."

They left, and afterwards Dorothy made some chocolate and we sat around talking, and she said, "It's very unfortunate that you threw the book around because Mr. Rapport—Rappaport will not forget that," and and got excited because Mr. Costigan does, and—that he hates women anyway, Mr. Costigan does, and—

(Laughter)
—and it will give him more reason to—I mean he hates them in political ways—

(Laughter)
—she said, "This will now give him more than ever a chance to doubt the effectiveness of women in places of authority. So, however, I held strong to my five women. I made one concession. I got rid of the lady that was to be the secretary and appointed Baba Jeanne Sears, but made sure that the only thing she was to do was to take the minutes. This greatly annoyed the Communist Party and Mrs. Butterworth called me every day on it, said that I must do something, I just must do something by getting rid of the women, but I never did get rid of those five women and they were with me until the end.

Well, after that I was no longer trusted very much by the Communist Party, so Mrs. McGrath, who at that time was a reporter on the New World, came to see me one time in June at the office of the King County Democratic Central Committee, and she says, "Now, for a while don't attend any Communist meetings." And I says, "Well why?", and she said, "Well, that is just to protect you." But of course I didn't believe that it was to protect me, but I didn't see that it was good policy to leave the party at that time, because they had the votes, they could put in another Communist, so I strung along with them. And Senator Kyle was so busy out of town that he could give very little time to the work of the committee, and they got dissatisfied with Senator Kyle. They thought it was time to get Senator Kyle a job and get him out of there and put one of their own people in as King County chairman of the committee. So Senator Kyle resigned because he got a Federal appointment and I don't know what strings, or who pulled the strings, but he did get a federal appointment to the Justice Department. And they called—they called a special convention to elect his successor. There was considerable talk about who would be run for his successor. Mr. Costigan wanted it but he was afraid—the Party was afraid to run him because he was so left of center in the knowledge of the community that they felt he could not—they couldn't swing votes, so one day I got a call and they said, "Rap wants you and Costigan and DeLacy to go

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over to the Boettiger's and talk it over with them." That was just a little harmless byplay because they weren't going to do anything that the Boettigers said, but it made the Boettigers feel they were important, and so they get \$10 now and then from them in these big meetings, so they did.

(Laughter)

We three went over to the Boettiger's office at the P.-I. upstairs, in their private office. We talked over the possibility of electing Howard as county chairman and Mr. Boettiger said, "But, Howard, I heard of you being at a Communist meeting thus and so." And Howard of course denied it, and on the way back it was finally decided that perhaps they better seek a candidate that, while he was a progressive and could be in a way controlled, that he would not be to the general public known as Red and that he probably could be elected, because some of these country districts would not go for anything too Red. So on the way back to the office Mr. Costigan says to Mr. DeLacy, he says, "Gee, that was close," (laughter) so we held a—first we had the head Communist group—I might call it a political fraction, I suppose, it was a group consisting of a number of top Communists and a few left-wingers who were not Communists—met in the office of Mr. Costigan and sounded out Howard Thompson, a young chap who hasn't been in politics to any great extent, and he seemed to answer all the qualifications. He could be controlled, he promised us, sitting on a windowsill right in front of us that he would not make any major decisions, not make any major decisions without taking them up with them first, so Mr. Thompson was run and became the county chairman. Then he promised this; they said before they named him as their candidate, there is this one stipulation: Mr. N. P. Atkinson must be retained in the office as sort of "assistant" chairman. You see they no longer trusted me as a vice county chairman. Mr. Atkinson—and Mr. Atkinson was to put over the Peace Mobilization. The Peace Mobilization was what followed the wedding of Hitler and Stalin at—during that early summer, and Mr. Atkinson was to do that.

Well, as soon as that meeting was over, I broke openly with the Communist Party and inserted in the papers—sent a letter to the papers that we no longer considered that the office of Mr. Thompson was the true office of the Democratic Party; that the women would continue to function from the Railway Exchange Building, and of course there were some people who felt it was politically expedient to hop on the band wagon and go over to Mr. Thompson and help him get started, even though they knew that the Communist Party was back of him and had elected him, and that—after I broke with them I went into hiding for a few days, because I got afraid, and—however, Mr. N. P. Atkinson found me out and came out and said, "Now, Sarah, what is it you want? We are prepared to give you anything within reason." And I said, "I want absolutely nothing but to be left alone. I don't believe in any of your Communist Party's antics—I never have thoroughly believed in them," and so after about an hour's persuasive talk, he left. Then he said, "You know if you don't come across," he said, "We are going to have to crack down on you." And I said, "Well, it will have to be crack down on me, because I cannot go on," and in the following week's issue of the Washington New Dealer—I always followed—in Mr. Costigan's column he called me—I was against peace, and I was really a reactionary. So, following that Dorothy Butterworth called me up and she said, "Now, something's got to be done," and she said, "You had better meet me." So we met and had lunch at a little coffee shop near the

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Senator Auditorium, and she said, "Now, I have the apartment of a friend up here we can go into." She says, "I have this. Rapport wants me to talk to you."

So I went up there, and the apartment was the apartment of a Mrs. Armstrong, the wife of the Mr. Armstrong that was so active in the P.-I. strike and has had—and died. And Mrs. Armstrong was a Communist, and Dorothy said, "If Mrs. Armstrong was only better known we would put her in your place, but you've got to resign." Well, I saw that there was no help coming, really substantially, that the other women in the Democratic Party didn't trust me, and I guess I couldn't blame them—they didn't really think that I meant what I said. So I resigned, and I have been out of the Democratic national committee ever since. I haven't been active in political organizational work.

Q. When did you disassociate with the Communist Party?

A. In the early fall of 1939.

Q. The early fall of 1939.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, are you about through with this witness' testimony? Do you wish to go on?

MR. HOUSTON: We have a few minutes more, Mr. Chairman. Then we have one more witness who has come a great distance, whom I would like to put on tonight. We could recess between, if it is agreeable to you.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Do you know Thomas Rabbitt?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Is Thomas Rabbitt a member of the Communist Party?

A. I have never met with Mr. Rabbitt in Communist closed meetings, but I have met him in a Communist fraction meeting of the Pension Union, and also in the Speakers' Bureau which was—

Q. What is that?

A. The Speakers' Bureau was a group of Communists and some left-wingers who were not Communists, who met in one of the judge's chambers every Saturday during the 1938 election to properly go over their speeches, and Mr. Costigan put across the Party line so that they, in an innocuous fashion—so that those who were not Communists would believe that it was just a new deal.

Q. Did Tom Rabbitt ever tell you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, he didn't.

Q. Do you know Baba Jeanne Sears?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Former employee of the New World?

A. Yes.

Q. Is she a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. She was at the house of Dorothy Butterworth the day I refer to, that Mr. Costigan, Mr. Rappaport, and Mr. DeLacy cracked down on me.

Q. Do you know the attorney Ross Kingston?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. How do you know him?

A. He was a member of my unit, professional unit.

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Q. Mr. Ross Kingston was a member of the professional unit?

A. Yes.

Q. And he sat in closed—

A. Yes.

Q. —unit meetings with you?

A. Yes.

Q. I believe you testified that Mr. Ernest Olson was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever attended any meetings at his home?

A. I haven't but he was the person, together with Bill Pennock, sent from the Communist Party Headquarters to control our unit.

Q. Came down to see if you had paid your dues?

A. Yes.

Q. You paid them, and carried the money, and all of that?

A. Yes. That is the only affidavit I could swear to, although I knew, of course, he was a Communist.

Q. Do you know his brother Paul Olson?

A. Yes. Mr. Paul Olson was a member of the Communist Party, although I never sat in a Communist fraction with him. He was a secretary to a Congressman. He was instrumental in getting all that Congressman's Communist line speeches into the Congressional Record and under the Congressman's franking privilege broadcasting them over the country.

Q. That was while you were—

A. That was while I was in the Communist Party.

Q. And you knew it was part of the Communist program?

A. Yes. He sent me many thousands of the party's—of the speeches that Mr. Olson made in the national Congress.

Q. Now will you further identify for us this Ernest Olson you have referred to?

A. Ernest Olson lived in the 37th District and ran for the Legislature and was elected in the 37th District.

Q. Is it the present Ernest Olson that lives in Tacoma?

A. Yes. He lives in Tacoma, and was elected, I think, to the State Legislature, or senate, recently.

Q. Recently, the present State Senator?

A. I believe so, and he was with the Building Service unit when he first went over there. I defeated him by running a candidate against him and he was—the Communist Party doesn't like a candidate who gets defeated more than once, so they manipulated Mr. Olson out of the 37th District.

(Laughter)

Q. Now, during the period of time that you were in the Communist Party, did you hear the Old Age Pension Union discussed?

A. Yes. At one of our meetings after the national—after the Northwest convention of the Communist Party, we were all given a pamphlet—it was a mimeographed pamphlet with a number of pages containing the speech of Mr. Morris Rappaport. And in the speech—I am unable to produce as evidence this particular pamphlet, but I was given a copy—and in this speech to the Northwest convention, Mr. Rappaport identified the Communist Front

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that we—that Communists must all unite on and fight on. The instructions were unite the people around their needs. First, pension. Aid to dependent children. Medical aid. Now all of those things are good things for those of us who are for them, but the Communist Party's insid—insidious idea is to unite people around them and then control them for political action.

Q. Take a certain cause and get control of the people and use their group funds for something else?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. Well has that—was that done with the Pension Union?

A. That was done to the Pension Union. And all these other groups as well.

Q. Does the Party—all—Communist Party also use these front organizations for the purposes of raising money?

A. Yes. Many large meetings were held in the Senator Auditorium and the other—Moose Hall and several other auditoriums, and big collections and pledges were taken and what became of the money, no one ever knows. But Mr. N. P. Atkinson could tell what became of a lot of it.

(Laughter)

Q. In your testimony you have testified that Mr. Jesse Epstein was a—
A. Member of our unit.

Q. That is the Jesse Epstein—

A. That's the Jesse Epstein who is head of the housing committee here.

Q. Is he here now, or—

A. I don't know. He was.

Q. That's the Federal Public Housing Administration?

A. Federal Public Housing Administration.

Q. And you met with him on more than one occasion?

A. I met with him at the home of Mr. Gundlach—not Mr. Gundlach, Mr. John Caughlan pardon me—at a meeting of our closed unit.

Q. I believe that is all, Mrs. Eldredge. Thank you.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Chairman Canwell, I have one more witness today who has come from a great distance.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think we had better proceed if we are going to run over we had better go on.

(Discussion by the Committee)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Cadle, will you take the witness stand, please.

W. W. CADLE, having been duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you identify yourself, please.

A. Wilbert W. Cadle.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Cadle?

A. Olympia.

Q. State of Washington?

A. Yeah, I believe it is.

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Q. Mr. Cadle, how long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. Since '21.

Q. Mr. Cadle, I will ask you to state whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. I have.

Q. Do you remember, Mr. Cadle, under what name you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. Robert Whitting I think it was, if I remember right.

Q. Do you remember why your name was—for the Communist Party—was given as Whitting?

A. No, only it was customary—supposed to be.

Q. Mr. Cadle, I will ask you if a Communist Party membership book was ever issued to you?

A. How's that?

Q. I will ask you if a Communist Party membership book was ever issued to you.

A. Oh yes.

Q. Would you recognize that book if I presented it to you at this time?

A. I certainly think I could.

Q. I hand you what I will ask the Chairman to identify as—mark as an exhibit, a book. I will ask you to state, if you will please, what that is.

A. That's the book I had, yes.

Q. Thank you.

MR. WHIPPLE: If it please the Chairman of the Committee, I would like to introduce this as an exhibit and have it so marked.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted and marked as Exhibit No. 11.

MR. WHIPPLE: I would like to use it at this time.

Q. This appears to be a 1938 membership book No. 88588, bearing name, William Whitting, W-h-i-t-i-n-g, State, Washington, District, 12, County, King, City, Seattle, Section MAL, with the name Rappaport stamped across the front page. Mr. Cadle, I call your attention to certain stamps in the interior portion of the book and will ask you to state if you know what those are?

A. Those are membership stamps for dues.

Q. What do those stamps indicate?

A. I'd paid my dues.

Q. They indicate that your dues were paid?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Cadle, did you ever have anything to do with the Washington Pension Union?

A. I certainly did.

Q. The Old Age Pension Union? Do you remember a party by the name of O. R. Mundy, or Bill Mundy, as he is commonly referred to?

A. Yes.

Q. Without going into great detail will you tell this committee whether or not you were active in the affairs of the Old Age Pension Union at the time you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. I was.

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Q. How many times have you been in the Communist Party and been out of the Communist Party, Mr. Cadle?

A. Two times I have been in and out.

Q. Mr. Cadle, will you explain to the Committee why you left the Communist Party, or got out of the Communist Party on the first occasion?

A. The first occasion, it was prior to the first meeting of the Washington Commonwealth Federation which was held in Tacoma, and I drew up a statement covering the needs of the aged at that time, to—for the purpose of having it distributed at the door of that convention. The matter was presented to the local unit of the Communist Party and approved and word was sent up to Seattle here to Mr. Rapport, Rapport or Rappaport, and he hot-footed it down there and a meeting of the Communist organization was called in the home of Bob Grimes in Tacoma—in Olympia and Mr. Rapport was there and after going through the usual rigamarole of their meetings why I was asked to state what I was trying to do. So I read the item, and Mr. Rapport, after hearing it says, "Don't have anything more to do with that. Leave all those things to us. You tend to things down here."

Q. When was this, Mr. Cadle?

A. This was without giving any reason at all for it. It so irked my Americanism, though I was born in England, that I simply decided I wasn't going to remain in the Party anymore. So I sent in my resignation, and then I was notified by the Party that I couldn't resign—that I would have to be expelled if I was going to leave the Party.

Well, I thought it was a bit of a joke, so I didn't pay much attention to it until I was asked if I would mind attending a meeting of the Party to go over the matter. I said, "Certainly not." So they met in the home of a man by the name of Art Mix, whose wife, I believe, is quite active in the Old Age Pension Union at the present time in Olympia, and she was for a while the organizer of the Communist Party there in Olympia. And at that meeting why they expelled me and said they were going to report the matter to the Daily Worker in New York. It seemed to me rather strange why they didn't report it right there in Olympia where I was known, instead of in New York where I was unknown, so I drew up a statement, a very brief statement, and took it down to Fred Chitty, who was at that time manager of the Daily Olympian, and asked him if he would have it printed, in which I stated my reasons for leaving the Communist Party, and it was printed in the paper and consequently I simply as far as the publication was concerned. I wanted it known where I was known, instead of where I wasn't known.

Q. Now that's the occasion of your leaving the Communist Party the first time?

A. Yes.

Q. Now what year was that?

A. That was—if I remember right it was about '36.

Q. Back in '36?

A. Yes.

Q. Then you again re-entered the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Well now, going back just a little bit, who recruited you in the Communist Party in the first place?

A. A man by the name of Oscar Allison.

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Q. Where did he live?

A. He lives in Olympia, or just outside Olympia.

Q. Now, going back again to this man O. R. "Bill" Mundy that you said you know—that you knew, rather, did he ever have any conversation with you about your work in the Pension Union?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that conversation?

A. The conversation was he came to me and said, "Do you know, Cadle, why the work you are doing doesn't seem to be appreciated out here?" I wasn't a member of the Communist Party at that time. I said, "No, I don't know." He said, "Would you like to know?" I said, "All right, if you want to tell me." He said, "Because you are not a member of the Communist Party."

Q. Did he say that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. He didn't say so. He told me at other times.

Q. At other times. But he did tell you that the reason your work was not appreciated in the Pension Union was because you were not a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, that was before you joined the first time?

A. No, that was before I joined the second time.

Q. Before you joined the second time, thank you. Now, when did you join the second time?

A. That was as near as I can recall, in '37.

Q. And did anybody either recruit you or help you get back in the second time?

A. Well, when he told me that, my sole interest at all times, even when I was a member of the Party the first time, was to help the aged, in their difficulties. I might state here, because I think it bears on the subject, that I was the first state organizer for the Pension Union—was so for about over a year. I always argued that the best way to make the Pension Union grow properly—I didn't understand then that the Pension Union was controlled by the Communists—that was to take hold of the cases that were presented to us for help, and carry them through in the—through the regular channels, the county departments and through the state departments and into the courts. But they didn't agree to that. That was to be only a secondary proposition, and the idea was to build up new units of the Pension Union and get membership and get the money in. So to stop the work that I had been doing and was finally demoted perhaps you might call it, to the position of investigator they named it, but looking after such things down there in Olympia, in the State Department and in the records well, which I did, to a very large extent.

Q. Who took your place, Mr. Cadle, when you were demoted?

A. They didn't have a state organizer after that. But—

Q. How did you get back in the Party the second time?

A. Well, after Mr. Mundy said this to me as I have already stated, I went to Bill Pennock. I said, "Mr. Pennock, do you think I could be of any more use to the old people of the state if I was a member of the Communist Party again?" He said, "Yes, Mr. Cadle, I think you would."

Q. Pardon me. Now when was that conversation had with Bill Pennock?

A. 1937, if I recall right.

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Q. Where was that conversation had, do you remember?

A. In the offices of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Here in Seattle?

A. In Seattle.

Q. Do you recall anybody being present besides yourself and Mr. Pennock?

A. No, I don't.

Q. All right, as the result of Mr. Pennock's advice to you, what did you do?

A. He stated to me, said, "If you wish to join again I would like to have the privilege of presenting your name because," he said, "there is a contest going on and the one that gets the most new members would go back to the plenum in New York."

Q. The person that got the most members would go back to the plenum in New York?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know if—did you learn later who was sent back?

A. No, I didn't.

Q. Well, do you know a man by the name of Al Bristol?

A. I have met him a number of times.

Q. Do you know whether or not Al Bristol was a member of the Communist Party or not?

A. Certainly he was.

Q. Why do you say that?

A. Well, he came down there from the Communist Party headquarters here to see that everything was being run straight down there.

Q. Did you have a son, Mr. Cadle, by the name of Wilbert Ed Cadle?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not he had been recruited into the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Who recruited him into the Communist Party?

A. I don't know just who recruited him in, but you were speaking of Al Bristol?

Q. Yes.

A. Al Bristol came down there and wanted to know if I would give my consent because the boy was under age, of becoming section organizer.

Q. Section organizer, now, what of?

A. Of the Communist Party.

Q. When did that take place?

A. That was in—in '36, I judge, around there.

Q. Did your son become such a section organizer?

A. He did.

Q. As the result of becoming a section organizer, was it necessary for him to attend the Communist Party school?

A. He came to the Communist Party School. He attended that for the period they required.

Q. Where did he attend the Communist Party School?

A. Here in Seattle.

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Q. Mr. Cadle, all during the time that you were actively identified with the Old Age Pension Union, who controlled the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Well, the bell sheep at first was Howard Costigan, of course.

Q. Then who next?

A. Then—he was the bell sheep. Mr. Sullivan was the president. I think the Communists in the organization got dissatisfied with Mr. Sullivan—now this is surmised on my part—and I know a number of the old people attending a convention of the Pension Union approached me, headed by Mr. Giberson, and wanted to know if I wouldn't run for president of the organization against Mr. Sullivan, and I said, "No, I am going to vote for Mr. Sullivan. You can keep my name off."

Q. When did the Communist Party take over the Old Age Pension Union if they did take it over, to your knowledge?

A. Candidly, I couldn't set a date for it at all.

Q. Would you say that they subsequent—that subsequent to Mr. Sullivan's administration that they did take it over?

A. Oh, yes, quite evident.

Q. For how many years would you say that the Old Age Pension Union or the Washington Pension Union, as it subsequently became, has been controlled by the Communist Party?

A. Well, it was controlled—the organization was controlled prior to the initiative in 1941—in 1940, I would say, Initiative No. 141.

Q. Has it been controlled by the Communist Party ever since?

A. The evidence is to that effect, yes.

Q. Is the same William Pennock who is the president of the Washington Pension Union today the same William Pennock that got you back into the Pension Union movement—and back into the Communist Party?

A. So far as I know. I never knew of any change in it.

Q. Now, I would like to ask you that during—this question: During your activity in the Old Age Pension Union, did any of the regular old people—now I mean by that, pensioners as such, control the affairs of the Pension Union?

A. They were controlled from the top, down.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. I mean that what is decided up at their so-called meetings which they used to hold monthly, that was what you had to abide by.

Q. Now you refer to these meetings—what meetings were they? That's the thing I want to get over here.

A. They were meetings of the Pension Union and subsequently the board meetings.

Q. And since 1940 to the present date, as I understand, it is your testimony it has been under the control of persons active in the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Flora King? K-i-n-g?

A. I do. A very nice young lady—middle aged lady.

Q. Did you know Flora King's father, prior to his death?

A. Very well.

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Q. Did you ever have a conversation with Mr. King relative to his daughter, Flora King?

A. Mr. King?

Q. Yes. Did you ever have a conversation with her?

A. I didn't know Mr. King.

Q. Did you ever have a conversation with Flora King?

A. Well, I talked with her a number of times, yes.

Q. Well, do you know whether or not Flora King is a member of the Communist Party?

A. Only from her father's say-so. She was an undercover member.

Q. She was an undercover member?

A. Yes. The meetings used to frequently be held in her home.

Q. Now did she take any part or activity in the Pension Union?

A. Not openly, no, not then.

Q. Did she take any—

A. Since then, she has been.

Q. Since then she has? For how many years has she been interested in Old Age Pension?

A. Well, it was—through her father and mother, practically from the start of the pension.

Q. Did you ever attend any Communist Party meetings at her home?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Do you know Terry Pettus?

A. Yes.

Q. He is present editor of the New World?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

A. I don't know. I couldn't say definitely.

Q. Do you know his father, Ed Pettus—

A. Yes.

Q. —who lives in Tacoma?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

A. I do not.

Q. Is there any other material fact, Mr. Cadle, whether I have mentioned it or not, that you think of at this time that would be material to this investigation?

A. It might be regarding my leaving the Communist Party the second time.

Q. I would appreciate your making a brief statement to the Committee as to why you left the Communist Party the second time.

A. The Initiative 141 was up for—to be drafted, just contemplated first of all. At the first meeting to consider that—an open meeting, the entire organization, I think it was in the Moose Hall, if I am not mistaken, that I prepared tickets, 600 of them, and placed them around on every seat, stating my idea that the surest way to \$40 in '40 was by initiative. I was heartily in favor of that.

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Q. Now, you—

A. Condi—conditions were such that it was practically impossible for them to live on less than that. I was appointed as a member of the—what they called the legal committee for drafting that initiative. Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Huson here were both on that committee. I argued the whole way through that the extra cost it was to be to the taxpayers of the state should be stated plainly, not necessarily as the method of raising it, but the tax that it would cost. I went into several huddles with the State Department and with the Attorney General's office and with the Tax Commission on the matter. There was no way of meeting that \$40 a month it was evident, excepting by an increase in the sales tax. The Pension Union was plainly bitterly opposed to a sales tax. They refused to state what it was going to cost or how it could be raised, or anything else. The initiative had to go through without any such statement. In other words, to hoodwink the people—

Q. Now—

A. —of the state.

Q. Now, who said that?

A. I said it. And I told them that when they said that if any such addition was put in the initiative they said that it would kill the initiative. Well I said I would sooner go down to defeat on an honest measure than I would to succeed under a dishonest one.

Q. What was the result of that statement of yours?

A. The result was that they didn't pay any heed to what I stated was right, and just, and the consequence was I dropped out of the Pension Union and the Communist Party at the same time.

Q. You refer to the word "they." Now who did you refer to? You said, "they" didn't pay any attention to what—

A. The Pension Union, the legal committee, so-called.

Q. That's the time you dropped out of the Communist Party the second time?

A. I wrote in my resignation immediately when they didn't—failed to put it into the Union.

Q. Do you remember when that was?

A. That was in '40.

Q. Have you been in the Communist Party any since then?

A. I have not.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, will you clarify one point. I understood him to say that he knew Miss King but did not know her father and had not talked with him, and then stated that he knew his daughter was a Communist because the father said so. I would—

MR. WHIPPLE: I think maybe Mr. Cadle misunderstood me.

Q. You knew Miss Flora King's father, didn't you?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Now—

A. Now I said—her father, not her husband.

Q. I am referring now to her father.

A. Yes. That was Mr. Slover.

Q. Yes, Mr. Slover. Flora King was her maiden name?

A. No, her married name.

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Q. Her married name, all right. Now, then it was Mr. Slover, Flora King's father, who told you about her membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that clear now? If it please the Chairman, I think that concludes the testimony of this witness, and as far as I know, this will be the last witness this evening.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you, Mr. Cadle.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing is adjourned until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

ADJOURNMENT

January 29, 1948, 9:40 o'clock a. m.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: This hearing is now in session. Will you call your first witness?

MANNING JOHNSON, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Johnson, as you testify that you spell the names of the people the first time you refer to them, so that the record may be absolutely correct. Please state your name.

A. Manning Johnson. Manning, M-a-n-n-i-n-g. Johnson, J-o-h-n-s-o-n.

Q. Where were you born, Mr. Johnson?

A. In Washington, D. C.

Q. Where do you reside, Mr. Johnson?

A. New York City.

Q. Mr. Johnson, I will ask you, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. I was a member of the Communist Party from 1930 to 1940.

Q. Ten years?

A. Ten years.

Q. Mr. Johnson, will you tell us how and where you joined the Communist Party?

A. I joined the Communist Party in Buffalo, New York, in 1930.

Q. Will you detail to us your experiences, the first two or three years in the Communist Party?

A. During the first—during the first two or three years in the Communist Party I was active in a number of organizations. The first organization that I became active in was the Negro Labor Congress. After its abolition I became active in the unemployed councils, and participated.

Q. Can you fix the dates for us, approximately?

A. In 1930 and '31 I was active in the Negro Labor Congress. It was during my activities in the Negro Labor Congress that I was approached by Otto Hall. Otto Hall is spelled O-t-t-o H-a-l-l. He was a graduate of the Lenin School, which is of course in Moscow. He had been especially trained as a professional revolutionist. He speaks English and French very fluently. In fact he taught Russian on one of the Government projects, in New York of course, during the years of the depression.

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It was upon his recommendation that I was admitted into the Communist Party. My life in the Party from its very inception was a very stormy one, precisely because I came into the Party with deep religious convictions. There was some question as to whether the Party could accept me because of my religious convictions. The contention at that time was that one would have to divorce himself from religion and all religious ideology in order to be a Communist.

Otto Hall had quite a scrap with the leaders of the Party in the Buffalo district at that time over the issue of my admission. He contended that it was wrong to bar a person from the Communist Party because of his religious views; it was wrong in the sense that they would lose many persons who would render invaluable assistance to the Communist group.

So he recommended that militant workers with deep religious views should be taken into the Communist Party and reindoctrinated along different lines. In other words, they were to be taught the Leninist position on religion, they should be given various materials to read, and that discussions should be held with them from time to time for the purpose of rooting out their religious ideas.

His opinion was accepted reluctantly by the Party. I bring that out, incidentally, to show this, that in order to be a good Communist you had to be an atheist, and it was quite the—quite an important decision for me to make at that time, because having been reared in a profoundly religious home and having been—having gone to church every Sunday during my youth, it was a decision that was not easy to make.

But finally, after much persuasion, I finally agreed to string along with them.

Q. Mr. Johnson, did you receive any instruction or training in the Communist Party?

A. Before we go into that I would like to further elaborate on this religious idea, because that's something that's very dear to my heart because I feel that as a result of my experiences there, I lost something that I am now seeking to regain.

As I said before, they finally agreed to admit me to the Party, regardless of my religious views. However, whenever I went to speak at meetings and during the course of my speech, I would use such expressions as "With the help of God," or, "So, help us, God." The Communists would sit there and sneer. They would look upon me and treat me with contempt. The only one that was sympathetic toward me at that time was the party that recommended me for admission to the Communist Party.

They gave me various literature to read, such as "Lenin on Religion." In this book Lenin speaks of the atheistic character of Communism, and the ultimate aim of the Communist Party to completely destroy the church and root out all remnants of religion. He characterizes religion as the opiate of the people. As you know, they have conducted, even at the present time before our very eyes, a consistent and persistent struggle against the Catholic Church.

Among the many books against religion that I was given to read, was especially two volumes by a former bishop. This—these books were considered "must" reading by every Communist. He was a bishop that left the church and became an atheist, and he wrote a number of pamphlets and books on the bankruptcy of supernaturalism. That was Bishop Brown,

B-r-o-w-n, Brown. I have seen hundreds of persons come into the Party during the time that I was there, with religious ideas and religious convictions. After being in the Party a short time they have become cynical, callous, enemies of everything heavenly, some of them outdoing the most dyed-in-the-wool Communists. That accounts for the fact that the Communists are callous in every respect, with regard to human life. There is no such thing as ideals, or principles, with them. With them it's a die-hard, materialistic, atheistic policy of destruction of all the true values of life, the destruction of the dignity of man, destruction of the feelings of love and friendship, fraternity and brotherhood. Communism, in my opinion, is an evil pernicious thing. It should be rooted out and destroyed, from the face of the earth.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I will very shortly qualify this witness as one of the highest officials of the Communist Party, formally, in the United States, and as such this is admissible testimony in that it is a conclusion he drew as an expert and a high official of the Party. And very shortly I will have him qualified.

Q. Now, did you attend any schools for training?

A. Yes, in 1932 I was sent to the National Training School. That is the highest—

Q. Now, just—may I—may I qualify you first, Mr. Johnson, so that this expert testimony will be considered admissible. You did attend their secret training schools and graduated from them?

A. That's correct.

Q. Did you attain any position in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I—after my return from the National Training School, I became district organizer in Buffalo, New York.

Q. Now, did you receive, at any time, any other position?

A. Yes, I—I became later a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Q. What year was that?

A. From 1936 up until 1939.

Q. What was—uh-huh—Did you attain any other position in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I was a member of the National Trades Union Commission of the National Committee, the National Negro Commission of the—of the Trades Union Commission, of the National Committee.

Q. At what periods of time were you members of those committees?

A. Well, I served on those committees during the same period that I was a member of the National Committee.

Q. At times, or will you detail for us what times you received your sole support and livelihood in the way of wages or salaries or remuneration from the Communist Party?

A. Well, I received salary from the Communist Party from 1932 until 1935.

Q. And you were paid other remuneration for services after that time?

A. I was assigned to a labor union by the Party in 1935, and I worked with that Communist-controlled union up until 1941.

Q. And in reality the Communist Party has provided your livelihood since 1932 through 1939?

A. Yes. Well, I was sent into this union to—as an infiltrator, and of course the—I was paid—paid out of the funds of the union. And at the same time I conducted Communist Party work.

Q. Is that Communist tactics?

A. Oh, yes, that's their usual tactics.

Q. To have organizations pay people to infiltrate them?

A. Yes. You see, they train you to become a professional organizer and agitator and propagandist. They don't train you for nothing, because that is what they need and they feel is essential in their conquest for power.

Q. Fine. Now, I believe that's sufficient to qualify you as an expert, having held official positions of national importance from 1932 to 1939 and through 1939.

Now let's go back. I believe that you had started to detail a school that you attended in 1932. Now tell us what the school is, where it was held, the length of time you attended, and something about the curricula taught.

A. The National—the National Training School was held in New York City in the headquarters of the Communist Party. We were taught many subjects, amongst them Party—Communist Party policy and program, the history and development of the labor movement, the Party of the masses, the Party and the trade unions, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet power, the twenty-one points for admission to the Communist International, the negro question in America, the colonial question, work in the Armed Forces, legal—Party organization in relation to legal and illegal organizations, infiltration and control of labor, farm, fraternal, social, sport organizations—public speaking, parliamentary procedure.

Q. Now we may come back to that later. Did you graduate from this school?

A. I did.

Q. How long were you in attendance at this school?

A. Three months.

Q. What three months was this, can you fix it?

A. It was in the winter—it was the winter of '32.

Q. Winter of '32. Upon your graduation from this secret Communist school, did you receive any assignment?

A. Yes, I was sent back to Buffalo, New York, and—sent back to Buffalo, New York, as an organizer of that district.

Q. Were you the district organizer at Buffalo?

A. No, the district organizer that preceded me was Peter Chaunt, an alien Hungarian that had a scrimmage with the Immigration Department while there, and—

Q. Will you spell the name Chaunt for us?

A. Chaunt is C-h-a-u-n-t. He came out of the scrimmage with the best end. In other words, he told them a grand fairy tale and they released him. Of course, when they released him he disappeared. I don't know whether they've been ever able to find him since; but he came over here from Hungary as a professional revolutionist. He was for years a member of the Agitation and Propaganda organization of the National Committee.

Q. Did you subsequently secure that position of District Organizer at Buffalo?

A. I did.

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Q. When did you secure that position?

A. In 1933.

Q. Who was your assistant there?

A. Morris Rappaport was my assistant while I was District Organizer at Buffalo.

Q. Is that Rapport or Rappaport?

A. Rappaport.

Q. Is that the same Rappaport known as Rapport, who subsequently became District Organizer in Seattle?

A. That is correct.

Q. Did this man work under you and under your instructions there?

A. He did.

Q. And at all times you were superior to him in authority in the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. Well, did you do a good job training him? We've had testimony here that indicates you might have.

Now, will you—will you explain the set-up and the organization of a district, the power and authority of the District Organizer.

A. Well, the District Organizer rules like a little czar in his district. That's—that's in accordance with the general pattern, because we receive orders directly from above, and we just pass them on to the rank and file. We'd get organization letters from time to time—

Q. When you say, "we," you mean yourself, don't you?

A. Yes. I would get organization letters from the National Committee. I would read over these letters, and draw up an order of business and present it to the district bureau. Well, of course there was no disagreement as far as the line was concerned. There can't be any disagreement. The only thing they could discuss there was the best methods to carry out the line.

Q. They had no power to overrule you?

A. No, no. No. As far as the line is concerned, that's final, and anyone who—who opposes the line, he'll find himself in difficulty and eventually out of the Party. He may get away with it once or twice, but the third time, never, because three times speaking against the line of the Party definitely indicates that—indicates a policy in opposition to the line of the Party. And when that conclusion is drawn, brother, you're just out.

Q. Is it your testimony that the Communist Party is not a democratic party?

A. The Communist Party is not a democratic party; it cannot be, because all power in that Party is centralized in the National Committee, which makes all the decisions without the active participation of the rank and file. And no one is permitted to question the authority of the National Committee. It's a question of blind acceptance and blind devotion.

Q. You say all power is vested in the National Committee. Are they all-powerful or do they take their instructions?

A. Oh, they take—they're all-powerful in America; but they take their instructions directly from Moscow. As a—as a section of the world organization known as the Communist International, why they—they are duty-bound to follow the policy of the parent organization.

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Q. Do they have any leeway? Can they deviate from Moscow's orders?

A. They cannot deviate at all from Moscow orders. They—they must follow to the letter whatever decision that Moscow sends comes from there. That is emphasized again and again in the twenty-one points for admission to the Communist International.

Q. Now, will you detail for us a picture of what you did as District Organizer when you assumed the position at Buffalo.

A. Well, from time to time I would visit the various cities in the district, take up with the Party leaders in those cities any urgent problems that had come up during the course of the work, and to lend as much direct and practical assistance as possible in the carrying through of the decisions of the National Committee.

Q. Did you perform anything illegal, either you or the organization under your control?

A. Yes, in 1933 the Communist Party of Canada was declared illegal. Most of the leaders were arrested. Fortunately for them they had an underground leadership. That is, a leadership that's not known to the Party generally, and not known to the law-enforcement agencies. When the top leaders were arrested, this undercover leadership took over. A. Brown, a member of the National Committee—

Q. Was that A or Abe?

A. A. Brown—I don't know just what the letter A stood for—alias Alpi—

Q. How do you spell that?

A. A-l-p-i. He is an Italian alien that was sent here by the Comintern as a professional revolutionist to teach the—to gain control and influence stupid Americans, as he put it, in conversation with me once.

He has since fled the country, went back to Italy when the Immigration and Naturalization department got hot on his trail. He informed me that—at the time when he visited Buffalo, that they were establishing an underground apparatus for supplying the Canadian Communist Party with literature and printed materials. He informed me also that I would be visited by a Canadian customs inspector, and he asked me to give him the address of a person not connected with the Communist Party where this Canadian customs inspector could meet with me and we could outline the plan for the transmission of this printed material across the Canadian border.

I did this. A week later I received a message in secret code from the National Committee, informing me that this Canadian customs inspector would meet me as originally planned. I kept the appointment; so did he. And there we discussed the question of how best to get literature across the border. We agreed to establish certain dumps in different sections of the city for this literature.

Q. In Buffalo?

A. In Buffalo. For this literature. And preferably homes that had garages attached to them, or in very close proximity of the house. We had one in Black Rock and another in North Buffalo. Black Rock is a section of Buffalo.

This material would sometimes come through the mail, and at other times it would be delivered to me personally, and I would arrange for it to be carried over to these homes that had been designated for that purpose. The first opportunity he would get he would drive into that garage and there load that material into secret compartments in his car. The material had already, of course, been placed there by the people who lived there. They were very

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close sympathizers of the Party and could be trusted, because it would be useless to select anyone else for such an important conspiratorial task.

And over a period of months they were carting this material, often only one of two packages, especially wrapped, would come in; but every package as soon as it arrived was promptly dispatched to the dump or the garage, and removed as promptly.

Q. How would this customs inspector get that across the line?

A. Well, he, being a Canadian customs inspector, he knew all the—all or almost all of the other inspectors on the border, and naturally when he arrived at the border, they'd just pass—give him the "green light" without checking his car. It's a sort of—

Q. And if they checked his car, it was in secret compartments.

A. Yes, the material was in secret compartments built in the ceiling, in the ceiling and along the bulkheads, along the bulkheads—because I used to help him store it there.

Q. Do you recall that inspector's name?

A. I might have his name here, I don't know. I can't—

Q. It's not material now if you have got it and produce it—

A. I have it somewhere in code.

Q. In code. Fine, now are you through with that—

A. Incidentally, I might add that they had two pipelines—pipelines to Canada. One was in Detroit and the other in Buffalo. They would use the Buffalo pipeline for a while and then they'd switch over to the Detroit pipeline. They had customs inspectors in Detroit as well as in Buffalo for the piping of this material into Canada.

Q. Now, was it only printed material that was sent over that way, or was it secret documents?

A. Well, there were secret documents as well as printed material and leaflets. In fact, that apparatus—that especial apparatus was the foundation for the—was really the foundation of the machine which was used by the Communists to steal atomic bomb secrets.

Q. Will you develop that a little further for us so it will be cleared for the record?

A. Well, at that time—at that time they were laying the—they laid the foundation for conspiratorial—organization. It consisted of persons that were high in the Government service of Canada, because on the Canadian side of the border there were many persons in high Government service who permitted their homes to be used for depositing this Communist material. Also, Communist Party meetings were held in the homes of prominent people there because they were people that would be least suspected of having any connections with the Communists.

And when we discussed in general the wide—the ramifications of this setup, I came to the conclusion then that it was an ideal apparatus for illegal work, and inasmuch as they could transmit literature and documents at that time across the border without any difficulty, how much more so since? I recall that in 19—in the summer of 1933, when I gave Gerhardt Eisler a report on how smoothly the underground apparatus was functioning, he praised me very highly, and he said, "Comrade, you've done a splendid job."

Q. Is that the Gerhardt Eisler who has recently been in trouble with the Immigration Department?

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A. Yes, that is the same Gerhardt Eisler, alias Edwards, alias Berger, alias Brown.

Q. You know him personally?

A. Yes, I've known him for a number of years, since 1933.

Q. Is it true that he is a high official in the Communist Party?

A. Gerhardt Eisler is the direct agent of the Communist International in America.

Q. Would that be correspondent to the boss of the Communist Party in America?

A. His authority supersedes the authority of any party in America, from the General Secretary—from the Chairman and Secretary on down.

Q. And his instructions come directly from Moscow?

A. He has a—he has a direct pipeline to Moscow.

Q. And you know this of your own knowledge?

A. Everyone knows that. It is common knowledge in the National leadership.

Q. Now, this material that was being smuggled into Canada was an illegal enterprise, it was against the law in Canada, is that correct?

A. That's right, it was against the law of Canada and of course it was against the laws of our country.

Q. When you attempt to smuggle stuff over the border.

A. That's correct.

Q. Was this a one-way pipeline, or was things smuggled from Canada into the United States?

A. It was a two-way—a two-way pipeline, because—it works both ways. If you can take it over, you can bring it back.

Q. Now you have mentioned this morning, that you received instructions from National headquarters in secret code. What do you mean by that? Aren't they an open party? Don't they just write a letter like anybody else would?

A. Well, they write letters, but highly confidential and secret information was never sent to me through regular channels. As a rule, messages were sent in secret code. For example, when Gerhardt Eisler visited Buffalo in 1933, I received knowledge of his visit in secret code, and I was told in this coded message to arrange a meeting for an important person. Well, I understood what that meant. It meant that some person of great importance as far as the Party was concerned, would be in Buffalo; and I was surprised at that time, after I had arranged the meeting, that Gerhardt Eisler and Earl Browder and two Canadian—two leaders of the Canadian Communist Party, came to this particular place for a meeting.

Q. Where did you receive this code?

A. Well, when I was in New York attending a meeting of the National Committee just prior to my assignment as District Organizer in Buffalo, I was given the code by J. Peters. P-e-t-e-r-s. J. Peters has been picked up by the U. S. Department of Immigration and Naturalization, as an enemy alien.

Q. Recently?

A. Yes. And accidentally. He was living in a luxurious place up on the Hudson.

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Q. I'm very proud of that, as a Seattle Inspector of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at one time.

A. Yes, Mr. John Phillips from Seattle here, he picked him up purely accidental. It shows that he's alert.

Q. Well now, this J. Peters that was picked up just recently instructed you and gave you the secret code in the National Communist Party headquarters in 1932, is that correct?

A. That is correct.

(At this point Will Parry, labor writer for the New World, created a disturbance and was removed from the hearing room by the State Patrol.)

Q. Does that remind you of Communist Party tactics?

A. I used to do that quite often myself. We used to go into—we used to go into City Council meetings and create a rumpus like that, and get thrown out; but the State Troopers here are much more gentle than they were with us.

Q. Now, Mr. Johnson, you have testified that you received some confidential matters through the mail. Did you take any precaution there, or—

A. Yes. The message in code was always sent to the—sent through the regular mail to the home of a person that could not in any way be identified with the Party, possibly a prominent doctor or prominent dentist. In Buffalo it was in one instance a prominent doctor, and in another a prominent dentist, and in a third instance a prominent lawyer.

Then, of course, while I was in New York J. Peters gave me certain addresses of persons in New York, so that when I replied to the coded message, why I would mail it from—not from my address, but the address of one of these confidential sources, one of the—the home residence of one of these trusted individuals, to one of the addresses in New York. And of course, it was left with the person to whom the letter was addressed to see to it that it was delivered to the proper person.

Q. Was that for—

A. Did I make that clear?

Q. Yes. In other words, here is a respectable person that is being used, probably as a fellow-traveler, in one city and you mail it under his name from his address to a respectable person in another city, who upon receiving it delivers—knows where to deliver it.

A. That's correct.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wonder if that word respectable is the proper word, but proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: May I change the record to be "an alleged respectable person."

Q. Was this for the purpose of deceiving the Post Office Department and the Post Office Inspectors?

A. No, not especially. It was—it was done for the purpose of making it difficult, if not impossible, for any of the law-enforcement agencies to know what the message is, because they'd have to spend time to decipher it; that is, if they accidentally stumbled over the content of the letter.

Q. Did you ever find out who prepared the code?

A. I might say this, that the Party codes were worked out by J. Peters because J. Peters was sent here by the Communist International as a representative of the Communist International. He was a part of what they call in the Communist International set-up, the Technical Bureau—Technical

Bureau. The Technical Bureau is composed of specially trained Communists that handle the technical phases of Communist work. They are assigned by the Communist Party to work in various countries. They have vast powers, but they are also instructed to work with the leaders of the Party in the country to which they are assigned. But they evidently never trusted an American with that responsibility, because J. Peters handled the codes not only for the sending of confidential and highly secret messages to Communists all over the country, but he also had a special code for the transmission of secret and confidential information to European places.

Q. And Moscow.

A. Moscow, of course. That goes without saying.

Q. Now you have barely mentioned that you succeeded Peter Chaunt as District Organizer. What did Peter Chaunt do after you relieved him as District Organizer?

A. He went to New York, and—he went to New York, they gave him a job in one of the offices there, because he was hiding out and they couldn't use him in mass work, for fear that he would be picked up by the Immigration Department.

I might also say this in connection with Peter Chaunt, that while he was there he tried to get some of the Communists who were working in the aircraft factories there to photograph blueprints of some of the late planes that they were producing there. I happened to sit in on two or three meetings with him when he suggested to them that they take photographs of the blueprints that they worked on with regard to planes, plane construction.

Q. What airplane plants do you have at Buffalo?

A. You have—let's see, I think it is—it's been a long time—I don't know whether—I don't recall whether it was the Curtis or—it was one they had a couple strikes there, and I'll have to look that up for you, and I'll give you the names of them. I can't recall offhand.

Q. There is more than one?

A. Yes, there are two of them.

Q. Two of them.

A. Yes.

Q. Did the Communist Party have cells in both these factories?

A. Yes, the Communist Party had cells in both of them.

Q. And did this attempt to secure photographs of the blueprints apply to both factories, or to particularly just one factory?

A. To both factories.

Q. Both factories. Now continue with your story.

A. He—he was supposed to supply them with some special type of canvas for them to photograph the blueprints on which they worked. Of course the Party members explained to him at that time that—that no one employee had access to all of the blueprints that are used in the construction of an airplane, and that it would be impossible for them to get a blueprint of the plane in its entirety, because they didn't have access to those files. But, that they could take pictures of blueprints that were given them with regard to the particular part on which they were working.

Some of the Communists agreed to do it, and some of them did not agree. Peter Chaunt told them that that was their Communist duty to do that, that after all, as good Communists, we are supposed to protect the Father-

land; that is, to protect Soviet Russia, and that there is a great world-wide conspiracy against Russia, that there is an eminent danger of war against Russia, and inasmuch as this condition prevailed that Communists everywhere must do everything within their power to provide Russia with all information that they possibly can get their hands on for the strengthening of Russia militarily.

And it was after he made that speech, he—there was more or less general agreement. That is, on the surface.

Q. Do you know of your own knowledge whether or not any plans were photographed and delivered to him?

A. I—I don't think so, because not long after that he was picked up by the Immigration Service, and he became so frightened as a result of it that, he hastily got in touch with the sender and requested that they take him out.

Well, when—they never entrusted me with that responsibility because I had just come into the Party and they evidently did not know too much about me and where I stood on such matters. But, that does not eliminate the possibility of the Party in devious ways having continued their contact with those persons in those plants.

Q. Was this supposed to be a general practice?

A. Yes, of course. Every Communist is—is a spy, is a potential spy. He is trained in deceit, falsehood, camouflage, theft, and he's told to do that in the interest of the world totalitarian movement, in the interest of Russia, and they so indoctrinate you that you find yourself doing things whether you want to do them or not.

Q. Now you mentioned that during the time you were District Organizer there, there was some strikes in these airplane plants—

A. Yes.

Q. —is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. What was the Party's attitude towards those strikes and connection, if any?

A. The Communist Party had one or two Communists—I think one or two in the plant at the time of the strike. Well, the Communists immediately began to distribute literature and tried to tell the workers what their demands should be and what they should do to strengthen the strike and that sort of thing, what they should do to fight against the bosses, or the heads of the aircraft industry.

Of course, that material was not appreciated by the leaders of the strike. They time and time again at the meetings disavowed any connection with it and asked the strikers to ignore it. Of course the one or two Communists that they had in the plants were able to recruit during the course of these strikes—they picked out certain militant workers and approached them and asked them to join the Communist Party. And before the strike was over they had cells in every plant.

Q. Was that—no—I want to be very, very careful to put no words in your mouth, but I do—would like to fix the name of this plant, if possible. Was that the Consolidated Aircraft Company?

A. I cannot remember offhand. I know it was—I know there are two of them here, but I can't think of—

Q. But you can secure them.

A. That thought only came to me incidentally. You know that's been a long time ago. That's been fifteen years ago.

Q. Now—

A. It could have been Consolidated.

Q. —as District Organizer, did you actively try to get into the strike and take a part with it, with highly inflammatory material?

A. Well, I used to—I used to assist in drawing up the leaflets and that sort of thing. I knew nothing about the aircraft industry, and I had no—no connection with the organization that was leading the strike.

Q. I didn't mean you personally, but I meant your organization.

A. But I worked, the Communists that we had on the inside supplied me with the information, and I proceeded to draw up the leaflet on the basis of that information, had it printed, and had Communists go out there and distribute them.

Q. Now, you have mentioned once or twice about the illegal apparatus of the Party. Would you care to elaborate on that for us? The deception, do they believe in illegal means, and if so, what and how?

A. Yes, they have two forms of organizations. They have the legal form and they have also an illegal form. The legal form consists of neighborhood party clubs that are open; and of course, sir, they have multi forms of front organizations, which are open; but they also have illegal forms—illegal forms in the sense that they have nuclei within your Armed Forces, such as your Army, your Navy, your police department, your various departments of the Government, and in various unions, and factories where the Communists cannot function legally.

Then, of course, they have their machine for circumventing postal inspection, channels of sending—confidential channels of sending material through the mail that would be unsuspected as subversive material by the postal inspectors. Then of course you have your secret codes that were always sent through the mails.

Then, too, they have an illegal Party apparatus from top to bottom. They have a secret National Committee, and secret district committees which are supposed to be formed in every district, to parallel the legal—the legal one, the open one.

Q. In other words, there are two organizations.

A. That's right.

Q. And what is the purpose of that?

A. The purpose is—is this, in case the law-enforcement agencies of the Government arrest all of the known Communists, the Communists that are unknown can continue to function under ground.

Q. As you have described they did in Canada—

A. That's right.

Q. —when the party was outlawed. Will you elaborate a little about—on that statement, as to the infiltration into the Armed Forces, or rather, their effort to infiltrate.

A. Well, the main—the main organization that was used for infiltration was the Young Communist League, and the American Youth Congress, and the American Youth for Democracy. All these are—the Young Communist League was always the youth section of the Communist Party. They received

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preliminary training during their youth to become full-fledged Communists, when they reached the age of twenty-one, why they were eligible to transfer from the League into the Communist Party.

Gil Green, who is State Organizer in Illinois at the present time—

Q. For the Communist Party?

A. For the Communist Party. —was responsible for the infiltration into the Armed Services. They also had another method to ask—I mean with a little pressure—Communist Party members who had sons of military age, who were close to the Party, to put their sons into the Armed Services to work here. Of course, there are certain laws which prevent agitating in the Armed Services, in the interest of Navy power. So they formed illegal cells and they carry on illegal propaganda.

Now someone might say to me, "Johnson, isn't that a little far-fetched, isn't that fantastic?" But I just want to call your attention to something here that will convince you beyond a doubt that what I'm saying is not just hearsay. I want to read to you from the—from the—from an official document of the Communist International, "Conditions of Admission to the Communist International." Every Communist Party has to subscribe to this before it's admitted.

It says: "Persistent—" in Condition Number Four it states: "Persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation must be carried on in the Army where Communist groups should be formed into every military organization. Whenever owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally; but refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause and incompatible with affiliation." Now there you have it.

If there is any doubt about that, I think that should remove all of it.

Q. Was this program carried out?

A. Of course it was carried out, and is being carried out at the present time, much more so than before.

Q. The Party is attempting—is establishing cells even in our Armed Forces.

A. That is correct. And if you recall, only recently there has been quite a hue and cry by a certain section of half-baked and misguided liberals to the effect that the Government should permit Communists to have positions as Commissioned Officers in the Armed Services. They ought to be shot for reason for insisting on such a thing. They ought to read this.

Q. Now you say that they also attempted to set up units in police departments. Was a special effort made along this line?

A. Well, wherever possible they had persons of eligible age who could qualify to pass the examination if they wanted them to do so, because they considered the police an essential organization to work in.

Q. It is being reported, and you have to be very careful.

A. Yes.

Q. Well, of your knowledge do you know whether or not they ever were successful in getting any policemen into the police departments of our various cities?

A. That I couldn't say because I'm not familiar with that phase of the work, only generally. It was discussed, it was discussed in high circles of the Party, but they had persons assigned especially to that work, and it was of

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such a highly confidential nature that they only speak of it in generalities because they don't trust too many people with that knowledge.

Q. Now, you continued your duties as District Organizer, according to your statement, until 1935, is that correct?

A. 1934.

Q. 1934. What happened to you then?

A. I was transferred to New York City.

Q. To what position?

A. I was placed as National Organizer in the Trade Union Unity League.

Q. Now what is the Trade Union Unity League?

A. The Trade Union Unity League was a Communist—was a Communist trade union organization in America. It was affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions. It had many unions affiliated with it. It was controlled from top to bottom by the Communist Party. The leaders of the Trade Union Unity League were such persons as Jack Stachel—Stachel is S-t-a-c-h-e-l, a member of the National Committee; and William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party of America; Pat Toohey, who I think is in California now—he is a big shot down there in the Party, I understand—Pat Toohey, Pat P-a-t, Toohey, T-o-o-h-e-y.

Q. Was this a union in the sense that the ordinary trade union is a union?

A. No, it was an industrial form of union that the Communists form in order to organize the unorganized workers in this country and bring them under the influence of the Communist Party.

Q. Now you were transferred to this organization as an organizer?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now will you pick up there and describe your duties and what you did?

A. Well, I worked with a number of unions in New York, as an organizer. I worked—I helped in the organization of the Transport Workers Union, which of course, you know, is Communist-controlled. Michael Quill, the president is a Communist—

Q. Have you sat in Communist meetings with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Repeatedly?

A. No. No. I was only at meetings of the National Committee and at one convention at which he was present. In fact, the entire leadership of the Transport Workers Union in New York City are members of the Communist Party. Austin Hogan, who is head of the—of Local 100, is a Communist. There are several others there, I can't think of their names offhand. The Communists were the ones who were responsible for the election of Quill to the City Council, because the section that he represented is thoroughly infiltrated with Communists—they're strong—it's one of their strongholds.

Q. Did you receive a salary as an organizer, from this organization?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you work in any other unions in New York?

A. Yes, I worked—I was assigned to work with the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 110.

Q. In that connection, did you know J. Rubin?

A. Yes, J. Rubin was one of the first persons that I met.

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Q. Is J. Rubin a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he's a member of the Communist Party. He's more than just a member; he's a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, because I was at the convention when he was placed on the National Committee.

Q. Did you work with Johnnie Goodman, did you know Johnnie Goodman?

A. Yes, I know Johnnie Goodman. He's a Communist.

Q. What position does he occupy?

A. I think he's a big shot in the Building Service Union there, in New York.

Q. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he's a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Did you know John Steubin?

A. John Steubin, yes. He's a member of the Communist Party. He's in that Local 244, I think, in New York.

Q. Of what union?

A. Of Building Service Employees.

Q. Did you know Sidney Budell?

A. Yes, he's also a Communist.

Q. And as a Communist, and as working in this union movement with them, you know that they are Communists?

A. Of course I do, I sat in meetings with them time and time again, to which no one was admitted except members of the Communist Party.

Q. Did you know a man in that movement at that time by the name of Nat Honig?

A. Nat Honig? Yes, he's a fine chap. He was editor of the official organ of the Trade Union Unity League. Let's see, the name of that magazine was "Labor Unity." "Labor Unity," that's correct.

Q. Now, for the sake of the record, Mr. Johnson, I would ask you to identify a little more clearly, because Rubin might be a common name, who, which or what J. Rubin do you refer to?

A. Well, I refer to the one and only little czar in the hotel field, J. Rubin who is head—secretary of the Hotel Trades Council in New York City.

Q. And John Goodman. Now you've identified him as—

A. I think—I think he is an International Vice President, if I'm not mistaken, or—

Q. Of what union?

A. The Building Service, I think it is.

Q. Building Service Employees Union?

A. Employees Union, yes.

Q. And Sidney Budell?

A. He's in Local 244, I don't know what his official position is there. He has some official position, I don't know, I haven't seen him in quite a while.

Q. And John Steubin?

A. Steubin, he's also an officer of—there in 244.

Q. Of the Building Service Employees—

A. Building Service Employees Union.

Q. Now, did you ever attend any meetings of the National Convention of the Communist Party?

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A. Yes, I attended the convention in Cleveland and also the convention in New York City in 1938.

Q. Did you ever attend any meetings of the National Committee of the Communist Party?

A. I attended practically all, or almost all, of the meetings of the National Committee from 1932 up to and including 1939. I might also say, incidentally, that I attended quite a few meetings of the Political Bureau of the National Committee.

Q. Will you explain what the Political Bureau is?

A. Well, the Political Bureau is the all-powerful ruling body of the Communist Party in America.

Q. Is it higher than the National Committee?

A. It is not supposed to be, but it is.

Q. Well, it's the secret control then?

A. No, it's an executive—sort of an executive body of the—of the National Committee, but its composition is such that persons who are on it actually run the Party. They decide everything. They decide on what shall be taken up at the National Committee meetings and they prepare everything, and everything is cut and dried, so—

Q. They're the cutters and the driers of it?

A. That's right. So when the National Committee meets, the big shots from the Political Bureau get up and present their reports hour after hour and you can get up after they get through, and they will allow you five or ten minutes to say a few words and then sit down and they'll summarize the discussion and then you stand up and applaud them for an hour.

Q. Who are some of the other members of this National Political Bureau?

A. Well, at the time I was on—at the time I was on the—

Q. That's what I mean, at that time.

A. Well, there was Earl Browder, Earl E-a-r-l Browder, B-r, William Z. Foster, Jack Stachel, J. W. Ford, Alex Bittleman—

Q. Well that's sufficient. Each of these are recognized highly—

A. Yes, of course.

Q. And you then, even was on this committee which in effect ran the National Committee.

A. That's right.

Q. Uh-hum. Now do you recall attending either meetings of the Political Bureau or the National Committee and ever hearing any discussion concerning the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. I do recall that in 19—in 193—in the latter part of '37, if I'm not mistaken, that there was discussion for the first time with regard to this organization. It seems to me at that time there was a movement that was under way out here for the securing of a pension for the old folks. The Communists on the West Coast at the time underestimated the—the movement when it first began. They didn't think that the issue of a pension for the old people in Washington would receive such tremendous mass support. For—because of their negative attitude toward this particular movement, they were severely criticized and reprimanded by the members of the National Committee.

Q. Now who was this?

A. The representatives from the Party in this particular district. I—it didn't interest me at that particular time and I don't recall exactly who reported on that at the plenum of the National Committee.

Q. But do you recall—

A. I do recall the discussion of that particular subject.

Q. And what decision was made there?

A. The decision was made that—that they condemn the—they condemn the negative attitude of the Party in this district, and that they must take the necessary remedial measures, that is, to infiltrate the organization and seek to control it and direct it in channels in the best interest of the Communist Party. In 1938 there was further discussion, and in the discussion the comrades from Washington reported that they had succeeded in intrenching themselves in this organization and were playing a decisive roll in the conduct of its affairs.

Q. Now would you discuss a little bit the National Trade Union movement in the Communist Party high circles, their program, their ideas about it?

A. Well, the Communist Party aims to control all labor unions in America. They are primarily concerned with the organization of cells within all of the unions; and through the correct and proper work of these cells within these unions, to eventually gain positions of leadership. And by gaining positions of leadership in the various unions, both A. F. of L and C. I. O., they can bring forth the Communist Party and program before the broad masses of the members. In other words, they can deceive the rank and file, because they are so much—so many of us who are so unwary and who are so unsuspecting that it's easy for a professional organizer and agitator or propagandist to mislead you, because I've misled many myself, because I had a good gift of gab and was specially trained for doing it; while you were possibly going out with your wife or going to a show, we sat in smoke-filled rooms deciding on how we were going to put something over on you the next day. That's the way we did it, and that's the work of these cells; that's the work of the Communist cells or fractions within these organizations. That's how they gain control, because the average rank and file member of a union is not alert. He doesn't go to a meeting, except some important issue comes up, and then he goes reluctantly. He doesn't take too much interest or concern in his organization. The Communists know that, and all they have to do is get a foothold, get a few people around them, and they're all set because any organized minority can control an unorganized majority.

Q. Now, did they concentrate on the basic industries of this country?

A. Yes, the over-all strategic plan of the Communists for the overthrow of the Government of the United States is predicated upon the ability of the Communist Party to penetrate or sink its roots deep into the basic industries of America. For example, steel, mining, transportation, marine—imagine for a moment what the discussion was on this particular matter, and what it was predicated upon. They know that if they can succeed in gaining control of the unions in steel, and mining, and transportation, and marine, and are able to call general strikes in that industry, they can paralyze the entire economy of the nation. They know it. They are master strategists. And if they succeed in paralyzing the economy of this nation, they are in a position to transform that particular paralyzing strike in a struggle for power. After all, the master plan of the Communist International calls for what?

For strikes—general strikes, a series of paralyzing general strikes, and then armed insurrection and the seizure of power. In order to do that—in order to do that they must have the basic industries. When they tie up your transportation system, you're in a pretty bad way. When they tie up steel, one of the basic industries, everything stops. It's paralyzed. And they know that the best way to paralyze the economy of America is to paralyze your basic industries.

And that's not just idle chatter. They mean that, and they intend to do it.

Q. Now, you know this from official documents and official discussions within the highest councils of the Communist Party in the United States.

A. That is correct.

Q. Was there any movement ever made to infiltrate the veterans' organizations?

A. Yes, the Communist Party members who were veterans of World War No. I were instructed to join the posts of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, but emphasis was particularly placed on the American Legion because the Americanism policy of the American Legion is considered reactionary by the Communists. And they have been interested in infiltrating that organization and gaining control of as many posts of the American Legion as they possibly can.

You will find that in the coming months there will be a greater and greater infiltration into the various posts of the American Legion. They feel that if they can gain control over the posts of the American Legion, they can send Communist delegates to American Legion conventions and they can introduce resolutions and create a rumpus there like they have here in this courtroom, to shout from the floor and denounce the leaders and smear them, as Legionnaires and as delegates in their effort to discredit the Americanism program of the American Legion.

Q. Did they ever set up a dual organization for veterans?

A. Yes, they did set up a dual organization, but the dual organization was a sort of catch-all. But they did set up a committee—an organization composed of—of labor members of the American Legion.

Q. What was the name of this organization?

A. Ah—

Q. Was it the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires?

A. That's right, the National Conference of Labor Legionnaires. That—that organization—that organization is really a rank and file movement within the American Legion.

Q. Do you mean that it's a rank and file movement that grows from the rank and file?

A. No, it's not an official organization of the American Legion; it's a Communist front organization that is set up for the purpose of training the—the Legionnaires who are Communists and Communist sympathizers in ways and means of working inside of their Legion posts, to gain control of those posts.

Q. I'm not quibbling with you, I'm merely wanting to get the interpretation clear. You used the term rank and file movement. You don't mean that it came from the members within the post itself.

A. No, no, it's organized on the outside, it was organized by the Party from the outside.

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Q. Now this was in reality to be cells for the purpose of operating within these posts.

A. That's correct.

Q. In other words, there would be—they knew there would be a very great minority by highly organizing it, by concentrating their efforts they felt that they would have an influence within the posts.

A. That's correct.

Q. Was this program carried out?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. It might be of interest here, I notice you wear a discharge button from the Armed Services, did you serve in the Armed Services during the war?

A. Yes, I was in the United States Navy during the war.

Q. Did you receive an honorable discharge?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. How long was you in the service?

A. I was in the service from the first of 1944 up until the middle of 1946.

Q. Did you receive a citation for special meritorious service?

A. Yes, we received the Departmental Citation from the Secretary of the Navy, because of the—because of the splendid job we did in turning out the material necessary for the successful prosecution of the war in the Pacific.

Q. You was in the Navy.

A. Yes. I might say, incidentally, that I was in Aviation Ordnance as Petty Officer, 1st Class. And I was assigned to supervise the handling of millions of tons of high explosives that had to—that was put aboard your carriers that were operating—aircraft carriers that were operating in the Pacific. I might say that during that period we never had an accident.

Q. Now you mentioned—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have reached a point here, if the committee desires to recess a few moments, I'm going to take up a new subject matter when we return.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We'll be at ease for approximately ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we proceed, Mr. Houston?

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Johnson, I understand you have available the names of the National Committee members of the Communists Party at the present time. Will you state them for the record?

A. I'd like to—I'd like to correct that. I would like to read in the record the names of the all-powerful Political Bureau of the Communist Party as it is now constituted.

Q. Oh, I beg your pardon.

A. William Z. Foster is National Chairman; Eugene Dennis, alias Waldron; General Secretary; and, Waldron, W-a-l-d-r-o-n—his first name is Frank; Benjamin J. Davis, a New York City councilman, is President of the "Daily Worker"; John Gates, J-o-h-n John, G-a-t-e-s Gates, he's the State Chairman in Illinois; Jack Stachel, he's the Party Chief of Education, Propaganda and Agitation; Irving Potash, Irving I-r-v-i-n-g, Potash P-o-t-a-s-h, he's the leader of the Fur and Leather Workers Industrial Union affiliated with the C.I.O.; John Williamson, John J-o-h-n, Williamson W-i-l-l-i-a-m-s-o-n, he's

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National Labor Secretary—he was for a long time District Organizer in Cleveland and was later transferred to New York; Robert Thompson, Robert, R-o-b-e-r-t, T-h-o-m-p-s-o-n—he's the New York State Chairman of the Communist Party; Henry Winston, Henry H-e-n-r-y, Winston W-i-n-s-t-o-n, he's the Organizational Secretary; and Carl Winter, he's the Chairman of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan.

That is the powerful Political Bureau of the Communist Party as it is now constituted. They have also an underground Political Bureau composed of an entirely different list of persons. They have a liaison between the open Political Bureau and the underground Political Bureau. The only persons who know the members of the underground Political Bureau are William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis.

Q. Mr. Johnson—

A. I might say, incidentally, that the Communist Party last year conducted a financial drive. Every member of the Communist Party was asked to give one week's salary to the Party for this special Party fund. The Communist Party has approximately eighty-five thousand members in the United States. There may be some of them unemployed, but the majority of them are employed, to say nothing of the thousands of sympathizers and misguided liberals and middle-class elements contingent to the Party.

Figuring that on the basis of, oh, say forty dollars a week, it would run into millions. This—this fund which the Communist Party has created is to be used to establish this secret Party apparatus from your Political Bureau down to your smallest—to your district and your smallest Party cell, and to establish illegal or secret printing establishments where Communist literature can be printed for distribution in the event that the places that are known are cut off from them by your law-enforcement agencies.

In other words, this whole fund is for the purpose of establishing a underground apparatus, nationally, to carry on the Communist Party program in the event that the Communist Party in the United States is declared illegal.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to tell you something about my good, good comrade in quotations—quotation marks, Frank Waldron, or Eugene Dennis. I'd like to give you some information on that man's history and background as a classical example of duplicity. In 1930 Frank Waldron was arrested at Los Angeles, California, on a charge of inciting to riot. He was—he was sentenced to serve six months in jail. He was taken out by the Communists on bail. He jumped bail, and fled—fled the jurisdiction of the court. He somehow found his way to Moscow—Communists always go home—he found his way to Moscow. He was put in the Lenin School in Moscow, where he was given extensive training by the Communist Party there for his future work in America.

It was in 1934, if I'm not mistaken, he was sent by the Communist Party to China. During his time in China he worked with the former head of the German Communist Party. His job was to demoralize the British Military Forces in China. They carried on an extensive Communist agitation and propaganda among the British troops there to demoralize them in the interest of the Communist forces in China. He somehow—he went back to Moscow and, somehow in '35, and he got a passport through the American Consulate there to come back to the United States.

He got the passport under the name of Paul Walsh, P-a-u-l Paul, W-a-l-s-h Walsh, and with that he—he was able to come back to the United States, and

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he was assigned—State Secretary of the Communist Party of Wisconsin. But now he has a new name, Eugene Dennis. My how these Communists do change their names! Yet all around the world, they change their names and yet people will believe in them and they'll trust them.

So we see then that Paul—that Eugene Dennis, alias Frank Waldron, alias Paul Walsh, is a Comintern agent in the United States, whose life is dedicated to the destruction of the democratic institutions of our government. He has been specifically trained by an alien power for one purpose, to come back here and sell a bill of goods to the American people, to use you as tools of an alien power to destroy the very government which has brought so many and untold blessings to us and to the world.

Frank Waldron—Frank Waldron, or Eugene Dennis was not at the famous meeting of the new Cominform. Cominform is a new name for Communist International. Cominform means Communist information—ah—bureau. It's just a new name for the old organization of Communist International. But what is most significant of all is that at that meeting of the Cominform you had two high officials of the Soviet Government, two direct representatives of the Kremlin. And if there is anybody who denies the tie-up between the sections of the Communist International with Moscow, that should dispel all illusions, because Zhdanov and Malenkov—

Q. Would you spell those names?

A. Zhdanov is spelled Z-h-d-a-n-o-v, and Malenkov M-a-l-e-n-k-o-v. I might be a little off in my pronunciation but—I was a Communist, but I never was a Russian.

The only reason why the Communists have not affiliated with the Cominform is because in 1942, I think one of your Congressmen introduced a bill which was passed, known as—what is it, Voorhees Act—what is that?

MR. HOUSTON: The Voorhees Act.

A. Vorhees Act, isn't it?

Q. V-double o-r-h-i-s

A. Yes, that was in—if I'm not mistaken—that was passed in 1940. Well, this act required the registration of enemy agents. Well, anyone that is now in the Communist Party affiliated with the Cominform, the State Department could declare every Communist Party member in the United States an agent of a foreign power; and as such, they would have to register with the State Department. That would mean that every person who is a member of the Communist Party would have to register with your State Department. The Communist Party doesn't want the State Department to know their membership. It would prevent them from carrying on in their conspiratorial work. And for that reason they did not formally connect themselves with the Cominform. But, whatever the Cominform says, the leaders of the American party listen to and obey.

You saw that when Duclos issued his famous statement on Browder. Who is so naive as to believe that that letter did not influence the leaders of the American party? Browder, who was acclaimed before, was condemned after Duclos' letter. That ought to convince you beyond a shadow of a doubt, of the connection between the American Communist Party and the Communist International, with its strings and headquarters in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The Communist movement is a conspiratorial political movement. It has absolutely nothing in common with the reformed political movements which we have had in this country, because the Communist Party is not a reformist party, it's a definite political movement that is controlled and directed by a

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foreign power that has only one aim, not to correct the ills of our democracy, not to correct those things which we consider wrong in these United States, but to—to use the ills of democracy as tools to accomplish a certain end. With them the struggle for a little more money for a pension for the old aged, it is not that they are interested in the old folks, they don't give a tinker's darn for them, that's only bait, they're using you as a means to an end. It has nothing in common with the highest and best traditions of our country.

Q. Mr. Johnson, you have testified that you were a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee. Is that correct?

A. Yes, I was a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee.

Q. What is the Negro Commission of the National Committee?

A. The Negro Commission of the National Committee is a subcommission of the National Committee composed of—of the most capable and most competent district Negro Communists in the Communist movement in America. And some of the—some of the most outstanding Negro Communists composed that committee, amongst whom was Harry Haywood, Harry H-a-r-r-y, Haywood, H-a-y-w-o-o-d, who attended the Lenin School in Moscow, he was especially trained for work amongst Negroes in America while there.

Incidentally, I might say that he was a member of the special commission on the Negro and colonial question under the direction and supervision of the Communist International. He participated in drawing up the resolution for the Communist International on the Negro question in America. He has written numerous articles which were published in Communist magazines, and periodicals, over a period of years. He took part in the—he took part in the civil war in Spain. He was later broken because of difficulties he had with Gerhardt Eisler in Spain. The last I heard of him he had contacted Bridges on the West Coast, and Bridges got him a job.

James W. Ford, he, as you know, was also in Moscow on a number of occasions. He was also trained there. He ran as—he ran as William Z. Foster's running mate for Vice President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket. He has been the—Earl Browder's right-hand man Friday. Browder and Stachel used to write all of his speeches for him, and he'd stand up there and read them. We used to—we used to look upon him in contempt because he had—if you were to cut his head down—his head down to the size of his brain, why he could wear peanut shells for a top piece. But he served a definite purpose. They used him, and he used them against—the Negroes in the top who could think for themselves.

We had B. D. Amis. B. D., Amis A-m-i-s, Amis. He was quite a theoretician on the Negro question. He wrote quite a few articles in the Party press and other period publications. He was also Moscow-trained.

Maude White. Maude White, M-a-u-d-e Maude, White W-h-i-t-e, Moscow-trained and active in work among Negro women.

Louise Thompson, Moscow-trained, is active now in Chicago, Illinois.

William Patterson, a lawyer who spent quite a few years in Moscow where he was specially trained and worked on the special American Commission here.

Timothy Holmes. Timothy T-i-m-o-t-h-y, Holmes H-o-l-m-e-s, alias George Hewitt. George G-e-o-r-g-e, Hewitt H-e-w-i-t-t.

Abner W. Berry. Abner A-b-n-e-r W. Berry B-e-r-r-y.

There were a few more whose names I just can't recall at the present time.

Q. Now these were the members of the Negro Commission of the National Committee and carried forth the Communist penetration among the Negro people, is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. And you were a member of that Committee also.

A. That's correct.

Q. Now, will you just detail for us briefly, how you attempted to deceive the Negro people, and what if anything, if any interest the Communist Party has in the Negroes.

A. Well, I could—I'll try to trace the history of the Communist activities among the Negroes as briefly as I possibly can.

The—their first effort was made during the years of the Garvey Movement, and the movement of the Marcus Garvey grew to a tremendous thing. At one time it was stated that there were over three and a half million Negroes in the Marcus Garvey Movement. The Communists sought to infiltrate the Garvey Movement, like they do all movements. Now they have an organization called the Blood Brotherhood in New York City, and it was through this organization that they began to infiltrate the Garvey Movement. They were never able to control it because the things which Garvey was accused by the Government of doing, resulted in complete—resulted in complete discrediting of him, and the final disintegration of the movement.

The Communists played their role in helping to destroy the Garvey Movement. They sought to control it, and after they couldn't control it they sought to destroy it. And like the—that is the same way with your old folks movement here. If they can't control it they'll ruin it. Their policy is to rule or ruin. They couldn't control the Garvey Movement, so they—they sought to ruin it. And they became the informers and—informists. They were the ones that supplied the information that was used to destroy it. They used the specially set up news agency called the Crusaders News Agency. That was the organization that they had, at that time, and they used to send out constantly, reports to the newspapers on activities of the Garvey Movement.

Incidentally, I want to show you how treacherous the Commies are. They went into the Garvey Movement as friends of the Garvey Movement. They went in and offered their services to the Garvey Movement. They told them that they were—had experience in sending out news releases to the various papers, and that they would handle the publicity for the Garvey Movement. Well, for a while they sent out very favorable publicity. The newspapers gobbled it up, and it was printed. Then later on they swung just the other way. They began to feed in unfavorable publicity. They had already won the confidence of the people, and they began to send out unfavorable publicity. Then all of a sudden they sent out publicity that just knocked the whole foundation from under the Garvey Movement, because they had sought to control it and they couldn't control it, because Garvey kept the strings of the organization too well in his hands.

And I want to bring that out just as one illustration of the "rule or ruin" policy of them and their deceit, their double-dealing, their treachery.

Q. Have they any real interest in the Negro people?

A. No, they have only one thought in mind. They want to use the Negro as a political catspaw to help them pull their chestnuts out of the fire. That's all. They are, in my opinion, the modern day carpet-bagger.

Q. You refer to the Communists now, don't you?

A. Yes, the Communists are the modern-day carpet-bagger. Incidentally, I might say this, after they—after they succeeded in breaking up the Garvey Movement they formed an organization called the Negro Labor Congress.

Q. The American Negro Labor Congress.

A. No, No, that's a different organization. This is a Negro Labor Congress. The Negro Labor Congress had a program that was identical to that of the Communist Party. It—it called for the right of self-determination for the Negroes in the old cotton belt. I might say here that the cotton belt is a continuous territory; it starts on the eastern shore of Maryland, extends through two hundred and nineteen counties and drives a wedge into Texas, making two hundred and nineteen counties extending over nine states, driving a wedge into Texas. Well, in this various—in this vast zone the Negro people constitute the majority of the population. The Communists have computed that this area, by virtue of the fact that the Negroes constitute the majority, should be separated from the rest of the United States, unified politically, and that a separate Negro republic be set up there. This republic to decide what its relations shall be with the United States and with other nations.

Now someone—some of you might say that "you say something that's not true." I want to read to you from their program, if I may, if you'll be patient with me and bear with me.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to read from the program here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would like to continue here until he has completed this phase of his testimony.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all right, if it's agreeable to you.

Q. Now, this is their official program that you are reading from?

A. Yes, this is the official program of the Negro Labor Congress and which is identical with the policy of the resolution of the Communist International on the Negro question in America.

"Right of Self-determination. This means complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the black belt," which is the same as the cotton belt, "as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States."

Q. Now that's the portion of the official resolution adopted at the Communist International?

A. That is correct.

Q. And what is the purpose of that resolution?

A. The purpose of the—the purpose of this resolution is for the clarification of the Party with regard to the Negro question in America. Now this—this is predicated upon the contention that—that the Negroes in America constitute a nation in the sense that Lenin—in the sense—in accordance with Lenin's interpretation of the qualifications of the nation.

Q. You'll pardon me, Mr. Johnson, but I have to watch my record as I proceed.

A. Yes, go ahead.

Q. Where and when was the Communist International held that adopted that resolution?

A. That was adopted—let me see here, I can tell you in a minute. It was adopted by the Communist International, October 1930, Resolutions of the Communist International on the Negro question in the United States.

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Q. Was this the Communist International held in Moscow of that year?
 A. It was held in Moscow in that year.

Q. And then there were American delegates participated?

A. Oh yes, that's correct. In fact some of the members of the—two of the members of the National Committee were responsible for drawing up this resolution.

Q. Now if you will proceed. We're discussing the Negro Labor Congress now.

A. The Negro Labor Congress, because of its—its program which was identical to that of the Communist Party never grew to mass proportions. It remained a—a very narrow and sectarian organization, with—the membership consisted, in other words, of Party members and close sympathizers.

Q. As a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party, did you ever learn how they intended to effect the setting up of this state by revolution?

A. They were to organize—they were to organize the masses of Negroes in this particular zone, and to incite them to revolt, to seize the land and to proclaim a Negro republic in the South. And demand a complete separation of this zone from the United States, and that the Communists should urge the workers and farmers all over the country to support this revolutionary struggle.

Q. Now, I mentioned a name a little while ago, briefly. Do you know an organization known as the American Negro Labor Congress?

A. No. There was no such organization. It was the Negro Labor Congress. I might say that we decided in the National—in the Negro Commission of the National Committee to disband the—that—the Negro Labor Congress, because it didn't have sufficient mass appeal, and it was too much like the Communist Party in program and in policy. In order to save face, however, instead of publicly disbanding it, we just created another organization. We just gave it another name, in other words.

Q. What was the new organization's name?

A. The new organization was called the Legal Struggle for Negro Rights.

Q. And when was this formed?

A. That was formed, I think, in thirty—in 1933, if I'm not mistaken.

Q. '33?

A. That's right. I think it was about in 1933.

Q. That's close enough. All right, did this new organization carry out the same program as the old organization?

A. Yes, it carried out the same program as the old organization. The only difference was that it has a newspaper and the other didn't.

Q. Was it successful in penetrating into the masses of the Negroes?

A. They—they did succeed in making some in-road, because they had the Scottsboro Case as one of the issues, and they exploited the Scottsboro Case to the utmost. I sat in—I sat in meetings at which the case was discussed, and I was—I was amazed at the cynicism of the leaders of the Party with regard to it. They said to us definitely, "As leading Communists you should understand that we are not concerned about whether those boys are burned or not; we're concerned with only one thing, and that is to use the issue to organize millions of Negroes around the Party and for the Party policy and program."

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Q. Who made that statement?

A. That was made by James W. Ford, who was a member of the National Committee and a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party.

Q. And the Ford that later ran for Vice President of the United States—

A. That's correct.

Q. —on the Communist Party ticket. All right, now what happened to this organization, did it go out of business too?

A. It didn't grow; it remained narrow and sectarian. And we—we were discussing ways and means of gracefully disbanding it, that is, disband it and at the same time save our face to merge it with something. Any way to get rid of it. They do that over and over again. One day—today you've got one organization and tomorrow you've got another; it's merged with this one. Because the organization has served its purpose, they don't want to just give it up, they just merge it with something else. It's just shifting of Communist forces from one group to another, that's all it is.

Q. Now, do you know—pardon me.

A. In nineteen—I think it was in 1934, in New York City, we had a meeting of the Negro Commission. At that time I recommended to the Commission that we should, on the basis of a united front, form a broadly representative organization that should be called Negro Congress, that is, an organization in which representatives of all groups could take part. They tossed cold water on that proposition. However, at a meeting of the National Committee in 1935, a recommendation was made that we explore the possibilities of forming a National Negro Congress. A special subcommittee was set up. This subcommittee met and decided upon what person amongst the Negroes had sufficient prestige to head the organization, and at the same time could be used.

Quite a list of persons were—quite a long list of persons was made, and finally we eliminated all except A. Phillip Randolph. A. Phillip Randolph. A. Phillip, P-h-i-l-l-i-p, Randolph R-a-n-d-o-l-p-h. He is President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a very able man and a Socialist.

Q. He is not a Communist?

A. Definitely anti-Communist. They talked to Randolph and Randolph agreed to accept the responsibilities. We—we contacted, of course, organizations in every community throughout the nation. Now we were able to do that because the Communist Party is set up all over the country, and they've got—they've got—so it's no difficult matter for them to set up a small committee with a couple Communists and a few half-baked and misguided liberals to initiate it. That's the way that works. So we finally decided on a date when the first Congress should be held, and we—the Communist Party sent out directives all over the country for the Communist Party—sections of districts, and sections of units to concentrate on getting delegates to the National Negro Congress, to visit organizations and urge them to elect delegates.

Of course they did, and the result was we held a conference in Chicago—the first National Negro Congress in Chicago, Illinois.

This was a broadly representative Congress. We had thousands of delegates. We had attracted to the organization many persons who before had no connections whatsoever with the Communist movement. The Communist Party, of course, packed the Congress with persons from every conceivable Communist front organization, and some of them came in there with faked credentials, organizations that existed only on paper; but they had to have enough

delegates there to guarantee that they'd have a sufficiently strong fraction on every subcommittee of the Congress, so that the Communist Party could guarantee that the movement which they had initiated would not slip out of their hands, that they would still remain in control of the National Negro Congress.

Well, they had such guys like myself and Richard B. Moore—well, we were the key fellows. Richard B. Moore and James W. Ford, Abner W. Berry, Samuel Patterson, Louis Thompson—well, we were the key guys in the top, and John P. Davis, John J-o-h-n, Davis D-a-v-i-s. He is secretary to Congressman Vito Marcantonio. He's a Commie. Well he was, of course, slated to be secretary—

Q. Now again, my record—for the sake of the record, every time you refer to the word "Commie" you mean a member of the Communist Party.

A. Yeah, we call them "Commies." It's just a term of ours, that's all. I don't want to dignify them too much. They—they—from the—from the resolutions you can see that they followed the Communist line throughout, because we drew up the resolutions before the Congress. Every resolution that was to be introduced, we met and we drew them up, and we just forced everybody who came there to accept our resolutions. Of course, if we had a little opposition, why tried to convince them, but if we thought we'd antagonize them too much, we'd concede them a minor point and settle it that way; but still the basic line of the Communist Party was through the whole of it.

And that was in February of 1936. We held the second Congress in Philadelphia, two years later, which was much more broadly representative than the first. The Communists were boasting about how they were able to initiate a movement. It had grown to mass proportions and had given them access to many Negro churches, fraternal, civic and social organizations with which they before had no contact. Of course, I was on the National Executive Board and Executive Committee of the Congress, and we used to have meetings from time to time, and we'd have a fraction meeting before the non-Party people came; and we used to have everything cut and dried, so that when the non-Party people came in, why, we knew just what we were going to put over. And it wasn't any use for them to bring up any proposition. We knew what we wanted to do. What they had in mind didn't concern us at all. We weren't interested. Except if they had something good that we thought was—would help us put over our line a little better.

But we had nothing but cynical contempt for the non-Party people. After all, you're just stupid individuals, you don't know anything, and we're the only wise guys. We'll tell you; you won't tell us.

But that's the sort of attitude that runs through the Communist movement from top to bottom. They are the only people in the world who are right, and everybody else is wrong. You see that every day. It's nothing new. They have the last word to say about everything.

Sometimes I marvel at the stupidity of some of us Americans who go along with them.

MR. HOUSTON: I wonder if we could recess at this point. Are you at a point where we could recess now?

THE WITNESS: Yeah, I—yes, I can, but there's one other point I want to—

MR. HOUSTON: Fine, proceed to the other point.

THE WITNESS: —I want to pass on to the third Congress which was

held in Washington, D. C. And that Congress spelled the doom of the National Negro Congress.

All during the life of the Congress, A. Phillip Randolph found himself in conflict with the Commies. He wanted to eliminate the Communist Party completely from the Congress. Well, the Communists kept on appeasing him and debating with him, and in that way they were able to delay something that would come about inevitably. So the result was that Randolph told them point blank, he said, "This is nothing but a Communist set-up; this is—the Communists have tried—have run this organization ever since its inception; when I have sought to put through propositions that I thought were in the best interests of the Negro people, you Communists have opposed it, you have fought against it, and I see that you're only using me and my prestige in this organization. I'm just a puppet. All of the strings are in your hands. You play the tune, and I have to dance." He says, "I'm sick and tired of it; I'm taking a walk. Goodbye, God bless you, and the devil miss you."

And when Randolph walked out, hundreds of other organizations who had affiliated with the National Negro Congress deserted the organization. They quit, because it was a Communist set-up.

The result is that the National Negro Congress is nothing but a narrow sectarian organization today, composed of Communists and Communist sympathizers. That's all it is today; it's just a shell of what it was. I've seen its growth from its inception and I've seen its decline.

Now the Communists are telling the—the Communist Party members and sympathizers to go now into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

MR. HOUSTON: Can you take that up after lunch?

THE WITNESS: That's right.

(Noon Recess)

2:05 o'Clock p. m.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will be in session.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, we have a witness here that has just recently gotten out of the hospital, he's physically ill,—

At this point a youth by the name of Norman Carpenter created a disturbance and was removed by direction of Chairman Canwell by officers of the State Patrol.

This gentleman has traveled a considerable distance, and it's necessary that he catch a ferry to return, and I would like to ask your permission, Mr. Chairman, to temporarily recess the witness who is on the stand and place this witness on the stand. His testimony will not be long.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do so.

PETER HILLER, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. Peter Hiller.

Q. How do you spell your last name?

A. H-i-l-l-e-r.

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- Q. Where do you live, Mr. Hiller?
A. I'm temporarily, now in Port Orchard.
- Q. Mr. Hiller, how long have you lived in the State of Washington?
A. About twenty-four years.
- Q. Mr. Hiller, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?
A. Yes, sir.
- Q. When did you join the Communist Party?
A. Oh, about six, seven years ago.
- Q. To refresh your recollection, I'll ask you if it was in the spring of 1942.
A. Well, it was even before that.
- Q. I'll ask you to state, Mr. Hiller, if your wife had been a member of the Communist Party.
A. She was.
- Q. For how many years had she been a member of the Communist Party before you married her?
A. She told me fourteen years. Better than fourteen, she said.
- Q. Mr. Hiller, where were the Communist Party meetings held when you were a member of the Communist Party?
A. They were meeting on—just across the road there on 85th. I don't know the house number.
- Q. Is that here in the City of Seattle?
A. Yes, right up here on Aurora.
- Q. What was your address here in the City of Seattle at that time?
A. 1206 East 96th.
- Q. Who—at whose home, or who owned the property where this Communist—these Communist meetings were held that you attended?
A. He was—Harry Ryan.
- Q. Harry Ryan?
A. Ryan, yes.
- Q. R-y-a-n?
A. Yeah, so I understand.
- Q. Now fix the, as best you can, what years that was, Mr. Hiller.
A. Oh, '41 probably, or '42, about that time.
- Q. Who was chairman of the Communist Party unit meeting that you attended?
A. His name was—
- Q. To refresh your recollection, I'll ask you if you've ever heard of the name Silverson, or Sylverson?
A. Yeah, Siverson is his name.
- Q. What was his first name, do you remember?
A. I've got an awfully poor memory.
- Q. Was it Sig Silverson?
A. Which?
- Q. Was it Sig—
A. Sig, yes. Sig Sylverson.
- Q. Do you spell that S-i-g S-i-l-v-e-r-s-o-n?
A. Well, his name was really Sigurd, I believe it was. Sigurd Silverson, yes.

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- Q. Do you know a party by the name of Flossy Merryfield?
A. I do.
- Q. Was she a member of the Communist Party?
A. She was.
- Q. Where did she live at that time?
A. Well, she lived at—on 85th and—well, now I don't know the house number, but—I can't think of the name of the street either.
- Q. Over in that general area that you—
A. Yeah.
- Q. —of 80th and Aurora? Over in that general area?
A. Oh, she didn't come that far up as Aurora. Only 85th and—up to here, but then I don't know what the name of the street is, but it is a short street anyway.
- Q. Well, that isn't so important. What was her principal activity in the Communist Party, as you remember it, Mr.—
A. Well, she wasn't—in—that is, she had no activity there. She quit—she was in the Pension Union.
- Q. She was in the Pension Union?
A. Well yes, that is, she—that was the place where she helped out, you know, doing whatever—
- Q. Who had charge of the distribution of the literature?
A. Well, it's a—Sig had, and almost anybody. They had it planted on the table, you know, like that, and they had it all stacked up and you could help yourself to it and pay whatever you could afford to pay, you know. If you couldn't pay it, they give you pamphlets anyway.
- Q. All right, referring to this Flossy Merryfield—
CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Pardon me, will you spell that last name, please?
MR. WHIPPLE: M-e-r-r-y-f-i-e-l-d, that—that's the name.
- Q. I'll ask you to state whether or not she was employed by the Washington Pension Union during that year 1942?
A. I didn't get you.
- Q. I'll ask you to state whether or not Flossy Merryfield was employed in the Pension Union office in 1942?
A. Well, I couldn't give you no—no definite answer on that, but it was later than that, I think it was, she was up in the Pension Union.
- Q. Well, what—when was it that she was in the Pension Union, if you know?
A. Oh, probably '42 or '43, or something—
- Q. Did you see her there in the Pension Union office—
A. I did.
- Q. And what was she doing there, Mr.—
A. Well, I went up to pay my dues, and she kind of smiled and told me where to go and pay the dues, and that's all the conversation I had with her. She seemed to be kind of a reception lady there when she—
- Q. In other words, she was working there at the office, is that right?
A. Yeah.

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Q. Now, did you ever hold an office in the Pension Union yourself, Mr. Hiller?

A. Yes. I was chairman for nine months at Green Lake Local No. 10.

Q. What year was that?

A. Well, I'm awful poor at the dates and such things as that, but it was somewhere about the same time, that—

Q. About 1942?

A. Somewhere, yes.

Q. Now were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

A. I was part of the time. I want to state here that I didn't belong to it only for two—for about two months I paid dues.

Q. All right—

A. And I didn't like their system, so I—

Q. You got out. Now then, when you were chairman of the Green Lake chapter—or Green Lake Branch No. 10 of the Old Age Pension Union here in the City of Seattle, did your wife hold any position with that same local?

A. She was secretary-treasurer.

Q. And was she a member of the Communist Party at that time?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of William Pennock?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Did he hold any official position in the Communist Party during the time—I mean—strike that. Did he hold any official position with the Washington Pension Union during the time you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, he did, at least he was always opening the meetings and speaking and so on, you know.

Q. I'll ask you if Mr. Pennock ever had occasion to introduce you and your wife?

A. No, he never introduced us. I knew her before I knew Pennock.

Q. To refresh your recollection, I don't think you quite understand the import of my question. Did—was there ever occasion in which Mr. Pennock introduced you and your wife to a crowd?

A. Oh, yes. He asked me where I lived, and he—I come up to the meeting held at Moose Hall there, you know, and when I come in the hall why, he come up and shook hands with me, and he called me Comrade Hiller.

Q. Called you what?

A. He called me Comrade Hiller.

Q. Comrade Hiller?

A. Yeah. And after everything—I was seated and everything, he told everybody in the hall to get up, you know, and give us a hand. And they all stood up, you know, and clapped their hands for us, you know.

Q. Yes. Mr. Hiller, did you ever serve on the—as a member of the Executive Board of the Washington Pension Union? Were you ever on the Executive Board?

A. No, I don't think I ever did, but—I know I didn't, because I belong to the—they elected me, you know, as a member to the State Board.

Q. Well, that's what I have reference to, the State Board.

A. Well, oh, well—

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Q. What year was that, Mr. Hiller, do you remember?

A. '32, or—'32 or '33.

Q. Well, now, do you mean '42 or '43? 1942 or '43, is that the year you are referring to?

A. Yes, that probably is more like it.

Q. All right. Now, what percentage of the membership of the State Board, if you know, were members of the Communist Party during the year 1942 or '43, when you were there?

A. Well, there was a big bunch of them. They elected them here and there, you know, it didn't make much difference, you know, and if they attended, it was all right, the meetings, and if they didn't, why there was still always a bunch there that would fix things up to suit themselves.

Q. Do you know whether there were other Communists elected to the State Board besides yourself?

A. Well, as far as I could judge, they were all Communists in my estimation.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all, Mr. Chairman.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mr. Hiller, thank you.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I'm requesting that this witness be excused from subpoena now and permitted to return to his home.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, he may be released. Thank you very much for coming, Mr. Hiller.

MR. HOUSTON: Will Mr. Johnson resume the stand?

MANNING JOHNSON, resumed the stand for further examination, and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Mr. Johnson, when we recessed for lunch, you had just concluded your testimony pertaining to the National Negro Congress, that Phillip Randolph took a walk, and that it was now just a shell with Communists and close fellow-travelers and sympathizers remaining, is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. Now will you detail for us the next step that was taken. Your—the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party didn't go out of existence with the National Negro Congress, did they?

A. No, it still functions. It functions today. Of course, the composition has changed. The—the National Negro Congress since the disintegration after the—after A. Phillip Randolph resigned, is a problem for the Communists; and as a problem they have sought a graceful way out. Publicly they announced that the Negro Labor Congress would merge with the Civil Rights—Civil Rights—let's see, I want to get that name correct. I have it listed here. The Civil Rights Congress.

Q. Civil Rights Congress.

A. Now the Communists—the Communists in the National Negro Congress have been instructed to infiltrate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as you know, is a splendid organization. It is definitely, in its policy, anti-Communist. It has sought over a period of years to right through

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—right the wrongs by legal methods. That is, they feel that any of the grievances which the Negro people have can be settled peacefully within the framework of our existing democratic institutions. This, of course, is contrary to what the Communists believe, and the Communists practice.

The objective of the Communists in infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is to gain control of the various locals of the organization, and to eventually elect delegates to the not—National con-claves, and to determine to a large extent the policy of that organization, and to eventually control it.

Why are they so anxious to control the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at this present stage? Did not they in the past accuse the leaders of the N double A C P of being social Fascists, Negro reformers, and so forth? Since the war, the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People has grown into a mass organization. It has won some notable decisions before the Supreme Court of the United States, with regard to the right of Negroes in the South to vote in the Democratic Party primaries, the elimination of discrimination in transportation facilities through the South, the right of Negro students to enter any university in southern states, along with any number of other important cases which they have succeeded in getting a favorable decision from the Supreme Court.

It enjoys an unparalleled position of prestige among the Negro people. And not only the Negro people, but amongst the white people of this great country of ours. It is then a mass organization embracing thousands of people. Any organization that embraces thousands, that is an organization that vitally concerns the Communists. They want to get where the masses of people are, because they want to disseminate their revolutionary policy and program. They want to ensnare them. They want to enmesh them in the web of Communist political policy.

Q. Now, did—failing to take over the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, did they cause publicity and other things that caused groups to shy away from them?

A. No, that isn't the case. They were instructed, as I understand, to go into the N double A C P—

Q. Now, when you say you understand, you're speaking as a former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, and on the Negro Commission of the National Committee, are you not?

A. Well, I—I'm speaking as such.

Q. That's right. It's not your personal opinion; this is what you understood in an official capacity as a high-ranking Communist.

A. No, this is what I understand as a result of talking with Communists who have already infiltrated the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Q. That's all right.

A. I'm speaking of the present policy. I'm speaking of the present policy. They were instructed not to be too forward and too brazen in their efforts to gain control, to take it slow and to take it easy until they gained the confidence and the backing and support of the membership before pressing—pressing for positions of leadership and trying to put through Communist issues.

Q. Mr. Johnson, did you ever know of an organization known as the People's Committee?

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A. Yes, I was for years a member of the People's Committee. The People's Committee is a front organization of the Communist Party. It has been up until recently. It was used as a vehicle of the Communists to entrench themselves among the—the negro people in Harlem. They conducted a number of campaigns there for jobs, in the subway systems and in the large department stores, and big business concerns. As a result of this campaign they were able to elect the chairman of that committee, Reverend A. Clayton Powel, Jr.—A. Clayton, C-l-a-y-t-o-n P-o-w-e-l, first to the city council of New York, and later to the Congress of the United States. They used Adam Powel like they sought to use A. Phillip Randolph.

Adam Powel is quite an able young man. His father founded the greatest—I mean the largest colored Protestant church in the world, with a membership of approximately forty thousand. When he retired he passed that—

Q. Forty thousand?

A. I beg your pardon?

Q. Forty thousand?

A. Forty thousand members.

Q. That's a big church.

A. It is.

Q. Did they all meet at one time, or did they have a series of churches?

A. No, no—they do not meet at one time. If you're not there at ten o'clock in the morning, you can't get in then. They stand in line trying to get in. Those are the figures that were given by A. Clayton Powel himself, with regard to the enrolled membership. Of course, you have many persons who do not go, but they have—they claim a membership of that many. Of course it was in the interests of the Communists to gain control of such a man, because he had a tremendous mass following among the people and he could be used.

It was no accident that when they used to call meetings at Madison Square Garden, that they could pack it. Madison Square Garden holds twenty thousand, and often they'd have to turn them away. They held those meetings there once every year.

Q. Well, now, you are not inferring that Congressman Powel is a Communist?

A. Congressman Powel is not a Communist, but he has followed the Communist line all the way through.

Q. Do you know who the local—no, I'll withdraw that. This program of yours, as a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party, was that carried out in the Pacific Northwest here?

A. Yes, it was. It was a national policy that we formulated.

Q. Do you know who was the head of the movement here?

A. I do not recall now who was the head of the movement here, but I know that we had—we had some leading contacts out here. I do not off-hand recall just who they were. There was one fellow by the name of Cato—

Q. Caton?

A. Caton, or Cato, or somebody. I don't know what his name was. I remember that name. Outside of him, I—

Q. Well now, what name do you remember?

A. It was Cato—Caton, or something.

Q. Revels Caton?

A. Revels Caton, yes. He—he was one of the leading Communists—negro Communists out here, and there was also a Baptist minister, if I'm not mistaken. I don't recall his name. He was also active.

Q. Was he a colored gentleman?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Now you have testified that—

A. I would like to say this, if I may have your permission.

Q. Yes.

A. That—I want to say this because I want to guard against being misunderstood. The negroes who had been attracted to the Communist Party in great numbers in the past, have to a very great extent left the ranks of the Party. That is due to the fact that many of them soon discovered the insincerity of the Communists; secondly, they realized that they were being used as pawns in a political struggle for power. This sentiment was not only true of the—existed not only amongst the rank and file, but also in the top leadership.

I mentioned in—earlier in my testimony that the names of persons who were on the Negro Commission of the National Committee. I want to say that today I do not believe there is more than one of them left on that committee. You know my position today. I was considered one of their ablest members. Harry Haywood was removed from the Commission because of differences with Gerhardt Eisler, and today he is trying to eke out a living the best way he knows how. He is looked upon with contempt and scorn. Now here was a man who drew up the resolutions for the Communist International on the negro question. And today he is in disrepute, thrown onto the scrap heap of political destiny by the Communists.

Maude White was removed from the National Committee, removed from the Negro Commission of the National Committee, at the present time working in New York. I could go on down the line to show that every single leading Communist who was with the Party from the beginning is either an insignificant rank-and-filer or definitely outside of the Party.

Q. You have reference now to the negro Communists?

A. That's right. For example, George Hewitt, or alias Jim Holmes, Moscow-trained. He was expelled from the Communist Party because he fought against the cynical and contemptuous attitude of the Communists towards the negro, and because he disagreed on the question of a formation of a negro state or negro nation in the black belt of this country.

I say all that to say only this, that there are only a few of the old-timers left. I'm speaking of negroes now. Most of the negroes who are in leadership today are newcomers. The old ones are too smart for the Communists. The new ones, they can deceive them. You can search the history of this great nation of ours and you cannot show me one instance of a negro being a traitor. He has participated in every war this country has ever engaged in, he has helped in many ways, through sweat and through tears, helped build this nation into a great nation. I don't believe that traditionally and by his very nature that he is a traitor, or ever will become a traitor, though the Communists through their policy are seeking to break down their splendid record which the negro people have built up over the years. They seek to turn them into traitors in the same sense that they seek to turn all Americans into traitors, by hooking them up with an alien power. I believe firmly—I believe firmly that regardless

of the ills of democracy that this is the greatest country in the world, and I have boundless faith in the future of America, and I believe that every grievance which my people have regardless of whether it's in the North or the South, the East or the West, all of these grievances can be eliminated and will be eliminated through the regular channels, democratic channels of our government.

(Applause.)

Q. Mr. Johnson, here is Exhibit 9 which was introduced here yesterday. I will ask you to observe this exhibit and see if you recognize any of the people there.

A. Oh, yes, yes, yes. That's my old friend and comrade, Harry Bridges. And by the way, he's drinking a toast with Commissar Molotov. Well, well, well! He's in good company; he belongs there.

Q. Let's develop that testimony a little bit. What makes you say that Mr. Bridges is a comrade? I surmise you are inferring he is a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, Harry Bridges is a member of the Communist Party, and in my capacity as a member of the National Committee, I was—I'm in a position to state that—

Q. I think that's enough. Was Harry Bridges ever known under any name other than Harry Bridges?

A. He was known under the name of Rossi.

Q. Rossi. Did you ever hear of him being known as Harry Dorgan?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. While you were a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, did you ever hear any discussion, or did you participate in any discussion concerning one ex-Congressman Jerry J. O'Connell?

A. Well, I only heard his name mentioned on one occasion in connection with some job the Communists were going to give him in the International Workers Order. And of course you know the International Workers Order is a Communist front organization, in fact it's dominated from top to bottom by the Communists. Any time a person is selected to work for that organization, he stands in high esteem with the Communists.

Q. From that conversation, which I assume was in a closed executive meeting with the National Committee, was it not?

A. It was discussed on the ninth floor, and I don't recall all of the participants in the discussion. I know Jack Stachel—Jack Stachel and J. Peters, and I don't remember the name of the other persons that were there, at the present time. That was in—I think that was back in 1938 when that took place.

Q. From the discussion, did you gather that Mr. O'Connell was under Party discipline?

A. I don't know. He evidently was working either under Party discipline or carrying out the line of the Party, because after all, they don't consider a person who's not going down the road with them, for a job in the International Workers Order. You surely wouldn't put a rattlesnake in your breast, would you?

Q. Now, Mr. Johnson, early in your testimony this morning, you testified that you attended a secret Communist Party school where you were trained for leadership.

A. Yes.

Q. Will we go back into that just a little bit and discuss a little more about the secret Communist Party schools, who is eligible to get in there, can you get in by asking?

A. No, you are recommended to that school on the basis of your ability. Only select Communists are chosen, persons that they feel have the quality for quality of national leadership.

Q. Now, in your testimony this morning, you referred once to the revolutionary character of the Communist Party. Let's develop that a little bit. Is it a reformist party?

A. The Communist Party is not a reformist party. The Communist Party is a revolutionary political movement controlled and directed by an alien power, namely, Moscow. It is world-wide in its scope. The—it is the Fifth Column of Moscow. It has as its objective the complete destruction not only of the United States, but the destruction of every democratic nation on the face of the globe.

There might be some people who want to dispute this, so I want to read briefly, for the record, just what the Communists are working for, in case someone might say, "Oh, he's just talking to hear himself talk, to appear sensational." Well, I never was a sensationalist; I never was a lover of it; I'll leave that for the Communists, who like to get up at gatherings of this kind and shout.

"The ultimate aim," this is the—this is the program—this is the program of the Communist International. This is the program of the Communist International, which is "must" reading for every Communist. "The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism, Communist society, the basis of which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capital system which threaten to degrade and destroy humanity."

In other words, they tell you definitely that they are seeking to establish Communism throughout the entire world. Further: "Does the dictatorship of the world proletariat as an essential and a vital condition precedent to the transition of world capitalist economy to socialist economy? This world dictatorship can be established only when the victory of socialism has been achieved in certain countries or groups of countries where the newly established proletariat republics enter into a faithful union with the already existing proletarian republics," that being Soviet Russia.

Now, there's some people might not believe that they intend to destroy the government, and I want to read again from this document. "The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus," that is, bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic institutions, judiciary, parliament, etc., "and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploited." They mean by this, that they intend some day, when they gain power, to destroy the Congress of the United States, your state governmental agencies like your State Senate, your State Legislature, your city government, destroy your law-enforcement agencies like your State Police, your city police agencies, and destroy your army, your navy; in other words, they mean to do away with everything that you have today which constitutes America. From top to bottom, they say, they're going to destroy this

apparatus and set up an apparatus in accordance with the program and policy and the wishes of the leaders of the Kremlin.

Of course, if you Americans want that you can have it, but I don't want any part of it.

Q. Do they believe in the liquidation of the capitalists—

A. Yes, they do.

Q. By blood?

A. Yes, and not only that, but they've got concentration camps already planned for us. Yes, they've got concentration camps ready and waiting for us. Yes, I—just a moment, if you'll bear with me. I'll read it to you. "Only—" this is the thesis—the thesis and statutes of the second—adopted at the Second World Congress of the Communist International.

Q. When? About 1930, wasn't it?

A. That was adopted in 19—no, that's the thesis of the—the statutes of the—that's right, of the Third World Congress. That was in 1930, if I'm not mistaken.

Q. 1930, at Moscow?

A. At Moscow. "Only a violent defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the amalgamation of the entire bourgeois government apparatus from top to bottom, parliamentary, juridical, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc. up through the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters."

In other words, they are planning to take all of their political opponents and put them into—internment and concentration camps, and the others exiled possibly to some remote island where—where they could carry out a living hell.

Q. Well, that's been carried out in Russia today to their political opponents. Isn't that the pattern that was used in Bulgaria, and Roumania, and Yugoslavia?

A. That is correct. That is the same policy that has been used in every country that the Communists have seized power, and that is also the policy that's pursued in Russia today, a ruthless and brutal liquidation of all political opposition. And I sometimes marvel at the folly of Americans who will listen to the babble of Communists that they are for democracy, that they are the champions of democracy.

Bringing it home, what is more democratic than this hearing here today? What is more democratic than this hearing today? After all, the chairman has said to anyone, "If you would like to come up here on this witness stand and express your views, you have the opportunity." But no, the Communists don't want that. They are not concerned with coming up here and airing their views. They're concerned only with one thing, to come up here—to stand up in the audience and create a rumpus, to stir up a confusion, to try to break up the hearing, and if they can't do that they want to smear those who are conducting it. The old smear campaign, the old campaign of character assassination, so typical and so common with the Reds.

They—there's one thing about this country, and I want you—I want to put this in the record, Mr. Chairman. You and I can get out on the street here, and we can say anything we want about the President of the United States, any member of Congress, any member of the Presidential Cabinet. People passing by can agree or disagree, they can stop to listen or they can keep

walking. If the President himself, or any member of his Cabinet or Congress walks by while we're talking about him, the only thing they can do is argue with us, curse us out, or go to a movie. Isn't that democracy? Isn't that free speech? Yet the Communists say we don't have it in this country. No, the Communists are using the issue of—of the First Amendment, not because they're interested in preserving the Constitution, because according to their records they are out to destroy it. They're not interested in democracy; they're only interested in using democracy to cover up for their cowardly and dastardly Communist conspiracy to destroy the Government of the United States.

(Applause.)

They don't want—they don't want this hearing. Do you know why they don't want it? Because their program and policy cannot stand the light. They love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. God knows the deeds of the Communists are evil. And pernicious.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Johnson, in this program that they have planned out and worked out in such detail that they even have planned where and how many concentration camps they will have in this country, do they believe in reorganizing our educational system?

A. Yes, their over-all master plan calls for the reorganization from top to bottom of your educational system in this country. The introduction in the school system of Communist-read professors and strictly Communist literature for indoctrination of the youth.

Q. Do they believe in nationalization of all the basic industries, and the banks, and the confiscation of property?

A. They—yes, their over-all plan calls for the nationalization of your basic industries, the seizure of all banks and all monies in those banks, all securities and making them the property of the state, and confiscation of all property.

Q. In the plans that they have worked out, have they devised a system or a program for the seizing of arsenals and the arming of the Communists?

A. Yes, they plan, when they have sufficient strength, and I hope and pray to Almighty God they never have it, to—to get—to seize, to break into the arsenals and armaments and seize guns and ammunition and to arm the Communist forces, who in turn will use those arms to take over the governmental machinery.

Q. But, Mr. Johnson, the Communists tell us that they are a democratic party and that they want to achieve their aims through the democratic processes of our government. That doesn't sound like it.

A. Well, you see American democracy with the Communists is not the end in itself, it's a means to an end. In other words, they only use our democratic institutions in order to further their subversive activities.

Q. Do they believe in the abolition of our army and navy?

A. Yes, they plan to abolish our army and navy as it is now constituted, and to reorganize it, under the control and domination of the Communist Party. And it—also your air force, both military and civilian.

Q. Do they have a land program pertaining to our large plantations and large farms?

A. Yes, they have a plan of infiltration into the farm organizations, in the grain interests, and for the purpose of winning over the farmers. They are not concerned with the wealthy landowners, the persons who have the big farms

and plantations, they're going to—they're going to exterminate them and seize their land, and divide it up among the agricultural workers.

Q. Have they made plans for the control of the radio, press and motion pictures?

A. Yes, they plan also to take over your motion picture industry, your press and your radio.

Q. How do they—pardon me.

A. In other words, they mean to take over everything in the government, and to reorganize it under the control and domination of the Communist Party.

Q. How do they consider the Democratic and Republican political parties?

A. The Democratic and Republican party will be liquidated. They are considered tools of the capitalist class and instruments of oppression, as they put it, and as such they must be liquidated.

Q. Now after they have done all of this, have they any plans for a form of government set-up?

A. Yes, they plan to establish what they call the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is really a dictatorship of the Communist Party, such as you see in Russia, a totalitarian government.

I want to say here, Mr. Chairman, that many of us say—laugh at this sort of thing. They treat it idly. But I want to recall to you two historical facts that are recent and fresh in your mind. When Hitler—when Hitler published his "Mein Kampf" we smug egotistic Americans sat back and smiled. We laughed. Hitler in that book had outlined a plan for world conquest, but the very fantastic nature of the program was such that we could not believe it possible. Well, we can say today if we hadn't laughed at Hitler, the world wouldn't be in such a hell of a mess as it is today. Excuse my language, I didn't mean to use that vernacular, but sometimes I do to emphasize a point.

There was another militarist, by the—he was a Japanese by the name of Tanaka, T-a-n-a-k-a. You remember Tanaka issued the famous Tanaka Memorial, or the famous Tanaka document. In that document he set forth the conquest of East Asia, and eventually the conquest of the world. We laughed. We sat back in smug complacency, and said, "Oh, that's poppy-cock." Well, what happened on that fatal day in December in 1941? Let not history, in the case of the Communists, repeat itself. We may not escape as easily as we escaped the last two times.

Q. Now, Mr. Johnson, I'll ask you, are the Communists taught loyalty to the United States, and to be prepared to defend the United States?

A. No, a Communist is not taught to be loyal to the United States. We were taught to be traitors. Every Communist is a traitor. You are taught to be a traitor. Your loyalty is not with Washington; your loyalty is with Moscow. Moscow, not Washington, is your fatherland. In other words, I meant to say Russia and not America is a Communist's fatherland. And they are pledged to defend the fatherland with all of the power at their command.

Q. Are they taught how to sabotage the key industries and acts to perform in case of war between the Soviet Russia and the United States?

A. Yes, the Communists are—first and foremost, are taught that it is his duty to defend Soviet Russia against all enemies. In the event of a war between the United States and Russia, the Communists in America will work with might and main with all of their power, with all of their resources in

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the interests of Russia. They will do everything they can to hamper, to delay, to destroy, and to defeat every military move of our government.

By that I mean precisely this, that they will not hesitate, if they are in your Armed Forces, to raise the slogan which they have already prepared, "Turn the Imperialist War Into a Civil War." They will agitate among the troops not to fight against the Communists; to either lay down their arms, or if not, to turn their arms on their officers, and watch to take over the Government of the United States.

In so far as your industries are concerned, they have a master plan in that respect too. They mean to sabotage them. Harry Bridges, for example, that stalwart Communist who—who is so puffed up and so inflated as a result of his so-called temporary victory against the government, declared that "we," speaking of himself as a Communist and the Communists in his organization, "shall decide what we shall load on the ships." What does Bridges mean by that? Bridges means precisely this, that in the event of war between the United States and Russia, he will urge the members of his organization to refuse to load munitions in any war against Russia. That's what Bridges means. And that's what the Communists mean on the east coast. Their master plan calls for the stopping of the shipment of war material to our Armed Forces in the event of a war between our country and Russia.

Q. Does that mean—

A. And I defy any man to say anything to the contrary, because I sat in council—in meetings in high circles in the Party when this particular question was discussed. They are to blow up bridges, destroy railroads, cripple munition factories, wherever they are, and they are to do that in the interests of the fatherland, Russia. Anything to hamper and to cripple and to delay; and that, of course, works in the hands of the Communist military machine.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Johnson, I certainly thank you for appearing here, and there are two or three other phases of this question that, if you are available later, we might take up, at a later date.

Before you leave I would like to ask you one question.

Q. Why are you appearing here voluntarily, why did you come from New York here to testify at our request?

A. I came here voluntarily to testify because, as I said before, I have realized my mistake in ever becoming associated with the Communists. I realized that it was my duty to keep alive and maintain forever the highest traditions of my people, that is, never to be a traitor. And to have stayed in the Communist Party would have made of me a traitor to this great country of ours.

I will always, as my forbears have done, fight for this country, and serve it. Any person that seeks to undermine it or seeks to destroy it, I will always stand ready and willing to give all that I possibly can give, and rally all that I possibly can rally to help preserve our democratic institutions and our democratic way of life. And I think that any problem that we have, we can solve it in the good old American way. I believe that the American people should do that.

And I want to say this, that it was a pleasure for me to come here, and I hope and trust that the members of the Pension Union, many of whom are good solid Americans, many of them who can trace their ancestry back to the pioneer days when their forefathers fought the cold and the heat and the snow and the hostile Indians to come here and to pioneer this great great wealthy Northwest; that it is something to cherish and it's something to hold on to, and it's something to fight for; and above all, remember this, that you

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know what you have, but God knows you don't know what you're going to get. Stick to America as America has stuck to you. And that is my opinion.

I feel that I have done an irreparable wrong to my country in ever connecting myself with the Communists. And I want to repay that debt that I owe; and so long as I shall live I shall use my talents and my experience in dealing and working with the Communists, to undo the wrong which I have helped them do.

And I hope and trust that you will follow the same policy here in Washington. Now let's get rid of the bloody, slimy, stinking, scummy Communists once and for all.

At this point Carl Brooks, later named in this report by a witness as a Communist Negro leader, made a disturbance and by direction of Chairman Canwell was removed from the hearing room by officers of the State Patrol.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: This is getting monotonous. We will now be in recess for five or ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

JESS FLETCHER, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Will you please state your name?

A. Jess Fletcher.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Fletcher?

A. 8731 Phinney Avenue.

Q. Mr. Fletcher, I'll ask you to state whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party.

A. I have.

Q. When did you first affiliate yourself with the Communist Party?

A. Well, thirty—the latter part of '36—'37.

Q. And when did you become disassociated with the Communist Party?

A. That's hard to say. The secretary or organizer, Heinie Huff, said I was dropped three or four years ago. It's hard for me to determine when the Iron Curtain come in front of me, because I made the mistake of trying to practice free speech and democracy and they quit inviting me to their meetings.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Fletcher, did you ever have a card in the Communist Party?

A. I did not, but they took my money, plenty of it too.

Q. Did you ever make inquiry as to why you were not given a card in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I did. Morris Rapport, whom I knew when I was in the Industrial Workers of the World, or the I.W.W., was at that time the district secretary. I knew Rapport when he was in the I.W.W., and we voted on whether the I.W.W. would affiliate with the Third International, and the I.W.W. turned it down, but those that voted to affiliate with the Third International in 1919 or '20, turned to be Communists, and fellow-worker Rapport was a Communist. So after the—

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Q. Now, try to just answer the question. Did you make inquiry, and of who?

A. Mr. Rapport.

Q. And what was Mr. Rapport's answer? Will you detail your conversation with him and his answer to you?

A. Well, I was coming to that. I—the Party was organizing all around me, but nobody asked me to join. And I asked Mr. Rapport and his wife out to the house to have dinner, and I said to him, "Fellow-worker, why am I not asked to join the Party? You're taking in people like Ward Coley and everybody else in my union." And he told me, "Due to your position, we don't want you to have a card." He said, "You're a better Communist than eighty per cent of those carrying a card, and Bill Foster knows you from the I.W.W. days, he has confidence in you," and he said, "Browder also has confidence in you, so don't let it worry you." Well, I said, "It's a little embarrassing to me to be looked on—or for the Party to hold my red-baiting days against me." "Well," he said, "time will take care of that."

And I never did get a card, but I donated my money to the Party.

Q. Did he say anything to you about that "we don't put our people in high places in the penitentiary by putting cards in their pockets"?

A. Oh, yes. He talked about the five or six hundred of the I.W.W. we had in jail in California and other parts of the country, and we discussed the Haywood case in Chicago when after the last war, and we sent Haywood to Russia, and he said, "The Communists don't do that. We're going to protect our members. We don't want the government to know that you're a member of the Communist Party." That's about the words he used.

Q. Did he assure you that you were a Communist just the same?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. And were you admitted to Communist meetings?

A. Oh, yes, yes.

Q. Now during the course of the time that you were in the Communist Party, which we have fixed here as beginning along in '37 and certainly continuing through the middle '40's, did you sit in meetings with various people?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you detail some of the people that you have sat in Communist Party meetings with?

A. Oh, I've sat in so many meetings, it's pretty hard.

Q. Did you ever sit in a meeting with Heinie Huff?

A. Oh, yes, many times.

Q. Did you ever sit in a meeting with Carl Reeves?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Oh, by the way, did you see that little demonstration we had here a few minutes ago?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you recognize the gentleman making that demonstration?

A. Yes, that was Comrade Brooks. I sat in meetings with him in the Communist Party.

Q. Can you identify him further? What's his first name?

A. Carl. Comrade Carl Brooks.

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Q. Comrade Carl Brooks. And your testimony is that he—that you have sat in Communist Party meetings with him.

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Did you ever sit in any Party meeting with Bill Dobbins?

A. Oh, yes, lots—many times.

Q. With Merwin Cole?

A. Yes.

Q. With Tom Rabbitt?

A. Many times.

Q. With Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes, many times.

Q. With Harry Bridges?

A. Yes.

Q. With Harold Pritchett?

A. Yes.

Q. Howard Costigan?

A. Yes.

Q. With Harry Jackson?

A. Yes.

Q. George Bradley?

A. Yes.

Q. Bill Pennock?

A. Many times.

MR. HOUSTON: Just a moment. Do you have the spelling of the names here, or do you want the spelling of any of these names?

THE REPORTER: Heinie Huff.

MR. HOUSTON: Heinie Huff. H-e-i-n-double e.

Q. You refer to Henry Huff, do you?

A. That's right. He's the district secretary now, of the Communist Party, and a member of the National Committee.

Q. With J. Rubin?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that the J. Rubin in New York City?

A. That's right.

Q. Is that the same J. Rubin that Mr. Manning Johnson mentioned this morning?

A. That's right.

Q. With John Goodman?

A. Yes.

Q. What is John Goodman's position?

A. He's International Vice President of the Building Service Employees Union.

Q. With Sidney Budell?

A. Yes.

Q. What is—who is Sidney Budell?

A. He's an official of Local 244 in New York, of the Building Service Employees Union.

Q. With John Steubin?

NEWSPAPER REPORTER: How do you spell that last name?

MR. HOUSTON: B-u-d-e-l-l. It was in the testimony this morning.

Q. With John Steubin?

A. Steubin, yes.

Q. How do you spell Steubin?

A. S-t-u-b-b-i-n, I believe. I'm not a speller—

Q. Isn't it S-t-e-u-b-e-n?

A. I'm not sure. Ask my wife, she spells for me.

Q. Now who is John Steubin?

A. He's the secretary of 244.

Q. Of the Building Service Employees Union?

A. That's right.

Q. In the City of New York.

A. That's right.

Q. And your testimony under oath here is that you have sat in Communist Party meetings with all of these gentlemen.

A. That's right.

Q. Now we'll come back and pick up a few. You stated that you sat in Communist Party meetings with Harry Bridges.

A. I have.

Q. Where did—where and when did you first meet Harry Bridges?

A. I met Harry Bridges in Morris Rapport's apartment over here on, just off of Denny Way. Over here in this little valley.

Q. When did you meet Harry Bridges? You refer, of course, to Harry Renton Bridges, president of the International Longshore Workers Union?

A. Oh yes, I know him well. I was on his committee, to defend him.

Q. Now you first met him in Morris Rapport's apartment.

A. That's right.

Q. Can you fix approximately the date of that?

A. '37 or '38, I'm not—I met with him several times in those years.

Q. Well, let's detail this first meeting now. Now, how did you happen to go to Mr. Rapport's apartment?

A. Comrade Rapport called me and told me that there was an important meeting in his apartment and comrades I should meet.

Q. And you went to his apartment pursuant thereto.

A. That's right.

Q. Now who did you meet there?

A. I met Harry Bridges, Harold Pritchett—

Q. Now, who is Harold Pritchett?

A. He was an official at that time, of the I.W.A., the C.I.O. Woodworkers, I think it was.

Q. Now who else?

A. George Bradley was with me.

Q. Now who is George Bradley?

A. George Bradley, at that time, was chief business agent of my local union here in Seattle, Local 6.

Q. Who else was there?

A. A fellow by the name of Harry Jackson.

Q. Now who was Harry Jackson?

A. He was the assistant, I believe it was. He was next to Rapport, in charge, in the Communist Party office.

Q. He was an open official of the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes, yes.

Q. Anybody else there?

A. I think it was Hugh DeLacy was there.

Q. Hugh DeLacy was there?

A. That's right.

Q. Anybody else?

A. I can't think of anybody right now.

Q. How did you know that this was a Communist Party meeting?

A. Well, the district organizer of the Communist Party told me to come to his house and he addressed them as comrades, told them that I was a comrade.

Q. He announced to the group that you was a comrade.

A. That's right.

Q. Did the course—in the course of the meeting, did you address each other as comrade?

A. No, I used the word "fellow-worker" and they corrected me on that. I finally learned later on to say "comrade," in place of fellow-worker, but—

Q. Who corrected you?

A. Well, DeLacy and Rapport, and Bridges. Well, they told me I'd have to forget that word fellow-worker.

Q. Did they say what the word comrade meant?

A. No, they didn't. They said they used that in Russia, and I'd have to use it here.

Q. They didn't tell you that that's one of the—the way that Communists address each other.

A. Well, I learned that later on.

Q. Learned that later on, now what did you—was the general topics of discussion that took place at this meeting?

A. Well, there was a fight in the Labor Movement, I believe at that time, the Longshoremen was going to go C.I.O., the fight between the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. that John L. Lewis had set up, and that was a hot issue and we were discussing that. Rapport was telling Bridges the Party line to be pursued in this struggle.

Q. In other words, you were making plans to further the Communist penetration in these unions.

A. That's right.

Q. It was really a strategy fraction meeting of the Communist Party leaders, then.

A. That's right.

Q. Were these other people that you have mentioned here either labor leaders or leaders of front organizations?

A. No, I don't think DeLacy represented anything. I don't think that—Bridges represented a union, and so did I,—Pritchett. Harry Jackson was the

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labor relations man for the district bureau of the Communist Party. So he represented the Communist Party.

Q. When you refer to DeLacy here, are you referring to ex-Congressman Hugh DeLacy?

A. That's right. That's right.

Q. Now, when did you meet with Bridges a second time?

A. I believe it—it was either in Morris Rapport's house or Howard Costigan's apartment. His apartment—either Rapport's apartment or Costigan's apartment when he lived over here on the east side of the lake.

Q. Well, why do you confuse the two? Don't you know which apartment you went to, or did you meet in both of them at various times?

A. Why, man I was in meetings continuously. We met all over the lap. I can't remember all of them. They'd meet about three or four times a week.

Q. Well, did you—we'll forget this second meeting, then. Did you attend a—another meeting in Rapport's apartment at which Harry Renton Bridges was present?

A. Yes. Two, I'm convinced, was in Rapport's apartment, yes.

Q. Two of your meetings with Harry Bridges, was in Rapport's apartment.

A. That's right.

Q. And how did you come to attend this next meeting? Who told you anything?

A. Merwin Cole or Bill Dobbins informed me that there was an important meeting, that they had word from Rapport, and to be at his apartment at a certain hour. And I went.

Q. And you went there.

A. That's right.

Q. Now, who was present at this second meeting?

A. Either Cole—Cole and Dobbins, Bradley, George Bradley who was chief business agent of Local 6, DeLacy, and Rapport, Mrs. Rapport was there, Harry Jackson—

Q. Is that Mrs. Esther Rapport?

A. That's right.

Q. And the correct name, are you referring to Rappaport?

A. Rappaport, that's right. Ernie Fox—

Q. Now who is Ernie Fox?

A. He was connected with the Seamen or the Longshoremen. I think he came with Bridges.

Q. He came with Bridges.

A. I think he did. A fellow by the name of Matt Meehan.

Q. Now who is Matt Meehan? Is that M-double e-h-a-n?

A. I think it is. He was secretary of the Longshoremen, I think, at the time. I can't spell it. Don't ask me to spell it.

Q. You've seen the name. Would M- double e-h-a-n seem right?

A. That will do as good as anything else.

Q. In other words, you know him when you see him.

A. I know him when I see him, yes.

Q. All right, now who else was there? You've got Cole, Dobbins, Bradley,

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DeLacy, Rapport, Mrs. Esther Rapport, Ernie Fox and Matt Meehan. Was any other local people there?

A. Not that I can remember.

Q. You—was Harry Renton Bridges there?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Was he there when you got to the meeting, or did he come later?

A. Yes, they were having coffee when I got there.

Q. Having coffee. Now how did you know that this was a Communist Party fraction meeting?

A. Well, the fact that Rapport had called it, and—in his apartment, and he's the district organizer of the Communist Party, and we discussed what activity the Party would take in the struggle of the—or the vote in the campaign of the Longshoremen to go C.I.O.

Q. Did you know Merwin Cole as a Communist?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Bill Dobbins?

A. Yes, they all—

Q. George Bradley?

A. Yes.

Q. Hugh DeLacy?

A. Correct.

Q. Mr. and Mrs. Rappaport?

A. That's right.

Q. Ernie Fox. Have you sat in other meetings with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Matt Meehan?

A. I'm not sure Matt Meehan was a Party member. That is the only meeting I sat in with him.

Q. With Matt Meehan, eh?

A. Matt Meehan, that's the only meeting I sat with him.

Q. These others being Communists, to your knowledge, and the meeting having been called by the highest Communist official in this area, did you believe you were attending a Communist Party meeting?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. At the meeting did you again see any evidence which confirmed this belief?

A. Oh, yes. The whole discussion, of the Communist Party, and Rapport's report on what he'd got from the center.

Q. In other words, the center was sending instructions to you leaders here in the Labor Movement about this impending struggle between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. and it was being transmitted to you, is that correct?

A. It was sent—they sent it to Rapport, not to us. We—

Q. Yeah, but Rapport transmitted it to you, didn't he?

A. That's right. Yeah, that's right.

A NEWSPAPER REPORTER: What is a center?

THE WITNESS: The center is in New York. That's what they call the Communist Headquarters in New York. The center.

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Q. Did you discuss the instructions of the center from an attitude of either following their instructions or rejecting them, or was it an accepted fact that you had to follow them and you were merely discussing how to carry them out?

A. Well, as I remember it, the meeting was called to order by Comrade Rapport, and he asked for a report from the different comrades. We—each of us talked, and then he took what he called a summation of what we'd talked about, and then he laid down the Party line, and sometimes we talked about the right thing, and sometimes we hadn't, but in the end everybody would get up and agree with Comrade Rapport, and the meeting would adjourn.

Q. At this meeting, did you again address each other as comrade?

A. Oh, yes. I think I used the word fellow-worker some more.

Q. Did you get bawled out again?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. They didn't let that get by?

A. No.

Q. Now, did you again meet with Harry Bridges?

A. Well yes, later on I was put on his Defense Committee.

Q. Yes, but before that, did you have any—had you had any further meetings with Harry Bridges, other than about this Defense Committee's?

A. No, not with the Party. Two or three meetings there with him.

Q. Now detail for us the circumstances and where you next met with Harry Bridges.

A. I believe it was in San Francisco. Hugh DeLacy and Rapport told me that I was on his Defense Committee. And when I was in San Francisco I should contact him, and I did. I think that was around '38 or '39, somewhere in there.

Q. Did you—what was the nature of your discussion with Mr. Bridges in the San Francisco conversation?

A. As to how I could raise money to help to defend him, keep him from being deported.

Q. At this meeting was there any others present, or just you and Harry Renton Bridges?

A. Just me and Harry Renton Bridges.

Q. Did he greet you or address you as comrade on this occasion?

A. Yes. Yes, he did.

Q. Did you address him as Comrade Bridges?

A. Yes. Oh, I can place that date better than that. When did Governor Ol—when was he elected, '38 wasn't it, as Governor of the State of California?

Q. I'd like to help you, Mr. Fletcher, but this must be your testimony. You must recall the date as best you can.

A. All right. It was the—I met him at the Governor's Inaugural Ball in Sacramento when he was first elected Governor. I'll never forget it, because Bridges had on a tuxedo, and they stuck me in one.

Q. Now I will ask you, Mr. Fletcher, to detail the circumstances of the next meeting with Harry Bridges. You referred to another Seattle apartment here. Will you tell us about that?

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A. I met him in the—I think it was Costigan's apartment when he lived over on the other side of the lake here.

Q. Now please help our record out a little bit. The telephone book contains a good many Costigans. What Costigan do you mean?

A. There is only one Howard Costigan. You know that.

Q. What position did Mr. Costigan hold at that time?

A. He was the Executive Secretary of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, of which I was a board member.

Q. Now, who told you of this meeting?

A. I think Comrade Rapport told me.

Q. The district organizer again told you—

A. That's right.

Q. —to be present for another meeting.

A. That's right.

Q. Did he tell you to meet in Mr. Costigan's apartment?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you meet in Mr. Costigan's apartment?

A. I did.

Q. What was—who was there this time?

A. Hugh DeLacy, Howard Costigan, Harry Bridges, Harry Jackson, myself, and I believe Mickey Orton—

Q. Now, is this Mickey Orton that formerly was connected with the Longshore Union?

A. That's right.

Q. Is this Mickey Orton's wife named Claretta? Is that the one you refer to?

A. Well, I don't know his wife.

Q. Oh, I see. Do you recall anyone else—

A. No, I can't think of anyone else.

Q. Well, was Morris Rapport there?

A. Oh, sure, sure, sure. He called the meeting.

Q. Now what was discussed at this meeting?

A. Well, if I remember right, we were discussing some trouble the Longshoremen had with the Tacoma local of the Longshoremen. I believe at that meeting we discussed running Hugh DeLacy for the city council, I'm not sure.

Q. What led you to believe that this was a Communist fraction meeting?

A. Well, it was called by the district organizer, and it was held in the apartment of Howard Costigan, who was the spokesman on the air for the Communist Party line.

Q. Was Howard Costigan a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Were these other people you detailed here members of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

A. They were. They were. I never seen their cards, but I'm sure they were.

Q. Was it the practice to show cards among members?

A. No, no, they're not like a union, you don't show cards.

Q. The fact of the matter is you couldn't if you had to, could you?

A. No, they never give me a card. But they took my dough.

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Q. At this meeting—at this meeting, did you discuss Communist Party business?

A. Yes, Rapport made a report on—I think he just returned from New York, the center. He made a report on different subjects and politics, political trends, etc.

Q. Then you discussed running Mr. DeLacy for the city council then?

A. I think that was right, yes.

Q. At this meeting did you again address each other as comrade?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Did you address Harry Bridges as comrade?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he address the rest of you as comrade?

A. He did.

Q. I'll ask you, Mr. Fletcher, did you ever sit in a meeting with Harry Bridges and Burt Nelson, where Burt Nelson was present?

A. Oh, yes, sure.

Q. Will you tell us about this meeting?

A. It was in the Longshoremen's Hall in Matt Meehan's office.

Q. In Matt Meehan's office, who—he was secretary of the Longshoremen at that time—

A. Yes.

Q. Now can you fix the approximate date of this meeting?

A. That was around '38, '39.

Q. '38 or '39. Now who called this meeting?

A. Burt Nelson.

Q. Burt Nelson. Was Burt Nelson a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was. He is yet.

Q. Did you believe that you were going to attend a Communist Party fraction meeting when you were called?

A. That's right.

Q. Now who did you find in attendance at this meeting?

A. Matt Meehan, Ernie Fox, Bill Dobbins, Mervin Cole, Nelson—Burt Nelson—

Q. That Burt Nelson, is that the one that spells his name B-u-r-t?

A. Yes.

Q. Now who was Burt Nelson?

A. He was a member or official of the Longshoremen.

Q. He was an official of the Longshore union here in Seattle.

A. Yes.

Q. All right. Proceed now. Now who else was there?

A. That's all I can think of, was there, now.

Q. Well, was Morris Rapport at this meeting?

A. No, I think Harry Jackson was at this meeting.

Q. Harry Jackson. Was Harry Renton Bridges at this meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Now what was discussed at this meeting?

A. Oh, there was some—most of these meetings was a beef of either the Longshoremen or the Party, or the—some scheme to raise money for the

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Communist Party. We were trying to devise ways and means of raising money for the Communist Party or get delegates to the W.C.F., or some convention that we figured on taking over, whether it was the W.C.F. or the Democratic convention. We'd hold meetings like that and send out the directives to the people below to do certain things.

Q. People below who, in the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. Now just what do you mean by some beef? Do you mean some trouble?

A. Some local union of either the—it might be some dispute between our—my local union, or some of my local unions under my jurisdiction on the West Coast, between watchmen and the longshoremen, or some—or the janitors on the waterfront. We'd discuss those issues.

Q. Now I'll ask you, Mr. Fletcher, did you ever meet with Harry Renton Bridges again or was this all of the meetings you had with him?

A. No, I—I flew with him from Salt Lake to Chicago in a plane—

Q. When was this?

A. In 1940.

Q. 1940. What was the occasion for your going to Chicago?

A. I was on my way to Detroit, and he was on his way to Washington, D. C.

Q. Did you have any conversation on the plane?

A. Oh yes, we talked all night.

Q. Did he, upon meeting you, call you Comrade Fletcher?

A. No, we met in the coffee shop at the airport in Salt Lake City. I come up from Los Angeles to meet him.

Q. Did anything Harry Bridges said, or anything that he did on this trip lead you further to believe that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. What was it?

A. Well, Hitler was bombing the—England, the war was on, and we was wondering, talking about the Stalin-Hitler pact and how long it would last, whether they would stick together, or just what would happen.

Q. Did he express to you the Communist Party line at that time?

A. Yes, he seemed to think that Hitler might turn out to be a good Communist.

Q. Was that the current Party line at that time?

A. That was the Party line to—that Hitler was a pretty good guy, and that got me into a lot of trouble. I never was quite convinced that he was a good guy.

Q. I'll ask you, Mr. Fletcher, is there anybody in this picture you recognize?

A. I recognize Harry Bridges, and Mr. Molotov. I almost met him. This is the secretary to Gromyko. I met him.

Q. You met him.

A. Yes.

Q. The gentleman standing between Mr. Molotov and Harry Bridges is the secretary to Gromyko?

A. To Gromyko, that's right.

MR. HOUSTON: You fellows will have to spell that; I can't.

A VOICE: G-r-o-m-y-k-o.

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Q. Now you have identified these from the exhibit here, marked number nine, have you not?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, Mr. Fletcher, as an International vice president of the Building Service Employees Union, you were considered a rather important Communist, were you not?

A. That's true. A little bit too important, I believe. They put me with these ivory towers out in the University, and I didn't fit there.

Q. Now in what organizations have you observed the tactics and methods of the Communist Party's infiltration?

A. Now you're on—you're on my ground. They tried to infiltrate the I.W.W. in 1919 and '20. That's the only organization that I know anything about that was successful in eliminating or liquidating the Communist Party out of that organization. We didn't argue with them, we threw them out on their noggin. If they stuck their head up like they do here, they went out either the door or the window. It didn't make much difference. The lumberjacks didn't bother with them. But unfortunately the open-shop lumber industry with the assistance of the Communist Party, destroyed the I.W.W.

Now, then I went into the Unemployed Citizens League. I helped to organize fifty thousand in this county, King County, in the Unemployed Citizens League in 1932. The Communists had a dual organization that was described by Mr. Johnson and Mr. Budenz. They systematically set in to infiltrate the Unemployed Citizens League and destroy it, and they did just that. They threw me off of the Capitol steps on the Fourth of July in 1932, and fractured my right ankle and my left knee. You can look at the "Post-Intelligencer" of that date and you can verify that.

They destroyed that organization completely. Next was organized—I helped do that with Howard Costigan—Costigan of the Commonwealth Federation. They infiltrated and they destroyed that organization completely. Next we organized the Washington Commonwealth Federation, to try and alleviate some of the economic conditions affecting us in this community, in this state.

The Communist Party with their slimy, filthy tactics of destruction, infiltrated that and destroyed it. And at the present time they're trying to destroy the Democratic Party, and will unless the party does something about it. They are a party of destroyers, and not builders, because they know if we solve it, if we build an organization in this country that will help to alleviate some of our economic conditions, the Communists haven't got a look-in. That's why they destroy.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Fletcher, are you familiar with an organization known as the Washington Old Age Pension Union, which later changed its name to the Washington Pension Union?

A. I am. I furnished the hall rent for them when they were first organized, at the direction of the Communist—or, immediately after they were organized, at the direction of the Communist Party.

Q. When you say you furnished the hall for them, do you mean you or your organization?

A. I mean my local union.

Q. Had the Communists penetrated your local union at that time?

A. Oh, definitely. I think everybody in this state is familiar with that.

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Q. And the Communist Party was using your local union then, to further the activities of an organization that had no connection with your union?

A. That's right.

Q. Is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. Your testimony is that your union furnished the money with a hall for them to meet in.

A. That's right, I was glad—I furnished the old people the hall, or the union would, gladly, or any other union in this community, but they're not going to have the Communists run it, if they want to furnish them hall rent or donate money to them.

Q. Now, from your knowledge of the Communist Party, as a member of the Communist Party at that time, and your knowledge of the Washington Old Age Pension Union came through furnishing a hall for them, will you state whether or not the Washington Old Age Pension Union was dominated and controlled by the Communist Party?

A. Absolutely, I sat in the meetings when the decision was made for the Party to take it over.

Q. When was this, Mr. Fletcher?

A. The first meeting was held in the latter part of '37.

Q. When was the second meeting held?

A. Oh, there was a number of meetings. They were held almost continually.

Q. Was it a program of the Communist Party to take over the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Did the Communists assign anyone to do the job?

A. They did.

Q. Who did they assign to do the job?

A. Howard Costigan, Bill Pennock, Tom Rabbitt, and a number of others I can't think of just now.

Q. Do you refer to William Pennock the present president, State President of the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. That's right. He's got about as much business in a pension union as I have in a—well, we'll let it go.

Q. Is Mr. Pennock a pensioner?

A. No, he's no pensioner. He's a parasite.

Q. Is he old enough to be a pensioner?

A. No. He's about thirty years old.

Q. But he's leading this Old Age Pension Union, is that right?

A. He's drawing pay from them.

Q. Now—

A. He's misleading them, I'll put it that way.

Q. Now, you participated in the councils of the Communist Party when they made the decision to infiltrate and take over the Old Age Pension Union.

A. I did. I did.

Q. And you know that the Communist Party assigned these three and several others who you do not recall, to do the job?

A. That's right.

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Q. Did they do the job?

A. They done a good job. There's no question about that.

Q. Now you've testified that this meeting was in the latter part of 1937. Who was at that meeting?

A. Myself, Howard Costigan, Hugh DeLacy, Tom Rabbitt, Bill Pennock,—this here Bill Pennock, at the time was—he was secretary to Costigan and was riding a bicycle. He didn't have brains enough to come in out of the rain, but they put him in to—to take over the Pension—to work in the Pension Union, and now he's a big shot.

Well, this is nothing to laugh about. It's—it's the truth.

Q. Now, did the Communist Party infiltrate any other organizations here in the City of Seattle? Did they infiltrate your union?

A. Oh sure, absolutely, they had definite control of it. There was more Communists on the payroll of my local union than there was on the payroll of the Communist Party. There's a lot of them in there yet.

Q. Did—did they attempt to influence the policies of your local union?

A. They didn't attempt. They influenced it, and they just about got me thrown out.

Q. At the time you referred to, Morris Rapport was the head of the Communist Party here, was he not?

A. Up until 1940, yes.

Q. Did he ever transmit to you any instructions from the Communist Party to be effected in your union?

A. Oh yes. Yes, yes.

Q. Where and how would Mr. Rapport transport those instructions to you?

A. He'd either come out to my house, or I'd go to his house.

Q. After Mr. Rapport left here, and was succeeded—no, strike that question. Who succeeded Mr. Rapport as head of the Communist Party in this area?

A. Heinie Huff.

Q. Is that his name, or is it Henry Huff?

A. Henry. It's Henry, but we call him Heinie.

Q. Did Mr. Huff ever attempt to influence the policies of your union?

A. Oh yes, definitely.

Q. Did Mr. Huff give you instructions?

A. He did.

Q. How would Mr. Huff give you instructions?

A. Well, not many times after Huff come in—it was only maybe for a year that I met with him. Something happened that he didn't like me any more. But at the start he give me instructions. He's the man that give me instructions to put Bill Dobbins on the pay roll.

Q. And the Communist Party even instructed you as to who to hire?

A. Oh, sure. Bill Dobbins never done any janitor work. He had no business in there, and I shouldn't of hired him.

Q. Well now, after this first year, how did he send instructions to you?

A. Through Merwin Cole or Tom Rabbitt.

Q. Would said Merwin Cole and Tom Rabbitt advise you that these instructions came from Henry Huff, the district organizer of the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes, yes, sure.

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Q. Were they transmitted to you as instructions to follow without deviation?

A. Yes. That's right.

Q. In other words, did you interpret them as orders?

A. Yes. I tried to argue about it. That's what got me in trouble.

Q. Would your testimony today be that the Communist Party gave you orders as to how to run your union?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Now you've mentioned two or three times that you got in "dutch" because you tried to argue with them. Did this ever reach a head where you had a meeting or a discussion about it?

A. Oh, definitely.

Q. Will you state the occasion, and all about it?

A. You see, I was elected as an International Vice President in 1940. I had to travel over a good part of the United States.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I feel remiss to interrupt the testimony of this witness at this time, but we have a very heavy schedule and much stuff to go into, and I would like it so that we can organize it, to ask that you hold a night session tonight.

You've asked that this hearing be limited to two weeks. We're proceeding much more slowly than we had anticipated. We yet have fifty-four witnesses here to testify, nearly all of whom are Seattle citizens, a large part of which are former members of the Communist Party. And we would like to build this case and get it finished in its proper manner. We also have much, much documentary evidence to be introduced that I feel is pertinent to this hearing, and I would like to ask that you hold night meetings and start tonight.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: First, I think we would want to consider that, and I certainly share your wish to handle the volume of testimony that has been made available, to process the witnesses, a great number of them which I know are on call, and I'm interested with—the group are interested in maintaining a schedule, but in that this is a public hearing and many people wish to follow the person in the course of the hearing, I am reluctant to say that we will do that, and I don't believe that we shall this week. If it is still evident that we are unable to maintain a schedule next week, it would be my recommendation that we do go into night sessions. But I will wish to discuss that with the other members of this legislative group, and if it is necessary and there is no way to avoid it next week I believe that we can hold night sessions. I think that it is important that the information here be made available to the people of the State of Washington forthwith. It's long overdue. And we will, I think, agree to do whatever is necessary to make this information available to the people of the State of Washington.

But we will reserve that until the first of the week.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you, I'll do my best.

Q. Now, Mr. Fletcher, I beg your pardon for the interruption, but there's quite a good deal of work in organizing this testimony. Now you were detailing a time that your reluctance to go along with some of the decisions of the Communist Party got you in trouble. Will you continue with that conversation.

A. Well, as I say, I'd come in off a trip from back east or down south. I'd go to the office and Bill Dobbins and Merwin Cole or some of them would tell me what had happened while I was away, and give me the political or trade

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union line of the Communist Party for this locality. And I will be frank to say that some of their lines was so stupid, I couldn't go along with it and I would argue about it. They give me to understand that there was no deviation from the Communist Party line.

Q. Who gave you to understand?

A. Mr. Heinie Huff. They even got in a fight among themselves who would bring the party instructions from Huff up to Local 6.

Q. Who was that in a fight?

A. Merwin Cole and Bill Dobbins and Tom Rabbitt. Apparently Rabbitt was infringing on their jurisdiction. And in the 1944 campaign it come to quite a crisis. The Party had been messing in my union affairs, a fellow by the name of Reeves under Huff—

Q. Carl Reeves?

A. Carl Reeves, who was assistant to Heinie Huff, had went to Spokane and give instructions to a business agent of the Building Service Local 202. The instructions he gave to her was that she must go on the Executive Board of the local Communist Party of Spokane.

Q. Who was this woman?

A. I'd have to look at my records to get that. I forget her name, but I've got it in my records. She called me and I blew up. I got pretty sharp with the Party and said some things that hurt the feelings of Dobbins and Cole and Rabbitt, about the Party, that of course they took back to Huff. And a fight come up over—between Rabbitt, Dobbins and Cole and Huff in trying to put DeLacy in the race for Congress. Tom Rabbitt and Huff and DeLacy decided that Hugh DeLacy would run for Congress, and they never discussed it with any other Party members, and that even made Rabbitt and Cole mad.

When I got in off of a trip, the "Battle of Bull Run" was going on inside of my local union, and I sent Cole and Dobbins on a fishing expedition until after the campaign was over. Immediately after the campaign, about a week, Johnnie Williamson, that was identified here by Budenz and Mr. Johnson, came to Seattle to meet the Party people.

Q. Do you refer to the Mr. Williamson who is described as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party—

A. That's right. That's right. He's now on the—and I learned today from Mr. Johnson that he's on the all-powerful Political Bureau of the Communist International.

I was invited to a closed meeting of the—to meet Mr. Williamson at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, by the duly-elected Congressman, Hugh DeLacy. We attended a meeting there. We had something to eat. And I'm still sore about them messing into my union, and I knew this guy was a big shot, and I went and told him I wanted a meeting. He said, "With who?" I said, "I want you to meet with Huff, your man here, and this man Reeves that's helping him, Congressman DeLacy who is the leader of the Party here, and the leadership of my local union." He said, "Where will we meet?" I said, "We'll meet up in Local 6 office."

We arrived there. There was Merwin Cole, Bill Dobbins, Tom Rabbitt, Hugh DeLacy, Carl Reeves, Heinie Huff, Johnnie Williamson, and myself. I proceeded to tell Mr. Williamson—Comrade Williamson, I should say—what my beef was, that the Party and executives were dealing with my local union in the Northwest.

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I think I made the statement that Heinie Huff wasn't big enough for the job, he was a dumbbell, or something. I told him that I didn't have the trouble—this kind of trouble, when Morris Rapport was here leading the Communist Party. As soon as I was—and as far as I was concerned that Tom Rabbitt would never go back on the payroll of Local 6, as the Party had took him out then to function in the Pension Union. That he was a disrupter, he caused trouble in Local 6, even with his own Communists.

As soon as I got through, our newly-elected Comrade DeLacy—

Q. Now you have fixed the date of this meeting as about a week after his election in '44—

A. That's right.

Q. —to Congress.

A. That's right.

Q. And prior to the time that he took his seat in Congress.

A. That's right. About a week or ten days after he was elected. DeLacy immediately attacked me for being a revisionist. I didn't know what that meant then, until we had talked about it as—and I thought as much about that as I know what Fred Niendorff called me an apostate Communist. I never heard of that until I read it in the "P. I." the other day. Anyway—

Q. Did you recognize it as something that wasn't good?

A. Well, I asked—I asked Ashley Holden whether it was bad or not. If he'd told me it was bad, I'd a got my lawyers.

DeLacy said that I was—done a disservice to the working class, that I was—well, he's educated and I'm not. I don't know what all that he did, but he made me awfully mad. And that I'd committed an unpardonable sin by condemning Mr. Huff and praising Mr. Rapport. He told me that the King was dead, and that I'd better learn to follow the Party line better, and I think I made a remark that it was a pretty damn crooked line and nobody could follow it all the time. It wasn't a very friendly meeting. So I was asked to no more meetings. Does that answer your question?

Q. Yes, thank you. Just one more. Did Mr. Williamson agree with you, or did he agree with Congressman DeLacy?

A. Well, no, Mr. Williamson wasn't so bad. He proceeded to take Comrade Dobbins apart for going on a fishing expedition in the political campaign, and Cole; he criticized Comrade Rabbitt finally, and I believe he made the statement that the—these International Vice Presidents was very valuable to the Communist Party—the position I held—

Q. You mean International Vice Presidents of an International Labor Union?

A. That's right. That's right. That the Party had a lot invested in him, and then he proceeds to take me apart for my short temper. He said that was bad Communist strategy for me to lose my temper like that.

Q. Did anybody else at this meeting castigate you, besides Hugh DeLacy?

A. No, no. Most of them there was on my payroll.

Q. Now, I want to leave that for a minute. There's a name that's cropped out here for some time. You have mentioned several times, and detailed meetings, "in the apartment of Howard G. Costigan" is that correct?

A. That's right.

Q. And you've testified that Howard G. Costigan was a member of the Communist Party.

A. Long before I was.

Q. Is Howard G. Costigan a member of the Communist Party today?

A. No, no, no, he's not. He's just as sick of them as I am.

Q. Now deviating just a moment, did you know an organization operating in the City of Seattle under the name of the Workers Alliance?

A. Oh, yes, very well. Very well.

Q. Was the Communist Party interested in the Workers Alliance?

A. They run it. They organized it.

Q. Did they have complete control of it?

A. Absolutely.

Q. How did the Workers Alliance go out of existence?

A. Well, the W.P.A. and relief work finally played out. It was built around that C.W.A. and—

Q. Did they have a lot of good Party workers in this Workers Alliance?

A. Some was good, and some was awfully bum. And I got some bum ones out of that.

Q. Do you have any knowledge of the merging of the Workers Alliance with the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, I sat in the meetings with them, when they decided on that policy of bodily transferring the active leadership of the Workers Alliance into the Pension Union—into the Pension Union to control it, whether they was drawing a pension or not.

Q. Was this a meeting of the Communist Party wherein this was decided?

A. It was.

Q. Do you know whether or not the leadership of the Old Age Pension Union had been consulted about this?

A. They had not.

Q. Do you know whether or not the leadership—

A. Oh, just a minute. Just a minute. Howard Costigan was the leader, certainly, he sat in the Communist Party meetings that decided the issue.

Q. Was the rank and file of the Old Age Pension Union consulted?

A. No, no, they wasn't consulted. They were like a frog in a thunderstorm, they could hear the noise but they didn't know where it was coming from.

Q. Was the membership of the Workers Alliance consulted?

A. For what?

Q. About this merger.

A. The Workers Alliance?

Q. Yes.

A. No, no. The Communist Party don't consult the membership.

Q. In other words, they just issue orders and that's followed out by—

A. That's right. That's right.

Q. Was such a merger made?

A. It was.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Lenus Westman?

A. I saw him, yes, I saw him here the other day. I think he was pitched out of here for practicing free speech in a country he is trying to destroy.

Q. Is Lenus Westman a member of the Communist Party?

A. I've been told, I never sat in a meeting with him, but I've been told by leading Communists that he was a good comrade. I know they cried when he was thrown out of the Legislature.

Q. Was he thrown out of the Legislature?

A. That's my understanding, yes.

Q. Do you know why he was thrown out of the Legislature?

A. Yes, I think they had an investigation and the committee—they found—positive proof he was a Communist and they wouldn't let him take his seat. They should have a medal, that committee, I believe.

Q. I'm going to ask you a hypothetical question now.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe a man that has put the years in the Communist Party that this man has, Mr. Chairman, and—he can qualify as an expert.

Q. Would you say, from your knowledge of Communist Party tactics that his activities yesterday indicate that he is still a member of the Communist Party?

A. Oh definitely, I'd spot him if I had never seen him before in my life. I—I—listen, brother, I can tell them now. I can tell them now, as soon as they get up. Sure, that's it. He's a Commie. That's a demonstration of their—how they handle their opposition, their idea of democracy. That's how they handled me in my local union. Just like they handled themselves here. I tried to talk to my local union that I organized swinging a mop on the job without any dough; and these bums, when I tried to talk to the membership and tell them they were Communists, sapping them of their money, they bounced up like that and hollered and whooped until they adjourned the meeting. They won't permit democracy. They don't know what it means.

Q. Now, Mr. Fletcher, you've testified that the Communists had control of your union. Did they ever put over a program in your union, or get your union to do anything that was totally irrelevant to the labor movement, were they interested in things in making your union do things that had no connection with a labor union?

A. I'd say at least eighty per cent of their activity was put in in promoting the Communist Party, locally or nationally, or promoting Russian foreign policy, or writing resolutions condemning the American foreign policy, condemning the United States of America, the President, or they were trying to save some Communist stooge that had got in jail in Spain or some place else, or over in China.

They had no consideration for the membership, only in so far as they paid their dues that paid the salaries of these Communists that never worked, and this Rabbitt and the whole gang never done a day's work, and they've got no business on the payroll.

(Applause.)

They're a bunch of leeches and parasites.

Q. Did the Communist Party, while it had control of your union, secure any funds for the Communist Party activities and program from your—

A. And how! And how! You should read the auditor's report when I butted in there. And how! For the last five or six years they took everything. When I—when they forced me to resign in '45, and—and that was at the instigation of the Communist Party—Heinie Huff at Bill Dobbins' office—or, house. There was seventy-two thousand dollars in that local union. They

raised the dues fifty cents a month and when they were throwed out, there was only forty-three thousand dollars left. And every Communist that got throwed off of the payroll was put on the payroll of "6," it was a nesting ground, to take unemployed bums in the Communist Party and put them on the payroll.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Joe Bernstein?

A. I do.

Q. Who is Joe Bernstein?

A. He's a member of Local 6 of the Building Service Union, and then was on the Executive Board for several years.

Q. Was Joe Bernstein a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was, and he is yet.

Q. Do you know a young lady by the name of Honey Todd?

A. Yes, oh, yes.

Q. Was Honey Todd a member of the Communist Party?

A. I never sat in a meeting with her, but I'll bet my interest in heaven that she's a Communist from just the way she acts and talks.

Q. Was it ever called to your attention that Honey Todd was accepting Communist Party dues?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. What position did Honey Todd occupy in the Building Service Employees Union?

A. Well, she was going out evenings a great deal with Ward Coley and some of the business agents. I don't know what else she was doing.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I might take this occasion to remark that the committee would—however justified our personal opinions might be of some of the personalities mentioned here, we would prefer that that part of it be restrained. And I might also at this time re-state that anyone mentioned in these hearings, will have the opportunity, upon the proper request, to appear in this witness chair under oath and make answer to any assertions or allegations or charges against them, as to the truth or falsity of such statements.

It is difficult at times, when we feel deeply about some things such as the use of the old people of this state to provide a living for young people, it is perhaps a little difficult to restrain ourselves, but I would prefer that we limit personalities in this hearing to the minimum.

I do not make that observation as a criticism of anyone here, or the procedure, but to indicate that that is not the thing that—for which we are striving in these hearings.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, do I interpret your ruling as requesting that I do not pursue this line of interrogation? I have a very definite reason.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: No, my remarks are merely directed toward going into a personal description—personal opinion of various members' character. I do not think that we are meeting to decide that issue. The people in the State of Washington will decide it. Though we do want to know to what extent the Communist Party and its agents have infiltrated the Washington Pension Union, and dominated it.

Now, if you'll proceed with that in mind.

Q. Was Honey Todd on the payroll of the Building Service Employees Union?

A. Yes, she still is.

THE WITNESS: I might say, Mr. Chairman, I had no intention of throwing any aspersions on their moral character. I think they were merely carrying on a Communist or Trade Union practice that's recognized—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I am certain that you had no such intentions, Mr. Fletcher.

Q. Now, was it not within the scope of duties of Honey Todd to collect dues from members of the Building Service Employees Union?

A. That wasn't her union. That wasn't what she was paid for, but she was doing it.

Q. Did it come to your attention that she was also collecting dues for Communist Party membership, in the office of the Building Service—

A. I was told that, yes.

Q. —Building Service Employees Union.

A. Not only her, but others.

Q. Do you care to name the others that were doing that?

A. Olga Shock, the employment director, was collecting. Shock.

Q. How do you spell that?

A. I don't know. Ask my wife.

Q. I believe that's S-h-o-c-k, is it not?

A. I think it is, isn't it? S-h-o-c-k.

Q. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Fletcher, do you know a lady by the name of Etta Tripp?

A. Etta Tripp? I've heard of her, but I don't believe I know her.

Q. Who did you contact to work in Hugh DeLacy's campaign for election to Congress? Who were you told to contact?

A. I don't get you.

Q. Well, did you receive any instructions from the Party to work for Hugh DeLacy's—

A. Oh yes, Heinie Huff, Heinie Huff, and Rabbitt.

Q. Did he tell you who to contact to see what to do?

A. Oh, I was given my instructions to go out—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you start over, Mr. Houston, and rephrase the last few questions? I think there is a little confusion there.

Q. Were you told to contact any comrade in the furtherance of Hugh DeLacy's campaign?

A. Well, I was told to—to work with Ellen McGrath and Burt Nelson up in the north district of King County.

Q. You've testified previously—is this the same Burt Nelson—

A. That's right.

Q. —that you previously testified was a Communist and sat in a meeting with you and Bridges?

A. That's right.

Q. Who is Ellen McGrath?

A. She was a reporter on the "New World" and reporter for the—or, I

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mean the "People's World" in San Francisco. She also wrote articles for the "New World."

Q. Was Ellen McGrath a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you sat in meetings with her?

A. Yes, many times.

Q. You mentioned the "New World," let's consider that a moment. Are you familiar with this publication?

A. And how. I—the Communist Party made me buy a hundred dollars worth of stock in it.

Q. Oh, you're a stockholder then, huh?

A. Oh yes.

Q. Is this paper controlled by the Communist Party?

A. I am—yes, it is.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Which answer does he wish to record?

Q. Which answer do you wish to be recorded, Mr. Fletcher?

A. It is controlled by the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know this of your own knowledge?

A. Absolutely. I paid a hundred dollars to Rabbitt over there.

Q. Do you know the editor, Terry Pettus?

A. Very well.

Q. Is Terry Pettus a member of the Communist Party?

A. He is.

Q. Have you sat in closed Party meetings with Terry Pettus?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. On more than one occasion?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. While you were a member of the Communist Party and familiar with the Communist Party line, did this paper carry out that Communist Party line?

A. It did.

Q. Has it ever deviated from the Communist Party line?

A. It has not. It is still carrying the Party line, because they—if you read the last few issues, they say that I'm the biggest liar in the State of Washington. Coming from the Communist Party, I'm inclined to doubt that.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of William Ziegner?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Is William Ziegner a member of the Communist Party?

A. He is.

Q. Has William Ziegner been active in the Washington Pension Union?

A. He has.

Q. You have previously testified that William Dobbins is a member of the Communist Party. Has he been active in the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, and almost everything else?

Q. You have testified that Ward Coley and Merwin Cole are members of

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the Communist Party. Have they been active in the Washington Pension Union?

A. They have.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of John Caughlan?

A. Very well.

Q. Who is John Caughlan?

A. He's the attorney for the Communist Party and a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know of your own knowledge that John Caughlan is a member of the Communist Party?

A. I do.

Q. Have you sat in closed Communist meetings with John Caughlan?

A. I have.

Q. Have you discussed Communist Party business and how to carry it out, with John Caughlan?

A. Oh yes, many times. We're so close he tried to borrow eight hundred dollars from me as a comrade.

Q. Do you know whether or not John Caughlan holds any position in the Washington Old Age Pension Union, now known as the Washington Pension Union?

A. I believe he's a vice president. I'm not sure of that. I've heard it.

Q. Vice president of the State Pension Union?

A. That's right.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of George Hurley?

A. Oh yes, yes.

Q. Has George Hurley been active in the Old Age Pension Union and the Washington Pension Union?

A. Yes.

Q. Is George—was George Hurley a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was.

Q. Have you sat in Party meetings with George Hurley?

A. I have.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Mel Kirkwood?

A. Yes.

Q. Has Mel Kirkwood been active in the Old Age Pension Union?

A. He has.

Q. Was George—Mel Kirkwood a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I've sat in meetings with him.

Q. Do you know a lady by the name of Bernice Bellows?

A. Bernice Bellows? I believe she was named Tate, prior to Bellows, wasn't she?

Q. I believe that was her maiden name. Let's change that. Do you know a woman by the name of Bernice Tate?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And have you sat in Communist Party meetings with Bernice Tate?

A. I have.

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Q. Is Bernice Tate active in the affairs of the Old Age Pension Union?
 A. I think she is.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of George Bradley?
 A. Yes, very well.

Q. Would you identify George Bradley, please.

A. George Bradley is International Vice President of the Building Service Employees Union, stationed in Dallas, Texas.

Q. Was George Bradley a member of the Communist Party?

A. He is, and run for Senator of this state, on the Communist Party ticket, I believe in '34.

Q. Was George Bradley formerly—was George Bradley formerly a resident of Seattle?

A. He was. He was Chief Business Agent of Local 6, too, at one time.

Q. Was George Bradley active in the affairs of the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. He sat in the meetings that made the decision to—that the Party was to send the Workers Alliance in to take over, in '36 or '7. '37. This was discussed in the Party a long time before it was decided to do it. They talked about it all these years, but it was done in '40 or '41. You know, the Communists they talk about these things, so they know what they're doing.

Q. I believe you testified previously that you were a member of the Bridges defense committee.

A. That's right.

Q. Who else were members of this committee?

A. The only one that I met—well, Bridges had C. I. O. labor leaders, civic leaders, and other people, on his committee. The only other man that I talked to and knew was a member of the American Federation of Labor, that is, a man by the name of George Hardy in San Francisco.

Q. You were on the main Bridges defense committee, not a little local committee.

A. No. No, I was on the main committee. George Hardy and I talked to Bridges in San Francisco at different times about his—defense.

Q. Do you recall whether or not the matter of Bridges' defense was discussed before your union?

A. Oh, yeah. You mean Local 6?

Q. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. Did Local 6 contribute any money?

A. They did. At my request.

Q. Do you know whether or not the matter was discussed before the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. I believe it was, yes.

Q. Do you know whether or they contributed any money to the defense committee?

A. I am sure they did.

Q. Now, referring back just a moment, I think we've fixed the dates on most of these people. When did you sit in Communist Party meetings with George Hurley?

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A. During the time that he was in the Legislature.

Q. Can you fix that?

A. Well, '45. I was down there representing the Labor Lobby and Rapport would come down and we'd sit down with those that was members of the Communist Party, or under Communist Party discipline.

Q. Can you fix the time that you sat in Communist Party meetings with John Caughlan?

A. At the Legislature and up here. Several, many times. He was the attorney for the Party, and Party front organizations.

Q. Did these meetings with John Caughlan continue over a period of years?

A. Oh, yes. Years, several years.

Q. Was John Caughlan a member of the Communist Party when you first became active in the Party?

A. I don't recall the exact time. I think it was '37 or '38, I'm not sure when I met John, but he was—well, I first met him at a Party meeting, and was accepted and introduced to me as a comrade. I never seen his card, but I considered him a Party lawyer. We've discussed lots of times that he shouldn't handle a certain case because he was a Communist lawyer.

Q. Would he have been acting solely in the capacity of an attorney, or did he act in the capacity of a Communist Party member?

A. He acted and discussed policy that had no legal phrases at all. He discussed national policy in the Communist Party. He discussed state policy, what should be done—

Q. When there was no need of—he couldn't have been there advising as an attorney?

A. No, there's no legal interpretation. When orders comes down from the center to Rapport, and he lays it out, why often, like DeLacy and everybody else who sits there, we all concur. He concurred and said, "I support the comrade a hundred per cent in what he said."

Q. Have you addressed John Caughlan as Comrade Caughlan?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Has he addressed you as Comrade Fletcher?

A. Yes, he doesn't any more though.

Q. And this relationship started along in late '37 or early '38?

A. I think it was, yes.

Q. When did this relationship last occur? When did it terminate, rather. We'll put it that way.

A. I can place the date now, when I first met John. Rapport wanted—I hired John C. Stevenson in '37 as attorney for my local union. Rapport wanted me to hire Caughlan because he was a good Commie.

Q. Did Rapport so state to you?

A. That's right.

Q. And at that time, was Rapport district organizer for the Communist Party?

A. That's right. And I think it ceased around in '42 or '3, when Heinie Huff quit seeing me only at the time I called him into the meeting, or had Johnnie Williamson do it. I hadn't seen Huff then for pretty near two years. He wouldn't meet with me. He wouldn't talk to me. So I did get a meeting

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with Johnnie Williamson, and that was the last meeting I ever had with any of them.

Q. Do you—I'll withdraw that. As an International Vice President of the Building Service Employees Union, and as a former president of Building Service Employees Union Local 6, can you give us any estimate of the amount of money that was used by the union to further the interests of the Communist Party?

A. Well, they—according to the report I get from the International, it came from thirty-five hundred to four thousand five hundred members in Local 6 union. Dues at two dollars and a half, initiation fees separate. I seen, if I know the financial statement, they ran around thirteen thousand a month coming in for over a period of years, and they spent every bit of it, and even spent about thirty thousand dollars that had accumulated prior to the time they forced me to resign in '45. And the membership in Local 6 is working for less money than the membership in Everett who is under non-Communist leadership, and I know that they put in their time promoting the Communist Party and front organizations in the place of building good will and representing the membership of Local 6 who paid their salary. They donated it to the Party and Party front organizations. Does that answer your question?

Q. From time to time you have observed audits of Building Service Local 6 finances, have you not?

A. I have.

Q. Would you say that the amount of money used for Communist front organizations and programs furthering the Communist Party, would run into several thousands of dollars a month?

A. Absolutely. Sure, their whole pay roll. They were all Communists on the pay roll. Everything they spent was promoting the Communist Party, or most of it.

Q. Is it your testimony here that those employees of Local 6 of the Building Service Employees Union spent more time working for the Communist Party than they did for Building Service Union?

A. Absolutely, there's no question about it. And to guys like Pennock and the guys that was working for the Pension Union too.

Q. Now you have testified that you were present at the meeting wherein it was decided to infiltrate the Washington Old Age Pension Union.

A. I was.

Q. Is it your testimony again, that that was successful and they got control of it?

A. That's right.

Q. Is it your testimony that they still have control?

A. They have.

Q. And it is still officered by members of the Communist Party?

A. It is.

MR. HOUSTON: I think that's all. Thank you very much, Mr. Fletcher.

MRS. JUDITH FLETCHER, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

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DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Please state your name.

A. Judith Fletcher.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Fletcher?

A. 8731 Phinney Avenue.

Q. Are you the wife of Jess Fletcher?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. Are you, or were you, ever a member of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, I think I was. I work with Jess in everything I do. They collected dues from me also.

Q. They collected dues from you also.

A. Uh-hum.

Q. Did they ever give you a card in the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever know why they didn't give you a card?

A. Well, I understood it was to protect Jess.

Q. Were you present at a meeting in your home wherein Mr. and Mrs. Morris Rapport were present, and Jess Fletcher questioned Mr. Rapport concerning this matter?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Did you hear the conversation that took place between Mr. Fletcher and then Mr. Rapaport?

A. Not the entire conversation, no. Esther and I went out in the kitchen and we were washing the dishes, and I came in on the last part of it.

Q. Will you relate the portion that you did hear?

A. Well, I understood Morris Rapport to say that the reason—that he considered Mr. Fletcher a very good Communist and the reason that he didn't have a card was to protect him, that that was the policy of the Communist Party.

Q. Is it your testimony that you and Mr. Fletcher paid dues into the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes, I was with him and I—

Q. Where would you pay these dues?

A. I went up to Mrs. Eby's, Lenna Eby's.

Q. Mrs. Lenna Eby?

A. Uh-hum.

Q. Who is—how do you spell that Lenna?

A. I think it is L-e-n-n-a.

Q. Who is Mrs. Lenna Eby?

A. Harold Eby's wife.

Q. Where were these dues paid?

A. Both at Eby's home and our home. Lenna would call me and ask me if wasn't it just about time that we had a visit, and I'd agree that maybe it was, so we'd either arrange to go over to her house, or they'd come over to ours.

Q. Now, Mrs. Fletcher, did you attend any Communist Party meetings?

A. Well, that was my understanding that I did, yes.

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Q. You understood these meetings to be Communist Party meetings.

A. Yes.

Q. Where would these meetings be held?

A. Well, I attended some at Mr. Costigan's home, or his apartment, rather, and I attended some at Mr. Rapport's apartment, I attended the meeting with Mr. Williamson, and we've had lots of them out at the house.

Q. At your home?

A. My own home.

Q. Now who was present at the meetings at your home?

A. Well, Mr. Costigan, Mr. DeLacy, Mr. Pennock, Mr. Rabbitt, Mr. Rapport, Harry Jackson, Mr. Pettus—

Q. Which Pettus is that?

A. Terry.

Q. Mr. Terry Pettus, the editor of the "New World."

A. That's right.

Q. He has attended meetings in your own home.

A. Oh, yes. I don't know, there were several meetings, and there was usually quite a group of people.

Q. Did you understand these to be Communist Party meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. And that that was the purpose of the meeting?

A. That's right.

Q. And that all present were Communists?

A. That's what I understood, yes.

Q. At these meetings did they address each other as comrade?

A. Yes, quite often.

Q. Can you fix the date of any of these meetings?

A. No, they were—they were held over a period of years. They were—they didn't—we had quite a large living room and they thought ours was quite a convenient place to hold the meetings. It was comfortable, and I always had coffee for them, you know.

Q. Who would arrange the meetings?

A. Well, I don't know that. I was just told that there was a bunch of the boys were going to come out tonight.

Q. Who would tell you that?

A. Well, lots of times my husband would, and then other times, well, Mr. Dobbins would, Bill Dobbins.

Q. Did Bill Dobbins ever attend these meetings?

A. Oh, yes. Merwin Cole and Ward Coley.

Q. When did these meetings being held in your home, when did that first start?

A. Well, I think it started in—well, I would say 1937 or '38. My daughter was born in '38, and I know we were holding them then.

Q. When did these meetings cease being held in your home?

A. Well, I would judge around 1942, something in there.

Q. How often would these meetings be held?

A. Well, I don't think there was any regularity about it, they—I would

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just be notified every once in a while that they'd be coming out. Sometimes it would be every week and sometimes it would be twice a week.

Q. Do you know ex-Congressman Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. DeLacy a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well I would imagine so, he was out to a lot of the meetings.

D. Did you ever hear Mr. DeLacy addressed as Comrade DeLacy?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Did you ever hear him address anyone as Comrade so and so?

A. Yes, I think I have.

Q. Did John Caughlan ever attend any meetings in your home?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Did you ever hear John Caughlan addressed as Comrade Caughlan?

A. Yes, I think I have.

Q. Did you ever hear John Caughlan address anyone as Comrade—

A. Oh, yes.

Q. —Fletcher or something? The practice was quite prevalent, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. At these meetings would they discuss Communist Party program and strategy?

A. Yes.

Q. Could the meeting be interpreted as any other kind of a meeting than a Communist meeting?

A. Well, I wouldn't think so. I don't know how anyone could think so, if they sat in there and listened to the discussion because it was almost entirely a discussion of what Party members were to do, what lines they were to follow.

Q. What the Party members were to do.

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present at any of the meetings Mr. Fletcher has testified to wherein Mr. Harry Renton Bridges was present?

A. No, I didn't attend any of those meetings.

Q. Have you ever met Mr. Harry Renton Bridges?

A. I think I have. I don't remember just when, though.

Q. You don't remember when.

A. I meet so many people, and I don't know when I meet them.

Q. Do you know William Pennock?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Is Mr. William Pennock a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I would say so. He attended a lot of the meetings.

Q. Has William Pennock attended the meetings in your home?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Has William Pennock been addressed as Comrade Pennock?

A. Yes, I believe so.

Q. Has he addressed others as Comrade so and so?

A. Well, I would imagine so, because that was the general practice. Everyone seemed to do it. I don't specifically remember Pennock doing it, no.

Q. You don't remember specifically that they did it, but all of them did it?

A. I couldn't say when he did it, but I know that they all did it.

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Q. In these meetings did they address one—anyone by any other term than Comrade so and so?

A. Oh, at times they'd use Mister.

Q. At times.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Was that in the minority or the majority of times?

A. I think it was in the minority.

Q. In the minority. The majority of the times they addressed each other as comrade.

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present at a meeting held in the fall of 1944, with Mr. Williamson of the Communist—

A. Yes, I was.

Q. —Party. You were. Where was this meeting held?

A. In the office of the Building Service Union.

Q. Can you fix the date of when this meeting was held?

A. No, I can't. It was in the fall, I know that.

Q. In the fall.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Can you fix it as either before or after Hugh DeLacy's election to Congress?

A. Well, I can fix it. It was after his election, yes.

Q. Was it prior to the time that he took his seat as Congressman?

A. Well, I think so, because I think he left in December sometime.

Q. Then it was after his election and prior to December?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Who was present at this meeting?

A. Mr. Williamson, Mr. Huff—

Q. Will you give the full names?

A. Heinie Huff, Johnnie Williamson—

Q. Do you mean Henry Huff?

A. Uh-huh. Bill Dobbins, Tom Rabbitt, Merwin Cole, Mr. Fletcher and I.

Q. Were all those present at that meeting members of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, definitely.

Q. Was Congressman DeLacy present?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Was Carl Reeves present?

A. I don't remember distinctly, but I—I imagine he was. He was working with Mr. Huff.

Q. Was this held as a Communist meeting with—

A. Oh yes, a discipline meeting.

Q. A discipline meeting.

A. Yes.

Q. What was the nature of the meeting, will you detail the discussion and what it was all about?

A. Well,—

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Q. Just what occurred at the meeting, now. What was said and done.

A. Yes. It was a—it was a meeting to discuss the problems among the members of the Party, the officials there, and the way they had acted during the campaign, and I think it was Mr. Rabbitt that felt that Mr. Dobbins and Mr. Cole and Mr. Fletcher hadn't acted properly, that they were going to be called down for it.

Q. Who called them down?

A. Mr. DeLacy.

Q. Mr. Hugh DeLacy?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Well, that's a rather general term, calling down. What form did it take, what was said, do you recall?

A. Well, I don't recall very distinctly, no. I—

Q. Well, I'll withdraw that question then, and ask it this way. Do you recall whether or not your husband was reprimanded?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And by whom was he reprimanded?

A. By Mr. DeLacy.

Q. By Mr. DeLacy. Was Congressman DeLacy affiliated with the Building Service Employees Union at that time?

A. No, not that I know of.

Q. By what virtue did Congressman DeLacy sit in at a discipline meeting concerning the affairs of Building Employees Union, Local 6?

A. Well, it was—it was their conduct in his campaign. I imagine that was why he was—and of course, by then he was a Congressman so he was a very important figure.

Q. Now you have mentioned Tom Rabbitt. Do you refer to the former senator, Tom Rabbitt?

A. That's right.

Q. Has Tom Rabbitt ever attended any Communist Party meetings at your home?

A. Oh yes, many times.

Q. Many times. Did Senator Tom Rabbitt address others as comrade?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he addressed as comrade?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. He indulged in the general practice at—

A. Yes.

Q. —Communist Party meetings of addressing each other as comrade.

A. That's right.

Q. Do you know William Ziegner?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Did he ever attend any meetings in your home?

A. Yes, I think—oh yes, I know he has.

Q. Did he indulge in the general practice of calling each other comrade?

A. Yes, I believe he did.

Q. You testified that William Pennock—

A. Oh, yes.

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Q. —attended there. Did Terry Pettus, editor of the "New World" ever attend any meetings in your home?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Terry Pettus address others as comrade?

A. Yes.

Q. And was he in turn addressed as comrade?

A. Yes.

Q. Did George Hurley ever attend any meetings in your home?

A. I don't recall whether he was—I think he's been out to the house, but I don't know whether he was in one of these meetings or not. I couldn't say for sure.

Q. Have you ever attended any Communist Party meeting with George Hurley, that you recall?

A. No, I don't think I have.

Q. Then you do not know whether or not—

A. I don't know—

Q. —George Hurley is a member of the Communist Party. It's slipped my mind now. Did I ask you about John Caughlan?

A. Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all. Thank you very much.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I—I would like the wishes of the Chairman at this time. The next witness will take around an hour or an hour and a half to examine. Do you wish me to start, Mr. Chairman, or wish it to run through?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I think we just had an opinion on the night session. I would rather start new in the morning.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask the witnesses who were subpoenaed, who testified here today—who have not testified today, to be present tomorrow. You who have testified today, Mr. Chairman I recommend that they be released from the subpoena.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, if it meets with your approval, we will adjourn until 9:30 o'clock again tomorrow morning.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 9:30 o'clock a. m., January 30, 1948.)

(9:30 o'Clock, a. m., January 30, 1948)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will be in session.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you take the witness stand, Mr. Honig?

NAT HONIG, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Pardon me a moment, Mr. Houston. I would like to make an announcement. We have a request, the first request, incidentally, to appear before this Committee. I intended to reply to it with a letter, but there seemed to be no adequate address. Louise Alice Gervais has requested an opportunity to appear before this Committee, and she will be given such opportunity, and if she will leave her address we will notify

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her formally the time when she will be permitted to appear, but that is just in case this lady did not understand why we had not replied. We received the request last night, but I was unable to reply this morning, not having a complete address, but we will find it and send a formal notice of the time she may appear.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, how was that name spelled?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Louise, L-o-u-i-s-e Alice, A-l-i-c-e G-e-r-v-a-i-s. You may proceed.

DIRECT EXAMINATION (resumed)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Honig, will you please state your name, and spell the last name for the sake of the record?

A. Nat Honig, H-o-n-i-g.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Honig?

A. Los Angeles.

Q. Where were you born, Mr. Honig?

A. New York.

Q. Mr. Honig, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. I am not now, but I had been for twelve years a member of the Communist Party.

Q. When did you first join the Communist Party?

A. In 1927.

Q. 1927. Now, where did you join the Communist Party?

A. In Jersey City, New Jersey.

Q. What were you doing at the time you joined the Communist Party—what was your occupation?

A. Well, I was a newspaper man.

Q. What employment did you have after you joined the Party?

A. Well, very shortly after I joined the Communist Party, I would say about three months after I had joined, this was in about December, 1927, I joined the staff of the Daily Worker, which was the main newspaper of the Communist Party.

Q. Is the Communist Party—I'll withdraw that—is the Daily Worker an organ of the Communist Party?

A. It is.

Q. And it was at the time you worked on it?

A. Yes.

Q. And you were a full time employee for the Daily Worker in New York?

A. Yes.

Q. Where was the Daily Worker office?

A. In New York City—I can give the exact address if you want it.

Q. Was it in the proximity—close to the headquarters of the Communist Party?

A. When I first worked there it was not. It was on Union Square and the headquarters of the Party was up in—near the Harlem area—just south of 25th Street, but later on they consolidated their offices and they all located, the Party itself and the Daily Worker at 50 East 13th Street.

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Q. How long did you work as an employee of the Daily Worker?
 A. Pretty close to three years, until March, 1930.

Q. And what did you do in March, 1930?

A. I was assigned by the central committee of the Communist Party to become editor of a weekly newspaper called Labor Unity. It was the official organ of the Trade Union Unity League.

Q. What was the Trade Union Unity League?

A. The Trade Union Unity League was the trade union front for the party. It was the organization through which the party conducted its operations in the unions.

Q. Was this publication that you became editor of, also a Communist Party publication?

A. It was not openly or admittedly so, but it was run lock, stock and barrel by the Communist Party.

Q. Were its policies controlled by the Communist Party?

A. Completely.

Q. Did you receive copies from the Daily Worker to rewrite for your paper?

A. Very often, and I received copy very often from the central committee of the Party or members of it.

Q. While you were editor of this paper did you see any evidence of foreign copy being sent for dissemination?

A. Oh, yes, very—almost every day the mail brought us more or less open stuff that came from Moscow from the Headquarters of the Red International labor unions, then occasionally we got articles written by Soviet trade union officials. We got that indirectly, as it would be brought to this country probably by some couriers as they call their messengers.

Q. As editor of that paper, are you in a position to state whether or not any control over the paper was exercised by Moscow?

A. Well, I know definitely it was, because very often the policy of control was exercised through me, myself.

Q. As an avowed Party member?

A. And as the editor of the paper, yes.

Q. How long were you editor of this paper?

A. Until May—until April, 1934.

Q. Incidentally, do you know Mr. Manning Johnson who testified here yesterday?

A. Yes, I have met him, in New York.

Q. Was he a member of the Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he an official of the Party?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Now, what happened in 1934? You say that was when your employment there terminated.

A. Well, in April—well, early in 1934, about January, I was approached by a representative, by a German who was a representative of the Comintern in this country.

Q. What was his name?

A. He went under the name of Wagner, and his name was—

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Q. Do you remember his first name?
 A. I don't. We never referred—I don't think he even used his first name, just a handy nom de guerre, so to speak, you know, only our official names to be used in public, and his real name was Merker.

Q. How do you spell that?

A. M-e-r-k-e-r.

Q. M-e-r-k-e-r.

A. Fritz. I believe it was Fritz Merker, but it was Merker, I know that.

Q. You say he was a representative of the Comintern?

A. Yes, he was a secret representative of the Comintern.

Q. Now, suppose you detail for us how you met Mr. Merker and the length of your acquaintanceship?

A. I don't know exactly when it was that I first met Mr. Merker, or any of his colleagues who were similar representatives of the Comintern, but it must have been sometime during the preceding year of 1933 and I met him pretty nearly at all conventions of our Trade Union Unity League, of which our paper was the official organ. I met him at Party conventions and closed Party meetings, smaller Party meetings of higher officials, and I was introduced to him once and I spoke to him very briefly after that at succeeding meetings. He approached me in January of 1934 and he said that he had been watching the work I had been doing and said that they were very pleased with the paper I was editing, and I heard he meant the Red International Labor Union of Moscow. The Red International Labor Union is the trade union branch of the Communists, and he asked me how I would like to go to Moscow, and of course I was very pleased. This is the mecca, naturally, of all Communists, and I said "I would."

Q. All right, was Mr. Merker a citizen of this country?

A. Oh, no. He is a German.

Q. Did he exercise any influence over the Communist Party of this country?

A. That is what he was in the country for, to see to it that instructions from the Comintern were carried out.

Q. Do you have any knowledge whether or not the American members of the Communist Party followed his instructions?

A. Well, they had to, or else.

Q. There just wasn't any question about it?

A. There wasn't any question.

Q. You know, Mr. Honig, we are taking this record by electronic record and it,—unfortunately it doesn't record motions. Just what did you mean when you—

A. Well, they are out, and for a higher official of a party to be out is a pretty tough break. I mean, he would be hounded for a long time to come. Most of these higher officials, too, have never done anything else in their life for livelihood and to be ousted from the party would almost mean starvation for them.

Q. So they implicitly obeyed the orders of this foreign alien who was here representing the Communist Comintern?

A. Implicitly is the only word.

Q. Now, you stated that you were very pleased with this offer to go to Moscow. Did you go to Moscow?

A. Yes.

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Q. Who made all the arrangements for you to go to Moscow?
A. The central committee of the Communist Party.

Q. Who arranged your transportation?
A. Well, I don't know which—well, I do know which, ah—which particular official of the party I had to approach, a man named Mr. Weiner.

Q. I mean, did the Communist Party arrange this?
A. Yes, the Party itself.

Q. Who paid your expenses?
A. The Communist Party had me to go to an organization called World Tourists and they gave me my ticket.

Q. Without payment of any money on your own part?
A. No money on my part at all.

Q. Did you go to Moscow alone, or were you accompanied by someone?
A. I went with a man named William Schneidermann. At that time he had been the district secretary—

Q. Just a moment. How do you spell Schneidermann?
A. S-c-h-n-e-i-d-e-r-m-a- double n.

Q. Now, can you identify Mr. Schneidermann a little better for us?
A. I believe he still is the district secretary of the Communist Party in California. He was, when I last heard.

Q. This is the William Schneidermann that we from time to time hear from in California?
A. Yes sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Schneidermann accompanied you on this trip?
A. Yeah, from start to finish.

Q. Do you know the reason for Mr. Schneidermann going to Moscow?
A. Yes. He was going to be the American representative at the Comintern just as I was going to be the equivalent at the Red International Labor Union.

Q. Was Mr. Schneidermann a member of the Communist Party?
A. Yes.

Q. Now, will you detail for us your trip to Moscow—how did you—what route did you take—how did you go?
A. Well, we went on a French Line ship. It was the Champlaigne, and we went from New York to London and—to Plymouth, and then by rail to London. We stayed about a week in London when a Soviet ship was to sail to Leningrad. We took that Soviet ship from London to Leningrad.

Q. Prior to departing you had secured a passport, had you not?
A. Yes, I had.

Q. Was this the regular passport issued by the State Department?
A. Yes.

Q. And this passport had your picture in it?
A. Yes.

Q. Now what happened when you arrived in Moscow?
A. Well, I immediately reported to the International Head, or the Red International Labor Union, Lozofsky—Solomon Lozofsky, and he was rather an important gentleman in Soviet affairs. He later on became—during the war his name appeared pretty nearly daily in the papers. He was a spokesman for the foreign office to the American corres—for all foreign correspondents, you might have seen his name.

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Q. Well, did you assume any duties in Moscow?
A. Yes. For a short time I assumed the duties—I was sort of breaking in at what they call referant—a peculiar title.

Q. Will you spell that?
A. R-e-f-e-r-a-n-t, and a referant from the American Party to the Red International Trade Unions. That is sort of a junior representative, Communist Party gibberish, or something like that. Then within a few months I was named the regular American representative from the American Party to the Red International Labor Unions.

Q. You were the highest authority from America representing the Communists and the Trade Union movement in America, is that correct?
A. Representing the Communist work in the trade unions.

Q. In America?
A. In Moscow.

Q. Where were your offices in Moscow?
A. In the Palace of Labor, that's what the building was called along the Moscow River.

Q. Were representatives from other countries officed there, also?
A. Yes, I believe they said that there were representatives from something like sixty-six different countries.

Q. Were these other members also members of the Communist Party?
A. Yes, they had to be.

Q. In other words, here is sixty-six countries with representatives here, all of them pertaining to labor movements, is that correct?
A. Yes, yes.

Q. Would you say that the Communist movement within the labor movement of the world was directed from this institution you have described.
A. It was.

Q. Would it be possible under this organization you have detailed to issue the same instructions to Communists in trade union movements throughout the entire world?
A. It was done very often.

Q. It was done very often. We often hear, Mr. Honig, that the Communist Party of the United States of America has no connection with any other Communist Party. Is that true, or not?
A. No. It has.

Q. Is it your testimony that there is one Communist Party in the world?
A. Yes, that is what my testimony is, and that could easily be corroborated by reference to open Communist literature. I don't know if it circulates still, but it did very freely in Communist bookstores in the past, in which the—oh, different Communist leaders throughout the world would say, "We are members of one world Communist Party, and are one monolithic unit," and so forth—that kind of language.

Q. But you can personally testify as representative of the American Trade Union Communists, and collaborating and working with delegates from other countries representing the Communists in their Trade Union movement—
A. Right.

Q. It is just a myth then that they are trying to sell to the American people that the Communist Party has no connection with Russia?
A. Yes, they are mistaken.

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Q. Now, will you detail for us a little, your duties? What did you do?
 A. Well, my main duty was to meet with all or as many as possible of these delegates from other countries and formulate—help formulate—take part in discussions which would lead to the formulation of policies for Communist work in the trade unions in various countries. Of course, my main work would center on helping to formulate policies to be carried in the trade unions of the United States, both the A. F. of L. and later on—not later on, but at the same time the independent—the Red trade unions. At that time there was a separate split-off trade union movement, a Communist outright Red Trade Union movement. They didn't admit it was Communist. That was the Trade Union Unity League.

Q. Did you meet in council with these other delegates?

A. Yes, at least once a week.

Q. Did you take action, such as adopting resolutions, programs, things like that?

A. Yes.

Q. Would it be possible under this, that a Ukrainian or a Turkish or a French delegate could make a motion and a policy be adopted that would directly affect the American Trade Union movement here and the individuals in it?

A. Well, I might answer that this way: Some Bulgarian, let's say, named Polarov—there was actually such a Bulgarian over there.

Q. Will you spell that name?

A. P-o-l-a-r-o-v. He is probably a big shot there now they've taken the country over. In fact, I've read, for instance, a Bulgarian named Polarov would have a sudden idea, a sudden thought, or a wind, you might call it. There aren't enough unemployment demonstrations in the United States, so he would make a motion to that effect, that there should be more—they should pep that up, and Polarov wins, the Bulgarians win. Six months later it would probably result in the cracking of the head of somebody named Joe Jones in Butte, Montana, or Seattle, Washington.

Q. Did you have veto power over the policies that were to be applied to America?

A. Do you mean I, individually?

Q. You, individually, you thought that wasn't good for America, could you have stopped that program, or were you powerless if the body acted?

A. Well, it all depends on who had a notion—who introduced the idea. For instance, if Stalin—we never saw him—he never came around to our meetings, but if Stalin had an idea that something ought to be done in America in Trade Unions, he'd pass the word along. It would go to—he would send for Lozofsky, probably, and he would tell him his idea and there wouldn't be—wouldn't even be any discussion of that. Lozofsky would say it came from—he wouldn't say it came from Stalin, we would know by the way he put it, providing on how agitated and aggravated he seemed—how scared he seemed, and there wouldn't be any discussion. That would be that, and that's what. If Lozofsky himself, who was the head of the Red International Labor Union, had an idea, there wouldn't be too much discussion, but there would be some.

He would, maybe, to make it look good, ask me, as the American representative, what I thought of it, if it applied to America.

And I generally agreed with him.

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Q. It seems to me that it—

A. If I—if I had an idea, well of course they would all pounce on it. There is a great deal of rivalry among the representatives from the different countries. They all want to make a bigger showing than the other to the Comintern, a bigger impression, and if I, for instance, had an idea that something ought to be done in regard to something in America in the Trade Unions, there would be a lot of discussion, and maybe fifty per cent of the time my idea might go over finally, and very often it wouldn't. Sometimes it would be laughed down, and sometimes it would be thought a good idea.

Q. Your testimony is, then, that if some of these foreign delegates got this deal over, they had the power right there to crack heads here in the United States?

A. Once a decision was reached by the Red International Labor Union, it would be sent over—there would be a joint meeting with the Comintern delegates, and once it was okehed by both groups, that was law as far as the American party was concerned. They could—sometimes it was too ridiculous, and once in a while it would be, because they had some funny notions about the United States—some of these foreigners had never been here. Well, a top party leader such as Browder or Foster could point out some inaccuracy. He wouldn't question the wisdom of the policy proposed, but some of the ways of carrying it out. For instance, I will give you an idea of what they thought happened in America. Some of these top leaders of the Comintern, the Red International Labor Union. I was editor of Labor Unity. Just before I went over there I got a communication from one of the officials of the Comintern, wanting to know why I wasn't sending them any publications in the cowboy and Indian languages. "Those oppressed minorities," he called them. They didn't know what—and yet these were people who would discuss and help to form policies for the United States.

Q. These same people were making policies that affect the laboring people here in the United States?

A. Yeah.

Q. Well, was Mr. Browder able to stop their demands for publications in the cowboy language?

A. Well, I never took them in to Browder. I thought it was a good joke and I told a few of my closest cronies in the Party whom I knew wouldn't let it go any further, about it. We laughed, and that was that. I wrote back and told them there wasn't any such thing.

Q. But you dare not question the policy?

A. No, we generally didn't, once it was okehed back there.

Q. If you could have found the cowboy language, you would have probably issued a publication?

A. Well, I must admit I was tempted to invent one, and maybe that would have enhanced my prestige.

(Laughter)

Q. Now, you mentioned something that interests me. You said the head of this whole movement, what was the name, Lakofsky or—

A. No, Lozofsky, L-o-z-o-f-s-k-y.

Q. Well, this fellow now,—you mentioned that by the manner in which he presented things he would often indicate fear if something came from Stalin. Are these high officials surrounded by fear?

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A. Oh, well, Lozofsky was really—it is really an amazing thing. He was a big man in the Soviet Union. He was a man who ostensibly had charge of every little thing that any Communist would do in any union in the United States, a man many times so agitated, so ashen and pale at meetings we had, that we knew immediately, of course, that he had gotten hell bawled out of him at the Kremlin, or else he had proposed something which had been laughed down or had been called ridiculous or something like that, or been rebuked in some way or another. He was a big—a man who was not just an ordinary rank and file Soviet citizen.

Q. Does this atmosphere of fear pervade all through the Communist Party?

A. Terribly so in Russia, and here, too. But toward the end of my stay there—just to give you an illustration—the purges began—the first of the original purges. There was an assassination in Leningrade of a man named Kero who was a leader of a whole Communist Party movement in the Leningrad area. He was supposed to have been next in line to Stalin at that time—very highly regarded by Stalin. He was assassinated and immediately—I don't know how many million people were arrested. I would say at least thirty-three and a third per cent of all the foreign Communists, strictly from the Balkan countries, disappeared, and I couldn't begin to say how many Soviet Communist members disappeared, many whom I knew, had talked with them, gone to their houses, had dinner with and so forth, I never saw again, suddenly.

Q. What do you mean by disappeared? Did they walk out?

A. Never saw them. Now I mention these meetings every week that we delegates to the RYLU—the Recognized Youth for Labor Unions, would hold. We had the first meeting after the assassination of Kero, and I don't believe more than five of us were present of the old bunch who used to attend the meetings each week.

Q. Of the whole sixty-six?

A. Well, there weren't—sixty-six weren't always there. Some didn't come when their particular problems weren't concerned. Usually we had an attendance of maybe thirty or thirty-five, and I don't think this time—maybe five of us were there, the others—and most of the rest I never did see again.

Q. Were you surrounded by an atmosphere of fear while you were there?

A. For the most part I personally wasn't, except on one occasion. I did have one little twinge in my mind. They had my passport. When I arrived there one of the first things I was told to do was give my passport to Lozofsky. I gave him my good American passport and they used that, as couriers for the Comintern and the Red International Labor Union, these unions used that in traveling about Europe and Asia. They took my picture out and pasted whatever picture—the picture of the individual being used as courier, in its place. I always felt that if somehow or other somebody developed a grudge against me, they—they didn't ever have to give me that passport back. They could say it got lost, and I would be in a pickle there because I had never reported to the American Embassy, of course—never been to the American Consulate. I didn't know whether I could dare go to the American Embassy or Consulate and tell them my passport was gone and so forth and so forth, you know.

Q. You weren't there as an American citizen in Russia, then, is that right?

A. I wasn't even there, as far as the American Consulate or Embassy were concerned.

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Q. Had you told the State Department when you left here that you were going to Russia?

A. No. They ask you to declare where you are going, and I—what you are going to do and for what, and why you are going abroad, and I said I was a tourist, and going to visit England, France and maybe Switzerland, and so forth, but never mentioned Russia.

Q. Is that a common practice, to deceive, to lie, in the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes, it is almost a virtue.

Q. How did you know that they had used your passport and removed the picture?

A. Well, one thing—occasionally I would meet some of these other couriers who traveled about, and none of them told me they had used my passport, personally—they wouldn't do that. They wouldn't even know that they were using my passport, probably. I mean that they didn't know I was Honig. I didn't tell you that when I arrived there, also one of the first things that was done, Lozofsky said to me "You are not Comrade Honig any more. You are Comrade Davis." Now, that was that. You see I never had used a phony name in the Party before. I never did—never had a chance to in Russia, for that matter. I like my own name, and didn't see any reason to change it. But he said that's that, and it was that.

Q. If one of these couriers had gotten in trouble you were not Honig, but Davis, in Moscow you would have been in—

A. Honig would be in a jam, even though he wasn't there.

Q. Well, now, Honig, will you detail to me if you can—no, I withdraw that. Did you subsequently get your passport back?

A. I got it back once when I acted as a courier myself, and then of course I got it back finally when I left the Soviet Union.

Q. Now, did you observe any change in the passport when you got it back?

A. Yes. I noticed a sort of a little hairline dried paste mark there, you know, which showed clearly that my picture had been removed and been put back, but it did not exactly jibe with where it had been before.

Q. So this showed on the face of the passport?

A. Yeah.

Q. That didn't add to quieting your nerves any, did it?

A. No, it didn't particularly scare me at the time. I had a clear conscience about my party membership. I knew that I was perfectly loyal, I wasn't scared. I knew there was always that possibility that somebody might frame me for some reason,—that was done in the Party here, and must be done all over the world.

Q. Is that a practice to frame people in the Party?

A. Well yes to a—there is quite a lot of rivalry. There was when I was in. I assume it hasn't changed for the better, and very often—a man who may have a certain title in the party—certain position, the man just below him thinks he ought to have it. Of course he'll do just as would be done in any office anywhere. They'll try to get him—to get his job. They'll spread rumors, or slanders about him, or say he—maybe listen closely to every word he says and try and catch him in that horrible act of deviation from the Party line, and very often they would report things that just hadn't happened about this particular person.

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Q. Well, was the man given a fair trial whereby he could face his accusers and hear the testimony against him and defend himself?

A. It would all depend on who he was and what you call fair trial.

Q. Well, let's put it this way, is a Russian trial a fair trial?

A. I don't believe a Russian trial is a trial.

Q. In other words, they just disappear then?

A. It is just a formality, even where they allow them to have a trial.

Q. You mentioned that you acted once as a courier. Will you explain what you meant by that and what you did?

A. Well, a courier of course is more high-faluting Communist language for simply messenger boy, and I understand now, I felt that they probably thought well, they—I would like to see a little more of Europe and that I had been a pretty good boy there, and so they'd give me a break and sent for me and they said I was to take 84,000 French francs to a certain person in Paris and this was put in sort of a stocking which was a money belt and I was to tie that around my middle and keep it there until I reached my destination and delivered the money—no questions asked, and I could spend a day or two in Paris seeing the town, and then go right back.

Q. What was this money for?

A. For French Party work—well, I couldn't say exactly. That I wasn't told. I assumed it was either for that, or maybe even—and I did find out later that that happened—it might have been for further transmission to another country.

Q. Does the Communist Party send money over the world to finance their movements in different parts of the world?

A. The Communist International did.

Q. The Communist International?

A. Yes.

Q. From your experiences and your position in the Party and your ability to get on the inside of things, do you know whether or not it was their policy to send any money to the United States?

A. I know that it was.

Q. You know that it was. Do you know the names of any of the men by whom they transmitted it?

A. Well, this man Wagner that I mentioned was one, and there was a Finn, a man from Finland—a leading Finnish Communist—I never knew his Finnish name. He called himself Alf. He was around for a while. These people came and went. Sometimes they too disappeared. Sometimes they were sent—suddenly sent for and sheepishly went back to Moscow, and later on I found out when I went there, some of these people that I knew as Comintern representatives here had also been arrested later on in some of these purges.

Q. Now, before you went to Russia did you know that the Communist Party from time—the Communist International—from time to time sent money into this country to finance activities in this country?

A. I knew that because when I was editor of Labor Unity I met regularly with the National Executive Committee of the Trade Union Unity League and I know also that very often what little pay I got as editor depended on whether that money had arrived, but I was pretty close to Jack Stachel, Bill Foster, William Z. Foster, who is head of the Trade Union Unity League, and

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they were members of the political bureau of the Party, and they kept me in their confidence and they would tell me they were expecting some money through Allen, or through Wagner, or so forth. I didn't have to have a diagram drawn for me.

Q. And then after you became—went to Russia, you actually were sent on this mission to France with this 86,000 francs that you testified—

A. 84,000.

Q. 84,000?

A. Eighty-four thousand or eighty-six, I don't remember.

Q. Did you deliver this money to this address and person in France?

A. No, I never got into France. The French officials wouldn't let me in. They stopped me at the Swiss border because somebody had tipped them off in some way. I have no way of knowing who or how, whether that was done by somebody at Moscow or somebody had talked. I know I didn't talk about it, but some other Communist who somehow knew I was going had talked too freely and it had gotten to the ears of the French Embassy there, and they had sent the word to France—I don't know exactly how, but I was stopped by the French customs guards and told that they would like to check further into my visa—my passport and so forth, and they took me off the train before it got into France and they detained me. They questioned me a little—didn't ask me whether I was a Communist, or what I was doing in Moscow, but it was obvious that I had gotten my visa in Moscow—I had to do that. And of course I was in high dudgeon, pretended to be a very typical American tourist seeing the continent, and I would speak to my consul about it and see that the French were—I practically tried to make an International incident of it, you know.

Q. Did you go to see the American Consul?

A. Yes, I did. I did, and I told him that I was a tourist.

Q. Did he believe you?

A. I guess he had his doubts. He knew—he probably figured—he didn't tell me that in so many words, but he just about told me that. The French wouldn't have stopped me for no reason at all. He said they very rarely stop an American and if they do, why they must feel they have good reason. He was a good skate about it, but he—

Q. He didn't do much, eh?

A. He didn't lend any effort, particularly, to help me out.

Q. Do you figure that he had been tipped off, also, about your mission?

A. Well, what I assumed then is that he didn't. When I first met him he didn't seem to have been, but I believe the French consul or some French official immediately got in touch with him in the town—it was the town of Bazel, Switzerland, and told him what they thought. In fact, he got a call from somebody while I was there that seemed to be referring to me—I couldn't exactly tell. He was very cagey.

Q. How is the American passport regarded by these European countries?

A. Well, it just is a golden key. It was at that time in Europe. What I mean is that the best thing you could have in traveling about Europe at that time. Things were so uncertain in most of Europe that—so much jealousy between various countries that a Polish passport would be questioned in Germany, and an Austrian passport in Italy, or maybe not that, but an

Austrian passport in Hungary, a Hungarian passport in Roumania and so forth, but American or British passports were pretty handy things to have.

Q. Now were you—was there anything unusual in the manner in which they detained you? Did they take you off the train?

A. Yes. They told me to get off the train at once. They weren't brutal about it or anything—just said "Please come off the train, Comrade," and I did. There were two guards.

Q. Well, what was the outcome of this thing?

A. Well, I stayed around a week there and I raised what Cain I could—I knew my position was pretty insecure and that there were a lot of things I couldn't say to them. I stayed around a week, kind of on my own. I couldn't appeal to anybody except the ones I did, The American Consulate. I finally knew that he wasn't going to do anything—that he was just stalling, so I just went right back with the money because I figured perhaps the French might change their mind and let me go into France and then confiscate the money, and I felt that would have been a disgrace to me.

Q. It would have been a little hard to explain when you got back?

A. Yes, a little hard to explain.

Q. Now, did you take any trips around Russia while you were there?

A. Yes, I took a number of trips in Russia.

Q. Mr. Honig, what—how does the standard of living in Russia, or how did it at that time, compare with the standard of living here in the United States?

A. Oh, it is just unimaginably lower and—you can hardly mention the two in the same breath.

Q. Well, let's go into that just a little. Are people as well clothed in Russia as they are here?

A. No. Nowhere near. Not nearly as well clothed.

Q. Did you stand out as being a better clothed man?

A. Oh, yes. You could spot a foreigner—the Russian knew a foreigner immediately by the way he was dressed.

Q. Because of the superior quality of his clothing?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that true also of Russian officials?

A. Russian officials of course were dressed a little better, because they had a system there of distributing both food and clothing and housing, for that matter, according to rank. Of course they had avowedly abolished the class-system of classes, as they called it—there were systems of class distinctions and a high ranking official of a party or in some industry or business, then the better was the restaurant you ate in, the better the clothing store you could buy in, the better your salary and life, of course, and the better home you were given to live in. I will tell you the best home you could live in among those that didn't actually live in the Kremlin itself, couldn't compare with some of the poorest homes that we have.

Q. Did any of these Russian officials ever try to confiscate or steal, or buy or beg any of your clothing from you?

A. No, they never tried to steal or confiscate. I never knew very many of them who were personally dishonest in that respect, as far as stealing anything, and they never tried to confiscate anything. They made it as easy as they could for we who were representatives of the foreign Communist

Parties. But ordinary Russian citizens and Russian Party members themselves and Russians who worked in the Red International Labor Unions or the Comintern would often ask us Americans—the British particularly, for any clothing that we felt we weren't going to need any more.

Q. Did this Lozofsky that you mentioned, ever ask you for any of your castoff—

A. No. He was one of the lucky handful that either lived in the Kremlin or lived in something just about as—

Q. Did any of them ask you for your suits?

A. Yes. There was a man named Kutnik, K-u-t-n-i-k, who was the head—head of the department where I worked, what they called the Anglo-American Secretariat, in a sense he was my superior, but in another sense he wasn't. He was my superior in the technical sense. He would coordinate all the technical work in the office and he often asked me for a suit, a pair of shoes—I mean, he was very open and shameless about it.

Q. In other words, the—theoretically your boss, was trying to get your worn-out clothing from you?

A. Oh, yeah. He was not the only one.

Q. And your worn-out clothing—that of the American employee was better than the clothing of a Russian boss?

A. Yeah—of that particular Russian boss or anybody in his rank.

Q. Well, now, how were the common people dressed?

A. Well, I would say—I won't say that they went around in rags and tatters. They didn't do that any more than they just starved to death on the streets. They didn't do that, and that wouldn't be realistic to say that. They had clothes that if they had a new suit, it was just a very sleazy looking suit, and it wouldn't last very long. I suppose the material was so shoddy that it would fall apart very rapidly. If it was a suit they had any more than a few months of course it would have holes in it. They would try to patch it and darn it, and material would be the poorest—and I am not an expert on material of any kind—but it would be the poorest type. You could feel it to be very thin and the women's clothing, of course, I particularly noticed, because women's clothing in other countries is more colorful and meets your eye sooner, and there women's clothing was terribly drab. It seemed there was very little color. It was either black, or brown, or a dull gray, very cheap. The women, of course, most pathetic, would beg even more for women's clothing, from foreigners.

Q. Did this go all the way down the line, even to the employees that you came in contact with in your living quarters, and like that?

A. Occasionally. They would be much more timid about it. It was a little more difficult for them to even talk—even to a foreign Communist, too much. They knew that everybody in that particular place I lived in would be a Communist, but they—they were even scared to talk too much to us, so that very rarely did they do it.

Q. Did the people of Russia have work clothing and dress clothing like they have in this country?

A. Yes. Yes, they did. The average Russian tried to keep up a pride in his appearance. What clothing he had he tried to keep scrupulously clean.

Q. Is there much difference between their work clothes and the dress clothes? Let's take for example, a hotel maid?

A. In the case of a hotel maid there wouldn't be very much difference, because—well, they would look pretty much alike. I suppose a hotel maid would put on what she considered while she was at work her oldest clothing, and then put on later, after she quit work, what she thought was her best clothing. I couldn't tell much difference. In the men, of course the working men would wear overalls at work and then they would try to put on regular suits after work—washed up—regular suits.

Q. Now how about food. Do they eat as well in Russia as we eat here?

A. No, they don't. Of course they are victims of the same system in food as they are in clothing. They have to eat according to their rank, according to their job. They are assigned—everybody is assigned to a particular restaurant that he eats in. He—

Q. He has no choice in those restaurants?

A. No, if he can manage to save a few rubles—and I—I—there's very few ordinary working people who could—he was at liberty to go into some of these restaurants that catered to foreign tourists, but it would take a month or two to save to buy a meal in that.

Q. You mentioned that there were different stores they traded in. Isn't that true also that they could only buy in certain stores?

A. The stores were generally attached to the place of work, if it was a big enough place of work, and each place of work would have—oh, maybe half a dozen different stores, according to the category of the employee. If he was a very high up employee, naturally the store he was assigned to—he had a ticket, what we called a ticket or coupon for, was a better—close to the top in Soviet stores. If he were simply a plumber in the building, something of that sort, then he could only buy in the cheaper stores.

Q. In other words—

A. Of course I don't mean cheapest in price. I mean cheapest in quality.

Q. The Communists tell us there is no class distinction in Russia. It looks like this is a lot worse distinction than we have got in this country.

A. It was very bad distinction. It was the worst type of class distinction I have ever seen.

Q. Well, now, how did you as an American who had been raised in America, fit the conditions of Russia into your scheme of thinking?

A. Well, naturally I couldn't say to myself that things were wonderful there. I didn't come there with the preconceived notion that it was going to be a paradise for the working class. I did think it was going to be that—harsh in many ways, and I thought that naturally would be so, because I believed, oh, moderately in the propaganda that I, myself, helped put out, in my work that—well, Russia is hemmed in by capitalist countries. They just won't allow Russia to obtain the needed machinery, the needed raw material to properly clothe and house their people, and that some day, of course, comes the revolution. Those things would change. There would be revolutions in different countries. There would be a revolution in England, and the goods that England makes would be available to the Russian people just as it was to the British people, and so forth.

Q. Was that the general explanation that is put out to the Russian people, also?

A. Oh, yes, Russian people were told that. Why you still read from those who write about Russia, are still reading from what it says by apologists for

Russia, for Soviet Russia, the same thing. The Russians are told that these things are only temporary. These things, of course—now, of course, they have the added reason that war came along and that set us back ten years more. Hitler set us back ten years more, so now it will be just a little longer we will have to wait, so we must be patient.

Q. How is their sanitation, city buildings, city water department, sewage disposal, things that are just ordinarily accepted in American cities, are they on par with ours in Russia?

A. They generally weren't. There were a few isolated cases where new cities had been built up around new industries where American engineers had been employed and an American engineer who would go abroad couldn't build a second rate job—he couldn't supervise a second rate job, and if he got any kind of weak cooperation at all from Soviet bureaucracy, he would install pretty good sanitation or sewage systems, or any type of system that he did or had to do with. Of course later on I saw cases where that happened and then it was torn down. After he went home, the thing would be allowed to go to ruin. I of course lived in Moscow. I spent practically the most of my time there anyway. Moscow is a very old city—very old city. The plumbing of course dated from the 15th and 16th Centuries. Many of the houses did—some of the places I lived in did, and there were practically no changes. Such sanitation as we know in this country, such as toilets in the actual home were unknown in most of Moscow.

Q. Did you have occasion to travel within Russia?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you make any trips?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have an opportunity to observe Russian industry?

A. Yes, I did, quite often.

Q. How does Russian industry compare with American industry from a point of efficiency?

A. It doesn't. The Russians themselves know that, and freely admit it. They certainly do in their own publications, their own industrial publications. They have to admit it because sometimes things go so badly wrong that scapegoats have to be chosen, publicly. For instance, there were terrific railroad wrecks constantly. You took your life in your hands any time you went on a Soviet railroad trip, and they would have railroad wrecks that were not reported in the paper, but you would come across them in travel, and it wouldn't be a question of maybe a handful of people being killed, but you know the figures were pretty—almost fabulous,—two hundred, four hundred, five hundred would be killed in a railroad wreck you would come across—see that. Well, then, you would only find out indirectly just how many would be killed, or how bad it was, unless you happened to see it. I saw a few in Moscow, myself. The trains that were pulling in the yard, there. The only way you would learn that a terrible railroad wreck had occurred, you would see in the Moscow papers that Ivan so and so, railroad engineer, was tried yesterday in the People's Court for sabotage. He was sentenced to death, and the execution would be immediately carried out. That would be word for word, just exactly that. Then you'd know a terrible railroad wreck had occurred and you knew the reason why that was—you knew the state of the railroads. I could quote a Communist leader, a present Communist leader

on that, William Z. Foster, who is chairman of the Party—National chairman. He had once been a railroad man before he had been a Communist. He had been a railroad inspector. I knew him pretty intimately and he'd told me that it made him sick to his stomach to see the conditions of the railroad box cars—railroad flat cars. He as a former railroad inspector knew about that because that was his particular trade. It offended his craft pride, but even he told me that.

Q. And in the event of a wreck like that, they attributed human responsibility, and that somebody had deliberately tried to wreck this train. Is that why they would take the engineer out and shoot him?

A. When an engineer had a railroad wreck of any importance, and for all I know even minor ones, he was gone—he was a goner, regardless. They wouldn't—

Q. Now, what do you mean by "a goner"?

A. Well, he automatically would be tried for sabotage and shot. I mean, the thing appeared in the paper so often that it was obvious that every railroad wreck, every engineer involved was shot, because—well, even if you took the Moscow Daily News, which is the English language paper in Moscow, a Communist paper, even there every day there would be two or three little items saying exactly that.

Q. How much time would elapse between the time of the wreck and his trial, and the time of his trial and his execution?

A. I couldn't say that. I never witnessed such a trial. I had no way of knowing when a wreck had occurred.

Q. Do they have a system of jurisprudence in that country, as compared with our court procedure?

A. It is totally different, and very difficult to compare. It could be extremely fair in one sense on minor types of cases that didn't involve anything political. Naturally, cases involving divorce or petty things of daily life, or somebody caught robbing a cash register in a store or something of that sort, well, there would be a pretty fair system of justice. Nothing political would be concerned there, but it was on political trials where there was no such thing as justice. And, in fact, there was no such thing as a real trial.

Q. Decision was all made before the trial?

A. Yes. In our sense, there was no trial. The accused pretty often came in there with the confession cut and dried.

Q. Well, why did he confess?

A. Well that's always been a mystery to me.

Q. Could you travel freely around the country at will?

A. I would say that in a qualified sense. If I was sent to a particular place and performed my duties, on my arrival at that particular town I could poke around all I wanted to, investigating anything on my own hook here and there, talk to anybody I wanted to, and I don't believe I was shadowed or anything. Of course I was pretty well trusted.

Q. You were highly trusted?

A. I was pretty highly trusted. I couldn't, however, decide when I was in Moscow, working there, well, tomorrow I feel like taking a trip to Leningrad. I couldn't just go and buy a ticket and go to Leningrad. I had to get all sorts of permission.

Q. Is that true also of the ordinary Russian citizen?

A. Oh, no. The ordinary Russian citizen, he can't even move from one job to another without permission. He can't move from one apartment to another if he ever were lucky enough to find a vacancy, or if he has a cousin—if he was a single man and he has a cousin who had two rooms, and the cousin had only twelve people in his family, still he can squeeze a thirteenth in and he wants to live with his cousin, he can't just go and live there.

Q. By these illustrations you use, do you mean you know of conditions where as many as twelve persons live in two rooms?

A. Oh, yes, that's ordinary. It's unbelievable, that is true.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, I wonder if I could speak with you for just a moment.

Q. Did you have any trouble while you were in Moscow?

A. I didn't have any real trouble. Once I got into a—once I got in a position where some doubt was cast on my association with foreigners there. I might explain that there was a foreign correspondent there named Rodman—and he was very pro-Soviet of necessity. As a matter of fact, he wrote for—he was a correspondent for liberal papers and one of them I remember was the London News Chronicle. It was quite a liberal paper, and even papers further to the left than that. That was not a radical paper, but a liberal paper. But he was correspondent for quite liberal papers. He was a close friend of this Louis Fisher that you have heard of, and I have met him somewhat in New York occasionally. At that time he was not a Communist Party member. I never knew that he ever had joined the party, actually. But anyway, he was very pro-Soviet in his leanings there, and not only myself, but Schneidermann, the representative to the Comintern from the United States spent a lot of time with him and his wife. He had a sister there—his wife's sister came there to visit and we were social friends and came to their house often. Well, when the World Congress of the Comintern began in 1935, I believe June or July of '35, I was to be a delegate to it and we were to get our passes to the Congress at the building at which it was held. When I came to call for my pass it wasn't there. They told me to see Lozofsky, the man I mentioned as head of the Red International Labor Union. He told me that a serious charge had been made against me; that I was associating with bourgeois correspondents. Of course I have associated with bourgeois correspondents since, very much—but anyway, he told me that, and that wasn't quite as radical a thing as he accused me of then, but I must say it struck fear in me, and I said, "I don't understand the charge. Who said I was doing that? Who was I supposed to be associating with?" He wouldn't say—wouldn't tell me at first who made the charge. Finally he told me that this Kutnik, who was the head of our department, had made the charge. I might have offended him, maybe by not giving him some clothing at one time, because there were other people whom I thought deserved it better. He was a little higher in the scale economically than some of these people. I might have got him sore because he was quite a tyrant in the office over the office help, the typists and so forth, and I used to stick up for them, and I figured someday he would put in a bad word for me. It turned out it was this man, and he had told Lozofsky that in front of the place where I lived—he lived in the same building. Very frequently there would be a car with an American flag—the cars of American foreign correspondents and foreign consulate employees, generally fly the flag of their nation, a little flag, on the

radiator cap. He said this car would be parked in front of our hotel. Our house was called a hotel, actually, and that he did a little detective work and found out that this man came to see me—correspondents. So I explained to Lozofsky that this man who came to see me was Rodman. At that time I had found out that Rodman was not only very pro-Soviet, but I had a suspicion that Rodman was reporting on other foreign correspondents to the Soviet government and I don't want to say that I knew that, because I could not prove that—but I had a suspicion of that, and I told him of my suspicion of that. I asked him to investigate this man Rodman, which would clear it up like magic if they did that, and of course the thing blew over and I was immediately admitted as a delegate. That was the worst scare I had there because I realized that with a charge like that, if too much credence were—if Kutnik were standing very high at that particular moment in Communist councils, which he sometimes was, it would be tough on me.

Q. Did you have any fears of not being able to eventually get home?

A. Oh, yes, I told you I had that lurking doubt or shadow of fear, because they always had my passport and they could conveniently lose it.

Q. You didn't want to stay there the rest of your life?

A. No, hardly.

Q. How did you get back?

A. Well, after that Comintern Congress incident I really began to be scared quite a lot. I felt that if on a flimsy thing like that I could even be accused of something that somebody a little more important could make—for some reason got a grudge against me, and I knew as I said before, how many times grudges have been gotten in the Communist Party—if somebody more important than he was did that, and accused me of something, I might not even get any kind of a hearing or any kind of attention and I would lose that passport, so I figured I would begin finagalling around, hinting that I might like to go back, and I told them that I missed the actual day to day work of the Party at that time, and the very—jobs I used to do anyway in and out of the Party, I missed the country and people in America and so forth—I felt my duty was there for the sake of the revolution and so forth. Of course I guess they heard that song and dance many times. They just smiled at that. I know there were others who were perfectly good Communists, but began to long for home. And that didn't work. Fortunately—not fortunately for Foster, but fortunately for me, he had a very—William Z. Foster, who is now chairman of the Party, had a very serious heart attack at that time, and was sent to Russia to recuperate in a sanitarium, and he had been—he had been a pretty close friend of mine—I went to see him often. After a while he was considered able to go home again and resume his duties, or at least partially resume his duties in the American party at home, and he demanded that I go with him as his traveling companion. He said that he, having a bad heart, might go off at any minute, you know, and he wanted to have somebody with him if he had an attack, and he had a lot of ways, and he swung it for me, and by that fortunate circumstance I got my passport back and was able to go out.

Q. And you did return to the United States?

A. With Foster, yes.

Q. When did you return to the United States?

A. Well, I arrived home in November, 1935.

Q. What did you do after you returned to the United States?

A. Well, very shortly afterward I was assigned to do some work for the District Headquarters of the Communist Party in New York—the New York State District, and I was there for a very short while—just a matter of maybe four or five—six weeks.

Q. What was the nature of these duties?

A. Well, I would travel around in the Upstate sections of the party as a sort of a trouble shooter.

Q. You were still an official of the Communist Party?

A. Yeah.

Q. Well, what did you do after this four or five weeks?

A. Then I was sent out to—by the central committee of the party, I was sent out to San Francisco to be managing editor of the Western Worker, which was the Pacific Coast organ of the Communist Party.

Q. Did you—

A. It took in Seattle as well as Frisco.

Q. What's that?

A. It took in Seattle. It covered the whole coast.

Q. Covered the whole coast. Where were the headquarters of this paper?

A. In San Francisco.

Q. Did you assume the position as managing editor?

A. Yes. I was labor editor and managing editor.

Q. Labor editor and managing editor.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest we have a recess now. We are at a good breaking point.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will recess for about ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we proceed?

NAT HONIG, previously sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION (resumed)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Honig, while you were in Russia, and sitting as a member of this Congress, was there any discussion of old age pensions?

A. By Congress you mean—while I was in Russia—were there any discussions in the Red International Labor Union?

Q. Yes.

A. Yeah. Not at a Congress. Yes, there was. Very frequently there was discussion of the whole subject of the aged people and Communist work among them.

Q. Was any policy adopted?

A. Yes, a policy—very soon after I came there, there was a policy adopted that Communist parties all over the world must begin doing some serious work among the older people. It was said that that had been neglected, and Communists had very largely overlooked that one at that time, and a—the discussion was becoming more concrete all the time. Finally, I believe it was early in 1935, it was decided at one meeting of the Red International Labor Union delegates that particularly in the United States, the work had to be

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really begun in the organization of old age groups. The Townsend movement had gotten very strong and Old Doc Townsend disturbed the Party very much. He—ah—they regarded him as a Fascist, they called him, and he was seen several times with Gerald L. K. Smith here, you know. He had appeared I think once on the platform with him, or something. Whether he had any sympathy with him I don't know, but anyway, this was discussed, that very fact, and it was decided that he was getting so much power among the old people that the Party had better do something quick about it, and start to organize rival old age groups to work within the Townsend movement in the first place, to see if they could grab control of that. They found out quickly that they couldn't, as Townsend and his lieutenants were so powerful in their hold on people, they had captured the imagination of the old folks, that they couldn't get his group away from him to convert them into Party controlled organizations. So they began to form their own old age groups.

Q. Now this was a policy adopted in Russia?

A. This was a policy adopted at meetings of the—joint meetings of the Red International Labor Unions and Comintern delegates from various countries.

Q. Now you have testified that you came to San Francisco and assumed the labor editor and managing editor of the Western Worker, which was the Communist publication on the west coast at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that paper still in existence?

A. Not under that name. It is now the People's World.

Q. Is the People's World the same paper that was formerly the Western Worker?

A. Yes, now a daily paper.

Q. What was it when you first took it over?

A. It was the Western Worker and it appeared weekly.

Q. Did you enlarge it?

A. Not while I was there. After I came to Seattle it was made into a daily and its name was changed.

Q. Was it made a semi-weekly while you were there?

A. Not while I worked on it, and I believe I—I think I worked the very last day that I was in San Francisco on it.

Q. Now, as editor of the Western Worker did you receive instructions from the Communist Party as to policies and lines to be followed?

A. Yes.

Q. Did this paper follow the current Communist Party line?

A. It did.

Q. It was an unofficial publication of the Communist Party?

A. No, it was an official publication.

Q. Official?

A. Official.

Q. Is the People's World, its successor, an official publication?

A. I haven't seen a copy of that for a long time. The first copies I saw of the People's World, under that new name was and said so openly, if I remember right.

Q. Official publication of the Communist Party?

A. If my memory serves me right, yes.

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Q. Did you—were you assigned to any unit or fraction of the Communist Party after you came to San Francisco?

A. Well, the first unit—those of us who had higher jobs in the Party for the sake of making it look good to the rank and file Party members—we were first of all told to belong to some of these—at least one ordinary Party unit. So I decided to be with the Newspaper Guild Party unit down there. I met with them. But I also met with the waterfront fraction of the Party, regularly.

Q. Waterfront fraction of the Party in San Francisco?

A. Yes.

Q. You state you met regularly with them?

A. Yes.

Q. Over what period of time?

A. Well, I would say roughly speaking from about March,—somewhere in the Spring of 1936 to pretty well in 1937—at least to the Spring of 1937.

Q. How often were the meetings of this fraction held?

A. They were held—when I first met with them they would try to hold them regularly every week, but things were rather quiet on the waterfront at the time and you couldn't get the Party people who worked on the waterfront to come out pretty regularly then, because these meetings would be rather routine. But later on, when the waterfront strike in San Francisco which became the general coastwise maritime strike, began to brew, the discussions were quite exciting. They were after all—they were the Communist Party which have the wooden hand on the waterfront to a large degree, except for one or two unions, was deciding on something which was going to paralyze one complete port and possibly a complete city if they could work it, and maybe the whole coast, and they even talked of later spreading it throughout the country, and naturally you would like to be at that, so Party members did come regularly who were pledged to be there.

Q. Did they come regularly during the waterfront strike?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Do you remember the names of any of the people that attended this fraction of the Communist Party?

A. Well, at meetings that I attended at the waterfront fraction, Schneidermann of course was the district secretary of the Party—

Q. Was this the same William Schneidermann—

A. Yes.

Q. —with whom you went to Russia?

A. There was Shoemaker,—I don't remember his first name now, who was an official of a longshoreman's local. I don't remember his title, but he was an official, and was a Party member, and there was Henry Schmidt who was vice-president—I believe that was the title, in the longshoreman's local there; Harry Bridges who was president of the local.

Q. Is that Harry Renton Bridges, who is International president—president of the International Longshoreman Worker's Union?

A. It is. Oh, there was a fellow named Goldblatt who was—he was secretary or president, I believe, of the International—of the Warehousemen's Local and Longshoreman—

Q. Is that spelled G-o-l-d-b-l-a-t-t?

A. That's right. Oh, there are a host of others I don't recall them at the moment. They are local.

Q. Did Harry Jackson attend any of these meetings?

A. I never saw Jackson. I don't believe he even was in San Francisco when I came there. I believe he already had been transferred to Seattle.

Q. Was William Schneidermann a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was a member and he was the head of the Communist Party in California.

Q. He was the open—

A. Yes, open—district secretary.

Q. District organizer—district secretary.

A. Yes.

Q. Was this John Doe Shoemaker a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you further identify him as to—what position did he hold?

A. I don't believe it was a very important position. He might have been a member of their executive board—their local executive board.

Q. When you say "their," who do you mean?

A. The longshoremen.

Q. The longshoremen?

A. Yeah.

Q. He was identified with the longshoremen?

A. Yeah.

Q. Was Henry Smith a member—

A. Henry Schmidt—S-c-h-m-i-d-t.

Q. S-c-h-m-i-d-t. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Goldblatt a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Was Harry Renton Bridges a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was. Goldblatt's name I believe now was Sol Goldblatt.

Q. Sol?

A. If I remember right.

Q. What if any further evidence do you have to confirm your conviction that this was a Communist Party meeting?

A. Well, in the first place, I was assigned to attend these meetings by the district executive board of the Communist Party.

Q. You were assigned to attend them?

A. Yes, that is—

Q. And told they were fraction meetings of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. Yes.

Q. Was anybody admitted to these meetings who was not a Communist?

A. No, never.

Q. Did they address each other as "Comrade"?

A. Pretty usually—either that or by their first names.

Q. Well, did they often address each other as "Comrade"?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Have you ever heard Harry Renton Bridges addressed as "Comrade"?

A. Oh, yes, I have done it myself for that matter, but I have heard others address him as "Comrade Bridges."

Q. You have done it yourself and heard others?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he remonstrate or object to that?

A. Never that I heard.

Q. Have you ever heard Harry Renton Bridges address anyone else as "Comrade"?

A. Yes.

Q. Has he addressed you as comrade?

A. I couldn't say definitely. I don't believe we addressed each other very much.

Q. In other words, you wasn't too close to Bridges?

A. I wasn't too close to him; I just attended the same meetings that he did.

Q. Now, you have talked about the waterfront strike there. When did this waterfront strike occur?

A. I believe it was September, 1936 when it started, but I couldn't remember exactly.

Q. September—

A. Later in '36.

Q. Late in '36?

A. Yes, at least the second half.

Q. Had Harry Renton Bridges attended any of these Communist Party fraction meetings prior to these waterfront strikes?

A. Oh, yes. The most important meeting, naturally, was when we mapped out the strike strategy. He attended that—virtually all of them. Once in a while he would be out of town and couldn't attend, but otherwise he did regularly.

Q. Was anything pertaining to the Communist Party discussed at these meetings?

A. Well, I don't think anything else really was. I mean that was the purpose of the meeting. Just how the Communist Party would call the strike, run the strike, increase the strike, how it would gain—recruit new members in the strike, how it would combat anti-Communist Party leaders of certain unions, such as Harry Lundberg and further how it would take physical action against Harry Lundberg and other firm opponents of the Party, they use the term "dump them," and they frequently discussed that fact that Harry Lundberg would have to be dumped sooner or later—perhaps they meant beaten up badly.

Q. Did Harry Renton Bridges participate in these discussions?

A. Always.

Q. How many meetings would you estimate that you have attended with Harry Renton Bridges?

A. It would be difficult to give an estimation. I did it pretty regularly from possibly July in '36 to at least the end of the year, allowing for the fact that Bridges would be out of town maybe once in every fourth week.

Q. Well, would you say you attended two meetings with him or twenty be nearer?

A. Twenty would be nearer the truth.

Q. Well, would twenty be a good estimate, or would you say fifty?

A. Well, I'll figure the months out—August, September, October—five months—twenty would be a pretty close estimate.

Q. Was there ever any doubt in your mind as to whether or not Harry Renton Bridges was a member of the Communist Party?

A. No. I knew he was a member of the Communist Party the day I arrived in—as a matter of fact, I knew he was a member of the Communist Party when I was in Moscow.

Q. How did you know that?

A. Well, in the Red International Labor Union meetings in 1934 there was a general strike in 1934 in San Francisco which arose out of a waterfront strike and we discussed that strike, its preparations, and the carrying on of the strike and its outcome, and—ah, we discussed Harry Bridges as Comrade Bridges.

Q. Did you ever hear Earl Browder refer to Bridges as Comrade Bridges?

A. No, I never heard him refer to him as Comrade Bridges, but I saw a letter from Earl Browder to Lozofsky referring to Bridges as Comrade Bridges.

NEWS REPORTER: Letter to whom, please?

THE WITNESS: Oh, to Lozofsky, L-o-z-o-f-s-k-y who was the head of the Red International Labor Union.

Q. How did you happen to see this letter?

A. Well, my—my—my job there was to handle—deal with American trade union questions that was communications with Browder regarding American Trade Union questions and it was shown to me by Lozofsky.

Q. And Lozofsky is a Russian, high in the councils of the Communist International, is that correct?

A. Well, he was high in the councils of the Trade Union of the Red International Labor Union, which was a Trade Union section of the Communist International, which was.

Q. And in this letter Earl Browder—was he then head of the Communist Party in this United States?

A. Secretary of the Party.

Q. And he referred to Harry Bridges as Comrade Bridges?

A. Yes.

Q. After you assumed your position in San Francisco, did you receive other evidence of the membership of Harry Renton Bridges in the Communist Party, other than sitting in meetings with him?

A. Oh, yes. I attended district executive meetings of—in my position on the Western Worker—of the Communist Party there in San Francisco, at Party headquarters and we discussed Bridges as our Comrade Bridges, discussed his work. Sometimes we were very critical. He sometimes would stray off the reservation, not politically, but as far as carrying things out practicably or feasibly. He wouldn't do what he was told. Not that he wasn't subservient completely politically.

Q. Was Harry Renton Bridges regarded highly by the Communist Party?

A. He was regarded highly at all times.

Q. Did you ever hear Harry Jackson discussed in connection with Harry Bridges?

A. Well, I have discussed Harry Bridges with Harry Jackson myself, as a Party member.

Q. And Harry Jackson was an open official of the Communist Party here in Seattle at a later date?

A. Yes. Harry Jackson earlier had been a Communist waterfront organizer. That is, he carried out Communist organization on the waterfront and I had heard it said that he was the actual—the man who actually recruited Bridges to the Party and he was referred to by Communist Party members as "Bridges' brains." He steered Bridges into Party lines.

Q. Did you ever hear Harry Bridges referred to by any name other than Harry Bridges?

A. No, I never did. I have been told by Party leaders in San Francisco that he had actually signed a Party card and they said "The darn fool had done that," and someone said, "You are a darn fool to let him do it, sign a Party card under a different name," and I don't remember the name. I know it, but it is not on my tongue.

Q. As an official of the Communist Party in a responsible position in San Francisco you found, or it came to your attention that Harry Bridges had been issued a Party card at one time?

A. Yes.

Q. Under a name other than Bridges?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, you mentioned there that you discussed dumping anti-Communists. Is that a practice of the Communist Party?

A. That was practiced on the waterfront at the time.

Q. Do you know—were any plans made to dump anybody?

A. I never was present when actual plans were carried out for dumping or physical beating of anybody concerned, I doubt it very much, whether some of those people were capable of doing it. I have thought that maybe it was a lot more talk than actual ability to do so.

Q. Have you ever heard as an official of the Communist Party of anybody being dumped?

A. Well, I have heard, for instance, before my San Francisco experience there were what they called Trotskyites, who had been expelled from the Party for supporting Trotsky and the Communist Party members frequently beat them up when they encountered them, and vice versa, because most of the Trotskyites were kind of little, slim fellows, you know. They weren't husky waterfront people and they weren't like Harry Lundberg, who obviously could take care of himself, so that they would have the guts to maybe dump these people. I know—I knew of a case where that was done.

Q. Did you leave this position as editor of the Worker—Western Worker?

A. I didn't leave it on my own volition. I was transferred to another position by the Party.

Q. What position were you transferred to?

A. Editor of the Timber Worker, which was the official organ of the International Woodworkers of America, located in Seattle.

Q. Did you subsequently come to Seattle?

A. I did.

Q. When did you arrive in Seattle?

A. It was—I am pretty sure it was August, 1937, or early September. I think it was in August.

Q. And did you assume your duties as editor of this Timber Workers' publication?

A. Not immediately. There was a peculiar hitch there. There was—the paper had been—what was happening was this: The paper was in the hands of what they call a right wing, up to that time being published in Aberdeen, and the Communists had been getting stronger and stronger control of the IWA, the Woodworkers' Union, felt the time was ripe now to put a stamp on it, and their idea was to transfer it to grab control of the paper, transfer it to Seattle, open up an office here in the Arcade Building where the International Headquarters of the Party—of the Union were, and which was filled with Communists, get it away from the right-wing element in Aberdeen and start publishing it right away there before—practically before the opposition knew a thing about it, and declare it the official organ. It would have the same name, but it was going to have a different look, a different mat and everything, and have the thing accomplished before the others knew it, actually.

Well, I was sent for to be the man to take charge of that paper. When I arrived I thought, well, the only thing I had to do was to step in and start getting the paper out. That's what I had been doing most of my working life, was getting papers out one way or another. But it wasn't that easy. I was told to hang around Rapport's office—Rapport was district secretary of the Communist Party for the Northwest.

Q. You refer to the man who is also known as Rappaport?

A. Yes. I had never known him as Rappaport. I understood that was his actual name, but Rapport—

Q. You refer to Morris?

A. Morris Rappaport. So actually what I did was prepare all my copy and I had to prepare all the copy myself for that paper while I worked on it, all through the time, was prepare all my copy in Rapport's office in the Empire Building here on Madison and Second, the Party Headquarters. For two weeks I had to do that, and surreptitiously get it to the printer because there were one or two people—there was the one man particularly, Emmanuel Webber was his name, who was secretary-treasurer of the IWA. He was the fly in the ointment in that office—International office. He was anti-Party. He came from Portland and they later on came to know—

Q. He belonged to the anti-Communist Party?

A. Anti-Communist Party, and they didn't want him to know that a new editor was in town, that a move was on to transfer the paper. He probably suspected something like that. If I went up to the Timber Workers office, which was part of the International Workers of America office, he would see me there, want to know who the heck I was, all about it, and that would spoil the game, so I had to stay away from my own office for a couple of weeks and get that paper out.

Q. And you got it out in the office of Morris Rapport, the district secretary of the Communist Party for the Northwest?

A. For the most part. I did some of the work at night in my hotel room where I lived. For the most part in that—in that office.

Q. Now were you assigned any other party responsibilities here besides being editor of this paper?

A. Yes. Shortly after that, and I can't remember the exact date again, I was made educational director for the Northwest District of the Communist Party. That took in Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

Q. In reality then, you were working very closely with Mr. Rappaport?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Is the term educational director synonymous with the other term "agit prop"?

A. Agit prop.

Q. Agit prop, and you were the agit prop or educational director for the Northwest district?

A. Yes.

Q. And your territory corresponded with the territory of Morris Rappaport?

A. That's right.

Q. Were you assigned to fractions and units of the Communist Party here in Seattle and requested to attend?

A. From time to time I was asked to—oh, let me illustrate now the situation with different fractions of the Party—I remember once I had to attend, I believe it was a teachers' group. It was very early when I appeared here at the teachers' fraction—shortly after my arrival, and I attended that, and I tried to make head or tail of what the trouble was in there, I don't remember now—I don't remember it who was there, even. And I wasn't particularly interested. I was pretty much overwhelmed with this work of the Timber Worker.

Q. Did you regularly attend Communist Party meetings while you were here in this position?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with Terry Pettus, the editor of another paper here in Seattle at that time?

A. Much later on after my arrival here, I attended a meeting of the Communist Party unit of the Newspaper Guild, with Terry Pettus.

Q. Was Terry Pettus a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was.

Q. Did you receive any other information as in your official position as educational director, that Terry Pettus was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not in my—not in my official position as educational director. Simply he was discussed. We would talk about Terry Pettus.

Q. We—now who do you mean—you and Morris Rappaport?

A. Well, myself and Rappaport, Harry Jackson, Louie Sass, and other officials of the Party.

Q. Was he discussed as a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, not very hot, to tell you the truth,—not in a critical sense. He was regarded of course as politically reliable. They knew he wouldn't stray off the reservation. But I remember once we were talking about Terry Pettus. I had never met the gent, and he, I think, was still down in Grays Harbor or Willapa Harbor. He was working on some paper down there. He had a

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column there in some local paper, not-Communist in any way, and I had heard he was going to be brought up here to do some work for the Party, and didn't even know what it was, and I said, "Well, who is he?" I knew that his sister, Gladys Pettus, worked in the International Woodworkers' office, so I asked if he were related. I was told he was, and I asked about him, "Well, what do you think of him—what kind of a Communist is he—what kind of a fellow is he?" "Oh," Rapport smiled and said, "Well, you know he is that type—he doesn't have much on the ball, but"—and Harry Jackson said something to the effect, "Well, he is a pretty loud talker. He's a good talker and likes to talk a lot, making speeches," and that kind of banter went on and I said, "Well, I suppose what you mean to say is that he don't sing good, but he sings loud," and they laughed and said "Yes, that is about what we mean."

(Laughter.)

Q. From your subsequent acquaintanceship with Terry Pettus would you say that that was a correct description of him, that he doesn't sing good, but he sings loud?

A. Yes.

(Laughter.)

Q. You have mentioned his sister Gladys Pettus as being employed in the office of the IWA. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

A. She was.

Q. And have you sat in Communist Party meetings with her?

A. I have.

Q. And has information come to you through discussion with other high officials of the Communist Party that she was a member?

A. Oh, I received through discussions with her—I mean, she herself of course, would tell me. I think I asked her once when she joined the Party, how she happened to join and so forth. I don't remember what her answers were, but the direct discussion was with Gladys Pettus herself. I don't think I ever discussed her qualities as a Communist with any officials of the Party.

Q. But you—

A. But I attended Party meetings with her.

Q. Do you know William Pennock?

A. I don't know him personally. That is, I am not a social friend of his. I mean, I never was, but I knew him—that is, I have seen him.

Q. Was William Pennock a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. And how did this information come to you?

A. Well, I had to very frequently be in Rapport's office in my duties with the Timber Worker and as educational director I had to do a lot of that work up there, and once in a while William Pennock would come in there and talk over his problems with Rapport and once in a while he'd be sent for by Rapport and bawled out for something he didn't do the way Rapport wanted it done. Rapport was a man who wanted things done the way Rapport wanted them, and if they weren't, well—

Q. And as an official of the Communist Party over a number of years you are in a position to state that his activities in accepting orders and bawling out from Rapport and because of the discussion among you high officials of the Communist Party, Bill Pennock definitely was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. His acceptance was pretty meek. When he got bawled out he was pretty meek about it—promised to be a good boy.

(Laughter.)

Q. Now, during the time you were an official of the district, of the Communist Party, did you know a Tom Rabbitt—Thomas Rabbitt?

A. In the same way that I knew Pennock. He wasn't a fellow that I would go out and have a beer with, but I was present at Communist Party meetings, or rather, at least saw him in Rapport's office. I wouldn't say that I saw him in—I was present at actual meetings with him.

Q. He didn't appeal to you socially, then?

A. He didn't appeal to me as a human being.

(Laughter.)

Q. Yes.

A. He might have as a rabbit, but not as a human being.

(Laughter.)

Q. Was Thomas Rabbitt ever discussed in high councils of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, but not too frequently. He wasn't—I mean, he wasn't the kind of a fellow in the Party that would serve the people like Rapport, Jackson to much—I mean to say that there are other bigger prizes they were more often concerned with, but once in a while he was discussed.

Q. Well, did you ever have discussions about Mr. Rabbitt's ability—what did the Party think of him?

A. Yes, I have heard Harry Jackson to be a little bit derogatory about him in much the same way as about Pettus; that he liked to sound off a lot and he had his use to the Party that way. They didn't regard either one of them as what they would call too politically secure. Those are the words they would use.

Q. All mouth and no brains, eh?

A. Well, I didn't say that, you did.

Q. No, I withdraw that. I am not attempting to testify. Is that the wrong interpretation, then, of what you were trying to say? Suppose you put it in your words.

A. Well, as I said, he—they didn't think he was—there were certain types in the Party that they regarded as—oh, not "Johnny-come-Latelys," but what they would refer to as petty bourgeois, and it is this type of person that you'd mention—consider in that category in the Party. We had our pat phrases for everything and everybody. That was a very good one that we used for quite a while, and there was a lot of contempt toward that type, and of course they never for the world were allowed to know that, but they had their reasons, and still have, I presume.

Q. Was there a rather cynical, contemptuous attitude toward Mr. Rabbitt and Mr. Pennock?

A. I wouldn't say cynical attitude toward them, but they weren't very highly regarded in a political sense—I mean they didn't—Rapport, Jackson, Sass and some of these others didn't think that they were theoretically too well grounded in the Party.

Q. Was that lack of adherence on their part, or loyalty, or ability?

A. No. I wouldn't say lack of ability in some ways. They had ability to do certain types of work that the Party needed and prized very highly.

Q. And did they do that type of work?

A. I assume they did, but I couldn't say for sure, because their line of work with the Party differed from mine, and I didn't pay too much attention.

Q. But you know that they did do Party work?

A. Yes.

Q. During the time you were an official of the Communist Party in this Northwest District did you know a man by the name of Hugh DeLacy?

A. In the same way. I was no friend of DeLacy's—never met him socially. I saw him come into Rapport's office from time to time and get bawled out, take it, like it, at least outwardly and go. Oh, I don't know what—various times I saw that happen, but I did see it a number of times.

Q. Do you know whether or not DeLacy was active in the work of the Communist Party?

A. I know that he was, when I was here in the Communist Party.

Q. Your testimony as an official of the Communist Party here at that time—would Mr. DeLacy be considered a member or not?

A. He was.

Q. He was a member? And you have repeatedly mentioned Harry Jackson. He was an official here also, was he not?

A. He was an official of the Communist Party.

Q. Did you know a man by the name of Howard Costigan?

A. I just saw Costigan come and go occasionally in Rapport's office. I didn't know him personally.

Q. Did Costigan also receive instructions from Rabbitt—I mean from Rapport? And did he from time to time also get bawled out?

A. I heard him get bawled out two or three times and I heard him drop in and talk things over with him—with Rapport as to the work in the WCF—Washington Commonwealth Federation and he never told me he was a Communist. I didn't have to ask him. I knew he wouldn't be up there if he weren't. And Rapport and I when we talked about Costigan talked about Comrade Costigan.

Q. Did you know a man by the name of John Caughlan, an attorney?

A. Never met him. I knew of him, but I never met him.

Q. What did you know of him?

A. Well, I knew that he—only in this, I can't say I knew him the same way as the others—I never saw him at any Communist meeting or at any Communist office, but I have had conversations with Party leaders—Communist Party leaders here, such as Rapport, Jackson and the others that I have mentioned, in which he was referred to as "Comrade Caughlan."

Q. How did the Party consider him? Did they consider him an important man?

A. They considered him as a useful lawyer of the Party. They didn't think he, too, was a heavyweight as far as grounding—theoretical grounding of the Party was concerned. They thought he was quite useful. They were glad to have him.

Q. Did you know a man by the name of Richard Seller? Dick Seller?

A. Very well, yes.

Q. You knew Dick Seller very well?

A. Very well.

Q. Well, did you ever sit in any Party meetings with Dick Seller?

A. Repeatedly.

Q. Repeatedly. What unit was this that Dick Seller sat in?

A. The Communist Party unit of the Newspaper Guild.

Q. When was this?

A. Well, from the very time I arrived here. It started then. I don't remember when Seller left Seattle and went East, I believe he went directly East. He eventually landed up there.

Q. Did you sit in repeated meetings—

A. At his own home.

Q. At his own home. Communist Party meetings were held in his home?

A. Yes. We would revolve these meetings in the homes of different Party members and he was one of them.

Q. Would you say this was in late '37?

A. Starting with late '37.

Q. Starting with late '37 and continuing over a period of time?

A. Continuing over a pretty fairly long period.

Q. Years or months?

A. Well, I suppose at least a year and a half.

Q. A year and a half?

A. Anyway, approximately.

Q. Did he ever visit in your home?

A. I don't recall that he did. I don't recall that. In the first place, when I first came here I was single and I lived in a hotel room, and it was not a good place to have Communist meetings, just a little hotel room downtown here, and I don't believe he ever attended any Communist Party meetings at my home after I was married. He may have, but I don't recall it.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Robert Camozzi?

A. Very well.

Q. Very well. Have you attached—no, I withdraw that. Did Robert Camozzi, or, was he a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was a member of the Communist Party to the day that I quit the Party.

Q. When did you first have knowledge of his membership?

A. I don't think he was a Party member yet when I came here. I think he was in the process of being recruited for the Party, and I suppose maybe it was six or eight months after I had arrived in Seattle that I knew that he actually had become a member. That is a pretty rough estimate.

Q. Then your best fixing of the time would be—Robert Camozzi was recruited into the Party about the summer of '38, then, wouldn't it?

A. No, earlier than that.

Q. Earlier than that?

A. Earlier than that, it would be. Certainly at the very beginning of '38—probably late in '37.

Q. To what unit did Robert Camozzi belong?

A. The Newspaper Guild unit of the Communist Party.

Q. And you have sat, you say, repeatedly in that unit with him?

A. Yes.

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Q. Do you know Marian Camozzi, now Marian Camozzi Kinney?
 A. I knew her as Marian Camozzi, yes.

Q. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. What unit did she belong to?

A. The Newspaper Guild unit of the Communist Party.

Q. Was she active in that unit?

A. Extremely so.

Q. And have you sat in more than one meeting with her?

A. Yes, many more.

Q. Many more, and what period of time would you place that in?

A. The same as with Robert Camozzi.

Q. Now you mentioned that you have heard discussed that the Party was attempting to recruit Robert Camozzi. How did the Party consider Robert Camozzi? Was he considered a pretty able Communist after they got him?

A. I can answer that best by quoting an example—an incident, rather. When I was editor of the Timber Worker we were in need of a business manager. We had a business manager who was also a Party member, but a very, very poor one, and we were going to get him into some other work, gracefully, and not hurt his feelings too much. We were looking around for another Communist Party member. I was told by the Party—by Rapport and Fritz Scheffner—old Fritz Scheffner was president of the union and a member of the Party, to see if I could find a man—line up a man as a business manager of the Timber Worker, and I thought of some people and discarded them in my mind, and I was pretty chummy with Camozzi—we were pretty close friends, myself and he and Mrs. Honig and Mrs. Camozzi were close friends, and naturally we thought of him. He worked on a newspaper in the circulation department of the Post-Intelligencer, and I figured that might mean he would have some ability as a business manager of the paper. And I came to Pritchett—Harold Pritchett and I said "I think Camozzi should be the man, I would recommend him to be my business manager."

"Well," he said, "I don't know about it—I've seen something of him. I don't care much about him. I don't think he has much on the ball, but I will talk to Rapport about it."

So about two days later he told me that he spoke to Rapport and Rapport said "nothing doing," he wouldn't have the man in such a responsible job, and that will, I suppose, give Rapport's estimation of him, anyway.

Q. Now you have twice referred to Harold Pritchett. Will you identify which Harold Pritchett you are talking about?

A. Well, he is the man who was president of the International Woodworkers Union at the time I was editor of the Timber Worker.

Q. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. I read by this morning's paper that he says he never was. Is that a correct statement?

A. Well, I—I—no, it is not a correct statement. That is all I can say.

Q. You have attended meetings with Harold Pritchett?

A. Numerous meetings with him.

Q. You have discussed the Communist program with Harold Pritchett?

A. Oh, I can almost say almost every day when I was editor of the Timber

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Worker I would have to do that. He was president of the Union and I was editor of the Union paper. We were both party members. We would have to get together on putting the Party line in the paper, which we did.

Q. Did the Party have any influence in his Union at that time?

A. Yes, a great deal of influence.

Q. Did he further the program of the Communist Party within his union?

A. I think that was his sole aim.

Q. I will ask you if you can identify that picture—have you ever seen that gentleman?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Who is that gentleman?

A. His name is Hurley—I think George Hurley.

Q. George Hurley?

A. Yes, and I met him—I believe that was in 1940—

Q. 1940?

A. No, 1939. Of course it wouldn't be '40—early in '39.

Q. Early in '39.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce this as an exhibit for the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be accepted as Exhibit No. 12.

(WHEREUPON picture was marked Exhibit No. 12 and received by the Committee.)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. This gentleman you have identified as George Hurley, was he a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I will say this about him. He—I was teaching—how I came to meet him and know that he was a member of the Communist Party is this: I was teaching a class for the Communist Party, purely a Communist Party class—only for the members of the Communist Party, a course in the history of the American Labor movement and Hurley was one of my students.

Q. Did any one attend this secret Communist school except members of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. And you knew this in your official capacity as educational director for the district.

A. That is right.

Q. And George Hurley attended this secret Communist school as a Communist?

A. Yes. He attended a class.

NEWS REPORTER: Q. Where was this class?

A. Well now, memory—that question—memory serves me badly on that exactly. I believe it was in a place called Norwegian Hall, and I don't know—I know pretty surely that the management of that hall didn't know who was using that class. It was—in hiring that place—we had our classes there weekly—some phoney name was given. I didn't hire the place for the class. The Party—someone from the Party office did. They had no way of knowing what it was.

Q. Did you, or can you fix the date that you taught this particular Communist group, approximately?

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A. No, I can't fix the exact date. I can't do that. Possibly Mrs. Honig could. She has the best memory on exact dates than I have. Possibly she could.

Q. Was it shortly after you came here, or was it—

A. No, it was—it was about two years after I came here.

Q. About two years. That would be late '39 or early '40, then?

A. No, it wouldn't be early '40. I left the Party in late '39, so it would be either in the middle of '39 or early '39, I believe.

Q. Middle of '39 or early '39. And all these activities you are now detailing occurred between the time you came here in '37 and late '39?

A. That is right.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Claude Smith?

A. I knew him then.

Q. You knew him then. Would you identify what Claude Smith this is?

A. He was Claude Smith who once was executive secretary of the Newspaper Guild local in Seattle and he was a member of the Newspaper Guild Unit of the Communist Party.

Q. Have you sat in meetings with Claude Smith?

A. Yes, many times. You mean Communist Party meetings?

A. Communist Party meetings.

Q. Do you know his wife?

A. I knew his wife—I don't know if she is his wife now, but Betty Smith then.

Q. His wife was named Betty, then?

A. Betty Smith.

Q. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know a woman by the name of Hazel Wolfe?

A. I knew her, yes. Not well, but I knew her.

Q. Was this the Hazel Wolfe that was employed down at the Washington New Dealer?

A. I can't recall that. I didn't know her very well. I do know that Hazel Wolfe was a member of the Communist Party. Somebody by that name.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Carl Brooks?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you identify as near as you can, who Carl Brooks was?

A. Carl Brooks is a Negro. He was a member of the Communist Party and he worked with me. For a short time I worked on a writers' project here, a very brief period. He worked there.

Q. Have you sat in Communist Party meetings with Carl Brooks?

A. I am pretty sure that he attended one Newspaper Guild unit of the Communist Party. But Brooks himself, of course, discussed the Party activities—we called each other "Comrade," occasionally. Then also he was discussed in Rapport's office in my presence as "Comrade," doing work among the Negroes. I remember that.

Q. Do you know a man or did you know a man by the name of John Williamson?

A. Yes. John Williamson I knew very well back East, long before I ever came to the west coast.

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Q. Who is John Williamson, or who was John Williamson?

A. Well, John Williamson had always been, since long before I joined the Party, and all during my Party days, a top—a very top official of the Communist Party. He has been a member of the central committee of the Party of the political bureau which is a small select group of the Party right at the top. He held positions in various parts of the country as district secretary or district organizer as they then called it. One of them was Cleveland, I remember. For a long time he was a Party leader in Cleveland.

Q. Did you ever know a man known as Jay Rubin?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Will you identify for us who Jay Rubin was?

A. Jay Rubin was a leader of Party work in the Culinary Unions in New York. He was a member of the executive board of the Trade Unions Unit League to which I belonged and whose meetings I attended when I was there for Labor Unity.

Q. Was Jay Rubin a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. And have you sat in meetings with Jay Rubin?

A. I have, many's the time.

Q. Did you know a man by the name of John Steubin?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Was John Steubin, S-t-e-u-b-i-n a member of the Communist Party?

A. I don't believe that man had ever been anything else in his life, because he—he was a member of the Communist Party when it was formed, as I understand. I think at that time he practically—I don't think he ever worked for anybody but the Communist Party.

Q. Will you identify for the record just who John Steubin was?

A. He held various positions for the Party and for the Party organizations. Once he was District Organizer for the New York district of the Communist Party, which is the main district of the Party. Another time he was head of the New York district of the Trade Unions Unity League.

Q. Did you know a man by the name of Carl Reeves?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, who is Carl Reeves?

A. He—among many Communist Party jobs he had, he was for a while head of the International Labor Defense, which was the Communist Party's legal organization, for defending Communists who were arrested for various activities.

Q. Was Carl Reeves a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Did the Party control the activities of the International Labor Defense?

A. Completely.

Q. This was a Communist Party organization?

A. Yes. That was a Communist Party organization. Not openly, of course.

Q. I will ask you if you have ever seen or know this lady?

A. I have. I can't remember her exact name.

Q. You cannot remember her exact name?

A. No, I can't. I have seen her in Eugene Dennett's office. She was his secretary when he was the head of the C.I.O. council.

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Q. You mentioned Eugene Dennett. Was Eugene Dennett a member of the Communist Party?

A. That he was.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, have we reached a place where we can conveniently recess?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, in about three minutes' time, if you please, Mr. Chairman?

Q. Have you sat in Communist Party meetings with Eugene Dennett?

A. Oh yes, many times.

Q. Your testimony is that Eugene Dennett also was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Just one more question. You continually refer to Rapport's office here. Where was Rapport's office located?

A. Rapport's office was located, the major part of the time that I was in the Party here, in the Empire Building on Second near Madison—I am sure it was near Madison. And a funny thing, of course, in a place called the Empire many an anti-Imperialist demonstration was hatched here in Seattle.

(Laughter.)

MR. HOUSTON: I think we have reached a point where we can recess for lunch.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will have a recess until 1:30 o'clock.

(Recess)

(1:45 P.M. January 30, 1948.)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we proceed.

DIRECT EXAMINATION (resumed)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Mr. Honig, before we recessed at lunch, you had discussed some of the people you knew here. During the time you were in Seattle, did you know a man by the name of Al Bristol?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that B-r-i-s-t-o-l?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you identify Mr. Bristol?

A. Well, when I arrived in Seattle from San Francisco, Al Bristol was the county organizer for the Communist Party. They had their office up on Second Avenue, and I do forget the address—quite a ways up on Second Avenue—down close to Stewart, anyway.

Q. Was Al Bristol a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was a member and employee of the Communist Party.

Q. Now, Mr. Honig, I will ask you if you recognize this document. Have you ever seen that before?

A. I have never seen this document before, but I recognize the author and—

Q. Who is the author?

A. Well, they call him the Red Dean in England. He is Dean of Canterbury and he is pretty well known as a Communist.

Q. And in Communist Party circles?

A. And in Communist Party circles. He has managed to retain an ex-

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tremely high position in the Church of England and has become a convert of the Communist Party at the same time. It is one of those exceptional cases.

Q. What is the title of the book that you have there?

A. Secret of Soviet Strength.

Q. Now I will ask you to look on the reverse side. What does that rubber stamp insignia say?

A. Well, it says Frontier Book Store, 710 Olive Way, Seattle 1, Washington.

Q. Do you recognize that book store?

A. Yes. That is a Communist Party book store.

Q. That is the Communist Party book store, and was while you were an official of the Communist Party here in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you consider this Communist propaganda?

A. I haven't read the book but I couldn't conceive of anything written by Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury that wasn't and I know for a fact—I notice here the International Publishers are given as the publishers. That is 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, and I know that as a fact, they are the official publishers of Communist literature. They have published and as a matter of fact it even lists books here by Stalin and so forth—Maurice Dobb, who is an English Communist leader, and—

Q. How do you spell that Dobb?

A. D-o-b-b. I—I used to know the—when I was in New York in the party, I used to know who was in charge of the International Publishers pretty well. I have met with him in very tough Communist Party meetings. I knew the man who ran it—Alexander Traxenburg, an old time Communist, that is an official actually—I don't know if it—if they will admit it is official, but they have never published anything but—but outright Communist literature.

Q. And that is the publishing house who put this book out?

A. Yes, that is.

Q. As a high official of the Communist Party for some twelve years, would you class this, then, as a Communist publication?

A. I would be inclined to do so even though I had not read it.

MR. HOUSTON: May I admit this in evidence, Mr. Chairman? The relationship will be brought out by a later witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as No. 13.

(WHEREUPON, book entitled "Secret of Soviet Strength" was ADMITTED in evidence as EXHIBIT No. 13, and is attached hereto and made a part hereof.)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Mr. Honig, before lunch you had detailed your experiences until the time you arrived in Seattle, and then we branched off into your experiences as educational director, or what do you call it—agit prop?

A. That was the former name, and when they decided to Americanize the Party, as the phrase was, they started to change these old names, European style names, and they started to call that job educational director.

Q. Does the Communist Party go in for educational directors in these various organizations?

A. Every district of the Party has an educational director—section of the Party—every subdivision of the Party to the lowest unit.

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Q. Whether they needed one, or not?

A. Well, from the Communist Party's point of view, for the carrying out of its work and its propaganda, they needed one.

Q. Was that also their policy on the front organizations they controlled?

A. No, I don't believe that I can remember any front organizations that would have that title—that had anybody with such a title, because the educational director of the Party itself would carry out that work in the front organization, so that would be a duplication.

Q. Did you receive any salary as editor of the Timber Worker's publication?

A. Yes.

Q. What salary were you promised, when you came here?

A. Fifty dollars a week—well, when I left San Francisco, with the intention of resuming—assuming that job, I wasn't promised any salary and I didn't ask about that but when I came here with Rapport—I was told that would be my salary.

Q. Your salary was—you were advised of your salary by the District Organizer of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Despite the fact that you were to publish a journal for a labor organization?

A. That's right.

Q. What, if any, conversation did you have pertaining to your salary?

A. Well, I was pretty glad to hear that I was going to get \$50 a week, and I at first assumed that was what I was going to get—then pretty quickly Rapport disillusioned me—Harry Jackson was there with him, of course Jackson was the trade union secretary for the Party in the district on that business, too, so they both pretty quickly told me that I was going to have to kick back \$12.50 a week of that. I didn't protest that because I thought, "Well, the Communist Party had gotten me the job and I had no right to question their right to do that."

Q. To whom were you to kick back this \$12.50 a week?

A. Directly to either Rapport or Jackson, or one of the members of the district executive committee in Rapport's office.

Q. Was this a private graft on their part or was it a money raising scheme of the Communist Party?

A. I had discussed that with them later on what the money was used for—not that I questioned—hadn't decided that I wasn't going to give it any more, but I just wanted to know—and they told me well it was to help pay their salaries for one thing. And, oh, they claimed that they were really existing on very little money, maybe \$15 or \$10 a week when they could get it and just by doing those things they were able to themselves live.

Q. Now this—would you say then that this cut of twenty-five per cent out of your salary went for purposes of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. I knew that.

Q. You knew that. Is that a rather common practice within the Communist Party?

A. It was at that time. It was, I think, all the time that I was in the Party.

Q. Correct me if I am wrong here. Do I understand you that you were working for the International Woodworkers Association?

A. International Woodworkers of America.

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Q. International Woodworkers of America, a trade union, and they were paying you \$50 a week, but of that \$12.50 was going to the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. Indirectly then, the Woodworkers Union were helping to finance the Communist Party?

A. Yes, without the knowledge of its members.

Q. Now, what editorial policy did the paper follow?

A. Well, naturally since they had grabbed the paper away from the anti-Party elements in the Union, I was brought there to make sure they followed a strict Communist policy—a policy that fit in in every respect with the Communist line, and I set out to do that.

Q. Were you more interested in publishing and advancing the Communist Party line, or the cause of the woodworkers in this paper?

A. Well if you mean I myself, personally, I must admit that I was more interested in advancing the Communist Party at that time than I was in the interests of the workers of that union.

Q. Did the Communist Party have a direct control over the paper?

A. Direct, yes.

Q. Do you—did you know the publication then known as the Sunday News?

A. Yes.

Q. Was this paper an unofficial organ of the Communist Party?

A. Well, its editors were named by the Communist Party leadership. I don't know whether you could hold some minor job—somehow get a minor job and not necessarily be a Communist, although you would have to be a left-winger, I guess. But I know you couldn't have a leading job on the Sunday News and not be a member of the Party.

Q. Was this paper also controlled by the Communist Party?

A. To my knowledge, from my conversation with other Party members, with leaders of the Party, it was controlled in the same way as the International Woodworkers paper was, by the Party.

Q. And you have testified that the control of your paper was complete?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know who was editor of that paper?

A. Well, I couldn't give you any chronological order—I think they had a succession of editors—I am a little hazy on what succession it was—who came first or last. I know I could name one editor of Sunday News, James Cour.

Q. Is that C-o-o-r?

A. I think it is.

Q. James Coor—is he a small fellow?

A. Not C—no, I don't believe it is C-o-o-r, I think it is C-o-u-r, but I am not altogether sure on the spelling.

Q. Rather small fellow, isn't he?

A. Yes.

Q. Was James Cour a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. You have sat in Communist Party meetings with him, and you have transacted Communist Party business with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know, or did you know a paper known as the Washington New Dealer?

A. Yes, in the same way that I know the Sunday News.

Q. Who controlled the policy of the Washington New Dealer?

A. The Communist Party did. I know that because I heard the Washington New Dealer discussed in Rapport's office and sometimes criticized, and sometimes I have mentioned that Costigan sometimes would be bawled out by Rapport, sometimes he would be bawled out about the—the failure to print something that Rapport thought should be printed and so forth.

Q. Was Mr. Cour ever editor of the Washington New Dealer?

A. I wouldn't say absolutely—I believe he might have been for a short time. I know he was editor of the Sunday News, and when it changed its name I don't remember whether he continued on. I think he did.

Q. Now, do you know a gentleman by the name of Abe Cohen?

A. Yes.

Q. Who is Abe Cohen?

A. Abe Cohen is an employee of the Post Intelligencer and—in the editorial department. He was a member of the Communist Party when I was. I don't know whether he still is, but he was then.

Q. Did you ever sit in Communist Party meetings with Abe Cohen?

A. Yes. Frequently.

Q. And you have transacted business with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Communist Party business?

A. Yes.

Q. While you were in Seattle, you testified you were a single man when you came here, did you get married?

A. Yes.

Q. Whom did you marry?

A. Well, my wife is sitting here.

Q. What was her name?

A. Her name was Erla Page, then.

Q. How do you spell that?

A. E-r-l-a P-a-g-e.

Q. Erla Page?

A. Yeah.

Q. When did you marry Miss Page?

A. In May, 1938. May 1st.

Q. Was Miss Page a member of the Communist Party?

A. She was, at the time.

Q. You and she set up housekeeping?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, did you find it a little more difficult to live on this \$37.50 a week, and kick your \$12.50 a week back after you were married, than when you were single?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Well, did you say anything to anybody about it—did you ask for more money?

A. I didn't ask for more money, but I asked for less kickback.

(Laughter.)

Q. Whom did you ask for less kick-back?

A. I went to Pritchett who was the head of the IWA and told him that I didn't think I would be able to get along on \$37.50 now that I was getting married, and I told him I was agreeable to a kick-back but not quite that much any more, and he again went to Rapport and he said he would see him about that. And Rapport didn't get in touch with me, but he sent down Harry Jackson and Louie Sass who were members of the Rapport staff there in district headquarters of the Party, and they pinned me right in the International Woodworkers' office at my job—at my desk as the editor of the Timber Worker and told me, and I don't think they even bothered to lower their voices. This was of course the union office, and said, "We hear that you are griping a little bit about giving this money to the Party." "Well," I said, "I do think that I ought to give a little less money now that I am getting married," and they said, "Well, you know who got you this job," and I said, "I am well aware of that," and they began to get a little bit abusive about it, where money was concerned they would. And I told them that, I said, "You don't have to get nasty about it," I said, "You are taking that money from me, you can at least be decent about it," and they said, "Well, we are not decent people. That's a bourgeois term."

Q. And they continued to take it from you?

A. They continued.

Q. And you continued to protest?

A. No, I didn't any longer.

Q. You were a good Party member then, you accepted it?

A. Oh, I knew it would be useless.

Q. Now did you join the Guild—Newspaper Guild while you were here?

A. No. I had been a member of the Newspaper Guild long before that, in San Francisco—a year or two after it was first organized.

Q. Did you associate yourself with the local Seattle chapter of the Guild?

A. Yes, as soon as I came here.

Q. Was your wife a member of the Guild?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you active in Guild affairs?

A. Well, we attended meetings fairly regularly, yes. We didn't take an active part in the Guild—just—we were members. My wife had been more active than I was because she had been involved in a strike at the Seattle Star before. She—she wasn't leader of the Guild or anything like that.

Q. Did you hold any office in the Guild?

A. Not for some time after I came here.

Q. I will ask you whether or not you were ever elected as a delegate to the convention—national convention of the Guild?

A. Yes. Well, I didn't consider that holding office. I was—my wife and I both were elected as delegates to the national convention of the Guild in Toronto in 1938.

Q. Did you attend the national convention?

A. Yes.

Q. Were there other Communists present at this national convention?
 A. Yes, many of them.

Q. Did you have any commingling or inter-relationship with them?

A. Yes, aside from purely personal get-together of other party members, we had had a fraction—a special fraction set up for the convention. The Party always did that in trades in conventions. We had a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party from New York, Roy Hudson.

Q. Is that H-u-d-s-o-n?

A. Right. He was a seaman—he had been a seaman. He was there to whip us into line—make sure that we followed the party line, instructed us all the way down the line.

Q. In other words, he was there to control the activities of the Communist Party delegates at this convention?

A. That's right.

Q. And to hold you in line in the name of the National Committee of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, to make sure that we carried out every instruction.

Q. Did you hold fraction meetings at various times at this convention?

A. We did.

Q. Did you organize your strength?

A. Yes. That was the purpose of our meeting.

Q. The purpose of it. Did you succeed in controlling the convention?

A. I think the Communist Party pretty well did that year.

Q. Do you care to detail for us any of the plans, or how they did it, seeing you testified they were a well-organized minority group there?

A. Very well organized, and that is how they did it. They were not a majority, of course, there. The majority of delegates and members of the Guild had always been hostile to the Communist Party.

But the Communists were able in the first place to elect a majority of delegates by being the one group—to be an organized group. Communists would attend meetings, local meetings where delegates were elected, where others would not, because Communists could be ordered to do so, unfortunately, and since they would be the most numerous group at the local guild meetings they would elect delegates to many of these important places, and as at that 1938 convention we are speaking of, why they had a majority of delegates or else the outright Communist Party members was always pretty close to it.

Q. Did you fight and carry out the Party line at that convention?

A. Yes. There was a lot of fighting about it. The anti-Communists were a minority, but they fought pretty bitterly about that.

Q. And you and your wife carried out every desire of the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. At that convention. Did you subsequently return to Seattle?

A. Yes.

Q. And to your job?

A. Well, that was my intention, but when I arrived at my job I found the desk was occupied by the man I had picked to replace myself while I was away and he was supposed to have been gone by then, and I wondered about it. So I told my—I don't know who told me—to go in and see Mickey

Orton, who was the vice president of the International Union. I went in to see Mickey and he hung his head and he wouldn't look at me, he wouldn't face me, he said, "Well, Nat, Rapport told me to tell you that we didn't think you could serve here any more as editor, that you wouldn't be the man for it," or words to that effect. I don't know his exact words, but that I was fired, in other words. And I asked him why. He wouldn't tell me. Nobody ever did tell me.

Q. Do you know why?

A. Yes, I have a pretty good idea why.

Q. Why were you fired?

A. Well, the International Woodworkers, just like the Guild and many of the C.I.O. unions and some of the A. F. of L. unions at that time and probably since—although there might be a majority of Communists in control of these unions, there was a very strong minority fighting to oust Communistic control. We had that situation in the International Woodworkers. The group, particularly in the Columbia River District of the unions, was very strong to control their district completely, and they even had one of their members as secretary-treasurer in the International Office. Well, the rank and file down there, were particularly, I mean very openly anti-Communist, and one of my first—one of the first things I did when I became editor was to establish a page in that paper that they had never had before, which I called the Voice of the Union Members, and it was to consist of letters from any member of the union who wanted to write on any subject he felt like. I thought that was a fair thing. Of course their dues put out the paper—paid for that paper and paid my salary. Well, I started it and at first I was told, of course, that we were only going to print letters that didn't in any way clash with the Party line. I faithfully did that. Later on, I got the idea that—not that I was altruistic particularly toward the workers, although I did get to find—get to know and like a lot of these opposition workers on the Columbia River, and met them at various conventions. They were pretty fine people, as were some of those who followed the Communist line. They were just workers. And I got the idea that if we would print their letters too, it would not only be the fair thing to do, but it would enhance the Communist Party position in the union. I tried to—I figured that if Pritchett were accused of being a Communist, which he was by the opposition, or Horton or any of the others, they could say, "Well, here is our union paper. We give everybody a voice in it." So I started to print those letters, and pretty soon I got started to get bawled out for that.

Q. Who bawled you out?

A. Pritchett. He told me that Rapport was very much put about that, printing these opposition letters, that he didn't mind a few harmless ones that might talk about the weather or something like that, or about conditions in the logging mills, or camps, or I mean lumber mills, but when I printed a letter that took a stand on union affairs or on issues that the Party was interested in, took an opposition stand, why they wouldn't go for that, so I tried to convince Pritchett and later Rapport that that would be—wouldn't do the Party a bit of harm, it would certainly make them seem to be fair-minded, they wouldn't go for that at all, and I was told to discontinue it and I just couldn't do it. I had promised a lot of these people that—got to know them and liked them. I knew it was their paper too, and I couldn't do it, and I kept on printing. Maybe I did—I know I did print less of their letters,

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trying to appease Rapport, Pritchett, Orton—but I kept printing some of—some of them, and that again made my position pretty untenable, there.

Q. The majority of the letters you printed were favorable to the Communist Party and the Communist Party line?

A. Yes.

Q. Just a small space was given to these anti-Communist letters?

A. Well, it wasn't a corner or anything, I scattered them around, a small percentage.

Q. Small percentage?

A. Yes.

Q. And they were the most vicious of the anti-Communist letters which you chose, were they not?

A. No, not particularly. I chose—I had a limited space and I was going to give the majority of space to the friendly letters—that is, friendly to the Communist line, but I chose them without regard to their viciousness or otherwise, the anti-Party ones. As long as they weren't the kind of stuff you couldn't print in any papers. They weren't abusive to the extent of being obscene or something. Both factions would sometimes step out of line some—some that would do that.

Q. You figure this was the reason why you were released from the paper?

A. Well, I knew that. It wasn't a total surprise to me, although I let on that it was; because gradually Pritchett would hardly talk to me, and as long as we had been pretty close friends to each other—not that we had spent a lot of time together, but we were very friendly and got along swell together—but then I remember when something came up, some—some important political event in the country, I'd go to Pritchett, I used to, always got a statement from him to pin on the front page of the paper. The union president's attitude on an issue like that—it got so that he never would give me any statement any more. He didn't want to cooperate in any way. He was trying to make it impossible for me to continue.

Q. What did you do after you were released from this position, or how did you feel to be back fighting for the Communist Party line at a convention and then stealing your job while you were gone?

A. Not good.

Q. What did you do then?

A. Well, I remember a peculiar thing that had been done, just to show—at the office there. This J. Richard Seller. I don't remember his first name, H. Richard Seller, I believe, but Dick Seller, we always called him—had been the leading Party hatchet man in the Guild, and he had come over with the bright idea of establishing a Guild unit in the Timber Worker. We only had a staff of two editorial workers, and one secretary, and I believe it was even a rule in the Guild that you had to have a minimum of five to get a Guild unit, but somehow or other we fixed that up by bringing in a couple of girls who did some part-time work occasionally when we needed some help, and making them members, and we had our unit. And Dick said, and I thought that was right, it looked pretty good. Here is a union paper—it should have a Guild unit, too. Well, of course, we signed the best Guild contract we could, to make that look very good, for our sakes. The minimum was something like sixty or sixty-five dollars a week, which we never got, although I don't doubt that on the books it was made to appear that I was

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getting paid sixty-five dollars a week, in conformity with the Guild contract. Of course, I never got anything like that. And I remember that one of the clauses in there was on severance pay, which is a standard Guild clause, that if a man is ousted from his job for no reason of neglect, of his job, he is entitled to severance pay based on the amount of weeks he has worked on that paper. So I felt pretty sore about that and I decided I—first of all, I needed the money. We had not been married very long, and we needed it, and I thought—I decided I was going to get that severance pay. I dug up the Guild contract which had been buried, gathering dust, because it only had been a formality, and this time it wasn't going to be a formality. I brought it to Pritchett and he just laughed at it. He says, "You know what that's worth." So I said, "I think it's going to be worth something." So I was a member by that time, elected member of the Guild Executive Board—local executive board. At the very next meeting I brought it up there and none of the executive board members dreamed that I had any beef with the Party. Some of them I had approached on joining the Party. They knew I was a Party member, but they didn't hold it against me. But anyway, I brought that up and I said I wanted to get my severance pay which would amount to, oh, I think between three and four hundred dollars, which I could use. So the majority of the executive board voted that I was to get that severance pay, that the Guild was to prosecute that case with everything—with all its power. The only one that voted against me were the other Communist Party members on the Board, Camozzi, and Claude Smith, I believe.

Q. That is Robert Camozzi and Claude Smith?

A. And Claude Smith.

Q. Now may I just interrupt you just a moment? You referred to a man a while back as Mickey Orton. Do you mean O. M. Orton?

A. Yes, O. M. Orton.

Q. Now continue, the Commies on the—

A. Well, the board on the Guild—the Guild board voted that I was to—that they were going to go after that pay for me and some of them even asked me if I wanted them to picket the Arcade Building, where the headquarters were, and I said, "No, by all means, I don't want that." And they didn't. They would have, I think, if I had asked for it. And Claude Smith, I believe it was, and Camozzi both, volunteered to go before the Executive Board to Pritchett and fight the case for me.

Q. Yet they had voted against you?

A. Yes. And I was woolly-witted enough to let that get by at the time. Then they left and they never did fight the case. They come back to me and tell me, "Oh, Pritchett is out of town, Orton is out of town, we can't do anything until we all get together," or "Pritchett is occupied with this and that." And of course it appeared pretty quick to me that they were stalling there. And it got other members of the board a little sore too. Then they changed the committee that was taking up my case and they put non-Party people as the representatives of the board to go before Pritchett. And Pritchett said some pretty harsh things to those guys, those men defying him. Here was an International C. I. O. union president telling responsible officers or board members of another C.I.O. union that he didn't have any respect for any demand that they made or anything they wanted. And it made them hopping mad, but they couldn't do a thing about it because they couldn't strike the Timber Worker—couldn't call a strike on it, because long time had elapsed

there. I had given the thing up for lost—probably a year. "We know you need the money and we are going to be good to you," he said. "I have here a blank I.W.A. check, not a Communist Party check, an I.W.A. check." He said, "I want you to endorse the back of it." It was blank. Well, I was a little leary. I said, "Well, what's the amount of the check, how much am I getting, am I getting the full four hundred dollars that I am entitled to?" "Oh," he said. "now, don't be silly." He said, "If we give you anything—anything we give you is just so much gravy for you now." So I felt that way, too. I felt—I knew that I would get nothing if they decided that—if Rapport himself decided that. So I felt it was better to take peanuts than nothing. So I signed the back of that check. It was a blank check and of course it didn't require much imagination on my part to know what was happening there. That the check was probably being made out for the full amount that was due me, and I was handed, oh, I think it was a hundred and twenty-five dollars. I believe Mrs. Honig would remember that better than I do, she was the housekeeper. And the difference was undoubtedly pocketed by Rapport and the Party union.

Q. Again the difference—

A. I got that in cash, that hundred and twenty-five dollars, after signing the blank check.

Q. Again the Woodworkers paid the full bill?

A. Well, you mean the membership? Yes, whatever was paid, of course, was paid out of the I.W.A. check and the members paid for that.

Q. And the cut—the large cut went into the pockets of the Communist Party?

A. Well, that—that of course, I could see. I didn't ask about that. It wasn't necessary.

Q. Now, Mr. Honig, while you were an official of the Communist Party in the Northwest District, did you ever hear or know anything of an organization called the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us what you know about that organization, or what you knew then?

A. Well, I knew, of course, that the Communist Party ran it—controlled it, because it was a frequent subject of discussion at district bureau meetings—district executive committee meetings in the office of Rapport. And the conduct of it, how the Party was—how the Party representatives at the head of it were carrying out their work was discussed.

Q. And as an official of the Communist Party in the Northwest District you are positive that the Party held control of this union?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. Did the Party use it to further the activities of the Party?

A. Yes, of course, it used any organization controlled by it for that.

Q. Now, after you left the Woodworkers as their editor, where did you go?

A. Well, I got a very—for a very brief period I worked on the Writers Project of the W.P.A.

Q. Did you meet any other Comrades there?

A. Yes, a great many.

Q. Would you say they were in the majority?

A. I think they were, although were a sizeable minority of non-Party people there, but the majority were.

Q. And where did you go after that?

A. Well, I began to buck the extra board on the PI copy desk. By that I mean I got a job as an extra man at first, as you usually do when you come into a newspaper office cold, and I was an extra, and pretty soon I got more and more work as an extra and I got pretty nearly as much work—oh, before the year was over—as any regular man there, and then in the course of time I got to be a regular member of the PI staff.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Honig, if in 1939, the latter part of the summer, you attended a plenum of the delegates of the Northwest District of the Communist Party in the Polish Hall?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you describe the nature of that meeting, who the speakers were, and what the Party line was at that time?

A. Well, it was a rather routine meeting—Jack Stachel who was a member of the Party central committee was in town, he was making a tour of duty around the country for the Party, and the plenum, is what it's—it's a gathering together of functionaries of the Party—leading members of the Party—and they come from the three Northwest states—it became a rather routine talk, and the banners there were the usual banners that we had had for the last two years of Communism—Americanism being the Communism of the 20th Century, and Defend Democracy With All Our Strength, and Down With Fascism, and so forth, the routine thing, without any real meaning behind it—any heartfelt meanings.

Jack Stachel gave the usual peppy talk on how we must defend democracy from the Fascists, the Fascists were aggressors, how the Soviet Union was foremost among the democracies, and the United States was a democracy to us—it was then, and the usual rot, of course. That was about the size of it.

Q. Were there any other national figures there besides this Stachel?

A. I don't recall any, I don't.

Q. Now did any event of significance in world affairs occur shortly after that plenum?

A. Yes. Two days later the famous pact between Russia and Germany was signed.

Q. Two days before you had had a plenum and had cheered the Party line which is in direct opposition to Fascism and National Socialism of Germany?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Well, what did the Party do?

A. Well, two days later the plenum was very hastily re-assembled. And the same Jack Stachel was there and gave the same pep talk word for word, only directly the opposite. This time democracy was the enemy. The war-mongering enemy, all of a sudden, overnight. We had made many mistakes, the Party had, not Stalin had, nor in Moscow, but we had. And we must retrace our steps and erase these mistakes, realize that America, Britain and France, the democratic capitalist countries were preparing for war on Russia, on the workers' fatherland. All that stuff. Just the opposite to—yet the cheers were exactly the same for that, and not a questioner in the audience. Nobody got up and said, "Comrade, you said the other way around just two days ago." Nothing like that.

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Q. Was there just as much applause at this direct reversal of Party line as there had been, before?

A. Just about, pretty near.

Q. But you didn't have any of the same banners out?

A. Oh, no. The banners were gone. There were no banners.

Q. They didn't have time to make new ones. Well, how did you personally accept this direct reversal of Party line?

A. Well, I went home, discussed it with my wife, and we decided we were through, finally and at last. We couldn't feature being partners of Hitler.

Q. Did you openly break with the Party?

A. No. We said to ourselves, to each other, "We are going to—not going to make any show of it—we are not going to denounce the Party, we still feel that at heart the ideals that had brought us into the Party still ruled us, but we were not going to even tell the Party we were quitting, we were going to sit tight, try to forget the whole darned business, and that was all to it. We hoped to be left alone."

Q. Did the Party leave you alone?

A. No, it didn't. Oh, about two weeks later somebody, some young person came over to see us—some fellow—he came from the county headquarters of the Party and wanted to know why we hadn't been attending meetings lately. We told him that we were through with the Party, and he said—to the best of my recollection, not his exact words—here was a fellow that seemed to us couldn't have been in the Party much more than a few months, and I had been in for twelve years, and he started to tell me how this line—this new line, explain it to me, you know. It amused me a lot. Not that I wanted to appear snobbish about it, but it really was funny. And I told him that the line was phony, we didn't believe in it, and we were through. And about two weeks later, I may not be spacing my time right, but somewhat later, somebody else came and wanted to know wouldn't we reconsider—wouldn't we come back to the Party. He tried to tell me that I had been so important in the Party. He could not understand why we were leaving. And I told him why. I said, "Now, go back to whoever sent you and tell them if they will leave us alone, we will leave them alone and never say a word about the Party to anybody, we will never mention anybody as being a Party member, and that is all we want." And we didn't hear anything for a while. Then I began to see that some of the Party members, one of them employed at the PI, Camozzi, were trying their best in their crude way to get me out of my job there at the PI. They were boozing a Party member, who worked in another section of the editorial department to try to push him in as apprentice on the copy desk, and we didn't have room for an apprentice, at the time. I was the extra man. I guess they were trying to push him in as an extra man. First as an apprentice for a while, then as an extra man, and that would have pushed me out. Of course, there was no doubt about that. The man they were pushing was this Abie Cohen, and Claude Smith came right out at a PI unit meeting—now this is a different kind of a unit than a Party unit—the Guild also uses that terminology for the Guild group on the individual paper. It was then, anyway, called a unit. I don't know what it is called now, because we don't have a Guild where I am. But at this P.I. meeting of the Guild members, Claude Smith mentioned that he was going to try to bring Abie Cohen in on the copy desk. I didn't say anything at the meeting, but I buttonholed Smith and I said, "What are you going to try to do? You

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are going to try to get me out of my job there, aren't you?" I said, "Now, you know what I told the Party I had also told Camozzi meanwhile, that if they would lay off me I would lay off them, and would not bother the Party in any way." I could see that they were not keeping their end of the bargain if they ever had made a bargain with me. Well, Claude Smith hedged. He wouldn't commit himself one way or the other: I spoke to some of the non-Party people there and they agreed with me that it was pretty obvious just what Claude was aiming at. And it made me pretty darned mad. I got ahold of Camozzi and I said, "Now, if this is what you are trying to do—"

Q. Was that Robert Camozzi you got ahold of?

A. Yes. I said, "If this is what you are trying to do, I am going to open up on you people." The opposition to the Party in the Guild which was growing stronger all the time, had approached me several times, particularly the fellows we had, the wife and I had, at one time tried to recruit into the Party, they knew we were Party members, and had told us rather guardedly at first, they didn't know whether they could trust us yet—of the fight that was brewing against the Party, to oust the Party from the leadership in the Guild. And I had turned them down each time—so had my wife. We just felt that it would be wrong for us to do anything against the Party. We thought it would mean that we were stool pigeons, and so forth. We had been so imbued with that kind of psychology in the Party, so we never would have anything to do with any of these attempts to get us to work with the enemies of the Party in the Guild. But when this happened and I saw obviously what they were trying to do to me—trying to deprive me of a livelihood, I did approach—I forgot which one of the anti-Party leaders in the Guild and I told them that whenever they wanted me, I would be ready to get up on the floor of the Guild and tell just which members of the Guild were Party members, just what the Party had been doing in the Guild and to the Guild. And that happened.

Q. And this was in 1940?

A. Yes, this was early in 1940.

Q. And you have not at any time re-affiliated with the Party?

A. No.

Q. —since that time?

A. No.

Q. Now, you have mentioned once or twice about Party members denying membership. Will you discuss that—is—does a member of the Communist Party deny that he is a member?

A. All but a few. The only ones who admit, of course, openly, that they are members, are those like Rapport, who is the open leader of—was at that time the open leader of the district Party, had to issue statements in the name of the Party and sign his name, you know, in leaflets given out—people like Earl Browder, of course, like that, who were openly Party leaders. Otherwise Party members will never admit to a non-Party member that he is a Party member, unless it is somebody that he feels he can trust implicitly and is trying to recruit into the Party.

Q. And you, from having been an official of the Communist Party, for some twelve years, can you conceive of a case where a non-Party member would ever recruit anyone into the Communist Party?

A. Where a non-Party member would recruit—

Q. Yes.

A. No. No.

Q. Is it good evidence of Party membership if you can prove that someone tried to recruit someone else into the Party?

A. In my judgment, is it unimpeachable evidence.

Q. Unimpeachable evidence.

A. Unimpeachable evidence.

Q. Is the Communist Party revolutionary in character?

A. Yes.

Q. Do they teach revolution?

A. They have always taught that.

Q. Always taught that. Is that a bloodless revolution or a revolution of blood?

A. It is a revolution of blood. Of course, the Communist Party, if it could get away without the difficulty of sacrificing any of its own members or anybody would like to have that, but they know that it is practically impossible anywhere. So Communists are taught that a bloody revolution is generally necessary, and that we mustn't flinch from that.

Q. You mustn't flinch from the blood?

A. From the shedding of blood to achieve Soviet power.

Q. Does the Communist Party teach the liquidation of the opposition?

A. Oh yes, teaches it and practices it if it can.

Q. Would you interpret that for us?

A. Well, the Communist Party teaches it—not only does it teach it, but the founders of the Communist Party, such as Lenin, have written repeatedly in their works that on seizure of power by the Communist Party, the first thing that must be done is to wipe out the enemies of the workers' power, as they call it, the Soviet power. They mean wipe out physically. They say so. And what they have done when they have seized the country—they don't purge generally—they did in Russia, of course, take the Czar's family, killed them first, but as far as purge liquidation is concerned, I found—I know by knowledge by speaking to foreign Communists from other countries in Moscow, the first ones there they are bounded to do, seize hold of and execute all the liberals, and the people who have been Socialists, Liberals and so forth, they feel that these men have quite a control of trade unions, for one thing, and stand between the Communist Party and the people who work in factories and on the farms, and I think that was brought out by their behavior in the Balkan countries. First ones who have been killed have been the peasant leaders and the Socialist leaders, Liberal leaders generally, are imprisoned and then later on such of the more conservative leaders that still haven't been able to flee the country, they kill them, too. But sometimes, it has been done just lately in the Balkans, they have taken men who have worked with Hitler and incorporated them into the Communist movement and killed the Liberals.

Q. Do they teach the liquidation of the capitalists?

A. Oh yes, they teach the overthrow of the capitalist class.

Q. This overthrow, is that to be a complete overthrow of our counties, cities, states, national government?

A. Well, it inevitably would mean a revamping of the entire structure and set-up of the government as we know it. They had that in Russia, so I as-

sume. They don't have that in black and white because they don't know in advance exactly what conditions will be when they have their seizure of power.

Q. Do they have mapped out the form of government that they would wish to institute in this country?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Is that a form of government similar to the form of government in Russia?

A. As far as can be done practically, it actually duplicates it.

Q. From your knowledge of the Communist Party and your time spent in Russia, can you state what kind of a form of Government they have in Russia?

A. They have, I would say, the most extreme form of dictatorship of one machine and one man that I have ever heard about, or read about, and I really—

Q. All powers vested in one man—

A. All power is vested in one man and in a machine which that one man himself controls.

Q. Is there—is the Communist Party a democratic organization?

A. No. If you can think of anything that could be just the antithesis, the exact opposite, that would be the Communist Party.

Q. Does the Communist Party teach the use of legal means of obtaining power?

A. It teaches the use of legal means of electing people to office but not of obtaining power. It doesn't believe that legal means can obtain power for the Party, the Communist Party.

Q. Does the Communist Party confine itself to legal means to advance its purposes in the cause?

A. No.

Q. Would it, if the occasion presented itself, use illegal means?

A. Oh, yes. It reconciles itself to the fact that it would have to.

Q. Is this taught in the Communist schools?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And to Communists. To whom do the Communists owe loyalty?

A. Communists of any country owe loyalty first of all to Stalin and to the—and the only country they owe loyalty to is the Soviet Union.

Q. In the event of war between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to whom would the Communists be loyal?

A. Well, I think every Communist has no doubt in his mind, that his first loyalty would be to the Soviet Union.

Q. Would their disloyalty here take the form of attempting to sabotage and undermine our war?

A. I think that is the absolute understanding among Communists. It was when I was in the Party, always.

Q. Is the Communist Party—I withdraw that—is Atheism a tenet of the Communist Party?

A. Not openly any more, but once it was. When I joined the Party in '27 it was, openly. You had to declare yourself an Atheist. Or at least you had to declare yourself not a member of any church. If you had any, you had to

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declare that you had disconnected yourself from it. But when they changed their line in 1935 to making appeal—a bid for Americans, and started the slogan of Communism being the Democracy of the 20th Century, and so forth, they also realized that they could get a great many members into the Communist ranks who thought of themselves as Liberals and who were church-goers—who went to church, particularly in such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. And so, they adopted a new attack then, in regard—an open attack, that is, toward the basic anti-religious attitude hadn't changed one bit, but in order to get a big mass of new members into the Party they would go to people and tell them, now, whether you are a Catholic, or Protestant, or Jew, or anything else, we don't ask you to give up your religion; on the contrary, the Communist Party realizes the importance of these religions and wants you to continue in them and so forth.

They figured and what they did do is get them in to join them—have them join—and then, by Communist propaganda within the organization when you had them sewed up, after a period of time they would naturally, of their own inclination, ditch the religion they were attached to.

Q. Educate their religion out of them?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, from that will you say that the Communist Party advocates duplicity?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Does the Communist Party exercise any discipline over its people?

A. Yes. Very complete discipline. Tries to as far as it can.

Q. Does it tolerate other than complete obedience and submission on the part of its members?

A. No, you cannot bluff Communist Party policy or line on any matter and remain a Communist Party member. You would be ousted.

Q. Do you think that Communism is a present day threat to the United States of America?

A. Very much.

Q. Do you think that they have made sufficient inroads to where they are a threat to the future existence of our country?

A. I personally don't think that they have made sufficient inroads to the point where they can seize power now or in the immediate future. I don't think they could do that—I don't think they have too much confidence in the people of this country. I think what they can do, is sow so much dissension, in all kinds of organizations in which they work, raise so much chaos and sow so much hatred and distrust between groups and classes and so forth, that they can really make it duck soup at some future time. Almost any kind of dictator can step in and take over.

Q. With the chips down as they are—I withdraw that as not a proper question.

With conditions as they are between Russia and the United States today, would it be your testimony that a loyal member of the Communist Party is a traitor to the United States of America?

A. Well, it's kind of hard to define that. He is a traitor at heart. Of course, he hasn't always committed an actual deed of treachery to the United States, but he certainly is potential actual traitor.

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Q. He is a potential actual traitor.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, that concludes my questioning of this witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That will be all.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wonder if this would not be a time to take a short recess. I would like to have a little more air in here.

(Recess)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to recall Mr. Honig to the stand for just another question or two.

NAT HONIG, having been previously sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION (Resumed)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Honig, you testified that the Communist Party at one time here had control of the Newspaper Guild. Is that correct?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. Did the Communist Party control of the Guild affect or in any way influence the editorial policy or the news of any of the Seattle daily papers?

A. It did not, for the simple reason that most of the working newspaper-men who actually worked on daily papers in Seattle, at that time, who were in the Guild were not Communists, and strictly abided by the Guild clause in the Guild constitution that the Guild would never permit its members to do such a thing.

Q. Did—to your knowledge was control of the Newspaper Guild wrested from the Communists?

A. Yes. It was wrested from the Communists while I was still in Seattle.

Q. And you assisted in that?

A. Yes. It was done by a series of trials of Communist members who were leaders or officials of the Guild. They were removed by democratic trials of the membership of the Guild.

Q. And expelled from the Guild?

A. No. We would not expel them as members of the Guild. That would mean depriving them of their jobs, and we weren't ready to do that, then. They were just ousted from leadership.

Q. Ousted from leadership?

A. From holding any office.

Q. And when you left here, and to the best of your knowledge now, the Newspaper Guild is not controlled or influenced by the Communist Party?

A. That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: That is all.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to recall the witness Manning Johnson for just one or two questions.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do so.

MR. HOUSTON: May we have Mr. Johnson?

MANNING JOHNSON, having been previously sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

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DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Johnson, as a District Organizer and as a man who held various positions in the Communist Party, and as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, are you in a position to make any statements as to the control of the International Publishers?

A. The International Publishers is a Communist publishing agency. That agency prints all of the Communist Party literature that is distributed in the United States.

Q. Does it publish any literature that is not Communist literature?

A. It does not publish anything that is not in accordance with the Communist Party line.

Q. I will ask you if you have ever seen this booklet before?

A. Yes, I have seen it. It is one of the books that's considered "must" reading for Communists.

Q. Does it advance the Communist Party line?

A. It does, in its entirety.

Q. Does it serve the purpose of the Communist Party?

A. It does.

MR. HOUSTON: That is all. Thank you, Mr. Johnson.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: This book he has identified is "Secret of Soviet Strength" by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, which has been entered as State's Exhibit No. 13.

Will Mrs. Honig take the stand?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you stand and be sworn, Mrs. Honig?

ERLA HONIG, having been duly sworn, testified on direct examination, as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. You are Mrs. Erla Honig?

A. Yes.

Q. The wife of Nat Honig?

A. Yes.

Q. And your maiden name was Erla—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Just a moment, please. Will you answer just a little louder, because we are recording this, Mrs. Honig, thank you.

Q. Are you the former Erla Page?

A. Yes.

Q. Where were you born, Mrs. Page?

A. Mrs. Honig.

Q. Mrs. Honig, pardon me.

A. Olympia, Washington.

Q. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you join the Communist Party?

A. I joined in August, 1937.

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Q. Where did you join the Communist Party?

A. Well, I—was on strike for the Star at the time—I mean from the Star—for the Newspaper Guild—and—ah—they had approached me—the Star strikers were holding out and expected to get quite a bit of back pay, and the Communist Party was always interested in getting their hands on a little money, and so they were especially working on the Star strikers, because they thought they might get a cut on that back pay, so they went to work on me and they asked me to a recruiting party and after some little time I finally agreed to join. I believe that I signed the card for Ellen McGrath, who was then—well, at that time she was the executive secretary for the Newspaper Guild, in Seattle.

Q. Were you solicited by people other than Ellen McGrath?

A. Surreptitiously, for instance, Robert Camozzi sort of was out—without coming right and saying so—told me about the virtues of the Communist Party, and the International representative who came up for the strike from San Francisco worked on me in the same fashion.

Q. Do you remember that party's name?

A. That was Tad Irvine.

Q. What?

A. Tad. We called him Tad.

Q. T-a-d?

A. Yes.

Q. The last name?

A. Irvine—I-r-v-i-n-e.

Q. After you joined the Communist Party, were you assigned to a unit at which to attend meetings?

A. Well, at first I attended fraction meetings, I believe they were—Star fraction meetings, or meetings of the Guild fraction to decide on the activities to be carried out in the strike—ways of disrupting and worrying the management, or picketing and that kind of thing. And then a little later this Guild unit was set up as a unit. It was eventually named L-5, I think. And we met at various homes.

Q. Do you recall any of the homes at which you met?

A. The first one was the Dick Seller's home, in the Montlake district.

Q. Is that the gentleman that is known as H. Richard Seller?

A. Yes. H. Richard Seller.

Q. Commonly known as Dick Seller.

A. That is right.

Q. Who was in attendance at these meetings?

A. Well, Dick Seller and his wife, and Mary and Bob Camozzi, and my husband and Jimmy Cour and—

Q. Is that the James Cour that was editor of the Sunday News and of the Washington New Dealer?

A. Yes, that's the one. And, let's see—then that was at first. Let's see, Ellen McGrath, and then later on there were others who were recruited.

Q. Do you recall any of them?

A. Well, I remember the recruiting of Claude Smith. He was discussed at length and of course we were always pressed for recruits but—various top

organizations were always asking for reports on how many people we were working on, how many prospects did we have, how many had we recruited this month, and so naturally we didn't get too choosy. We recruited whoever it was—it was possible to recruit. Well, Claude Smith was out of a job at that time—had worked on the P.I. and Bob Camozzi said that he was a good possibility and Ellen McGrath was then the executive secretary for the Guild but she was going to work for the—as the representative here of the People's World, so they needed somebody to fill that job, and naturally the Party felt that it was their duty to fill that Guild job, so for some reason they decided to offer that to Claude Smith if he would join the Party. So—ah—he joined it and got the job—he was nominated and—of course Party members always attended Guild meetings whether anyone else did or not, so they managed to put over the election of their candidates.

Q. Did you subsequently sit in meetings with Claude Smith?

A. Many times.

Q. And you know that deal was consummated?

A. Yes, and later his—oh, a week or two later his wife was recruited, also.

Q. What was his wife's name?

A. Betty Smith.

Q. Betty Smith?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, you referred to Dick Seller and his wife. Do you know the name of Dick Seller's wife?

A. We called her Andy. I don't remember her real name.

Q. You called her Andy, uh-huh. Do you recall anyone else with whom you sat in meetings, or whom you recruited into the Party?

A. Abe Cohen on the P.I. was recruited after—yes, after I was.

Q. Now, can you fix the date of this approximately?

A. Let's see, I went in in 1937—it would have been sometime in 1938.

Q. 1938. And did you subsequently sit in meetings with Abe Cohen?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall anyone else?

A. Well, after Terry Pettus was brought up to take over the editorship of the New Dealer—I guess by that time the name was changed—someone mentioned that he might come to our unit meetings and nobody was very enthusiastic, but he and his wife did appear at a unit meeting.

Q. Pardon me—

A. At the Camozzi residence.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: May I interrupt here. I would suggest that you properly identify these unit meetings as either Communist Party unit meetings or Guild unit, in that there may be some confusion in the record later.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Throughout your testimony so far have you been referring to Communist Party unit meetings?

A. I have been referring to Communist Party unit meetings. I haven't mentioned any Guild unit meetings.

Q. You haven't testified about any Guild unit meetings so far?

A. No.

Q. Now, did Terry Pettus attend a unit meeting of the Communist Party at which you were present?

A. He did. That was at the home of Bob Camozzi.

Q. Is Terry Pettus a member of the Communist Party?

A. I don't know, but he was then.

Q. You don't know whether he is now—

A. Yes.

Q. But you do know that he was then?

A. Yes, he was then.

Q. Do you recall anyone else with whom you sat in Communist Party meetings? Do you know a Hazel Wolfe?

A. Yes. Hazel Wolfe was the secretary in Eugene Dennett's C.I.O. council office, and she left there and I was taken in to take her place while I was on Star strike. I was put in there because I was a Communist and later—a little later on, I saw Hazel Wolfe at some sort of class—Communist class that was taught by Victor Hicks, and she appeared during the course of the evening.

Q. Was this class, taught by Victor Hicks, closed to all but Communists?

A. Oh, yes. It was for newer Communists who needed to be indoctrinated—

Q. Instructions for newer Communists?

A. Yes.

Q. And she was present at this class?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you if you recognize this picture?

A. Yes, that's Hazel Wolfe.

Q. That is Hazel Wolfe?

A. Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this picture in evidence, as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It is being admitted as Exhibit No. 14.

(WHEREUPON, picture of Hazel Wolfe was marked Exhibit No. 14 and is attached hereto and made a part hereof.)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. I will ask you if you recognize Committee's Exhibit No. 12?

A. Yes. That is George Hurley.

Q. That is George Hurley?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Hurley a member of the Communist Party?

A. He attended a Communist workers' class that was taught by my husband—it was a class for Communists, and he spoke to us as a Comrade.

Q. You addressed him as a Comrade?

A. Yes.

Q. And accepted him?

A. Yes.

Q. Your testimony then is that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know a Harry Jackson?

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A. Yes. I saw Harry Jackson and Louie Sass come into the Timber Worker office occasionally. At that time I was secretary to my—well, to Nat Honig. I wasn't his wife then.

Q. Was Harry Jackson an official of the Communist Party here in Seattle?
A. That was my understanding.

Q. Do you know a Gladys Petrus?

A. Yes. She was secretary to Harold Pritchett in the I.W.A. office.

Q. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

A. That was my knowledge. She carried out the Communist Party line in the office, and she attended social parties held by Communist Party members. I never attended a Communist Party meeting—oh, I won't say that, either—I did go to a Communist Party banquet where she was present.

Q. At this banquet were the people there limited to Communists?

A. Oh, all I saw were. We spoke as such.

Q. You spoke as such?

A. Yes.

Q. You—did Mr. Honig ever tell you anything about signing a check—endorsing a check in blank?

A. He definitely did.

Q. Will you relate what he said and what you said?

A. Well, of course we had discussed at great length this matter of back pay and naturally since I had to handle the accounts for the house I was eager that he should get all he had due him, and he said he was going down and finally settle with Rapp, or try to, so when he came back he announced that he had this small sum of money and that he had endorsed this check which was not made out in any amount and—I was extremely irritated.

(Laughter.)

I said they shouldn't have gotten away with that.

Q. Did you hear Mr. Nat—Mr. Honig's testimony this morning and this afternoon?

A. Yes.

Q. Without going into details, was his description of the reasons why you left the Communist Party—is that correct?

A. Precisely.

Q. And he discussed each one of these moves with you?

A. Yes. We always talked these things—

Q. And it was the complete reversal of the Communist Party line?

A. Yes. When they signed the Nazi Pact, that finished it for both of us.

Q. Did you find the Communist Party to be a revolutionary Party?

A. Yes. But when I joined the Communist Party they assured me that it was all in the interests of the United States that we make a better America, that we socialize America and that we would never become a part of the Soviet Union or receive our directions from them, also I was fed a great deal on the great democracy in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Party and on the importance of women, the high esteem that women were held in, and I was quite surprised when I began to attend meetings, to find that all this was quite the reverse.

Q. Did you find that it was not a democratic party?

A. I found it was not a democratic party. No one could make the slightest

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suggestion. The orders came from Rapp's office, and you maybe might discuss it, or the unit might know what was going on—for instance the Guild Communist unit knew what was going on in the Guild and how to carry out orders, but if Rapp said such and such should be done, you did it and there was no argument.

Q. By Rapp—do you refer to Morris Rappaport?

A. Yes. The District Organizer. Of course he didn't—he appeared at one meeting that I—one fraction meeting that I attended. At this fraction meeting Dick Seller and Marian and Bob Camozzi and a few others were present, trying to work out strike strategy and Rapport was there. It was the first time I had ever seen him, and he began making suggestions for furthering the strike and he was suggesting all kinds of demonstrations, and he said, "Well, let's get the women out with the baby buggies and parade up and down Pine Avenue. That would be a smart thing." And I don't remember offhand any of his other bright ideas but I wasn't impressed, but I was eventually extremely impressed by his autocracy.

Q. Does the Communist Party teach Atheism?

A. Yes. When I joined the Party they were soft-pedaling that, also. It was beginning to be a little more decent. And they were appealing to people in a different way so they didn't stress that, but as I began to have some of the literature, why I saw that that was what they taught.

Q. During the time you were a member of the Communist Party did you know of an organization known as the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever work in behalf of that organization?

A. No. I never had any direct connection with it.

Q. Was that organization discussed at any of your Party meetings.

A. It was referred to. We referred to some of their activities, but, of course, we never made any decisions along that line, because we were the Newspaper Guild unit and so we didn't discuss that. It was—I think their progress was reported on at unit meetings but my group never made any decisions on that point.

Q. Did you consider that—did you consider that a Communist controlled organization?

A. That was the understanding.

Q. The understanding you gained from your discussions at those meetings?

A. Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that is all. Thank you very much.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest that these people be released from subpoena in view of the fact they have come a great distance.

SARAH K. WALL, having been duly sworn, testified on Direct Examination, as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. You may state your name to the stenographer.

A. Sarah K. Wall.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Wall?

A. 3314 Wallingford Avenue.

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Q. How long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. Thirty years.

Q. Mrs. Wall, did you ever become acquainted with a movement known as "Aid To Dependent Children"?

A. I did.

Q. Did you ever hold any position with that movement in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes sir. I—

Q. What position did you hold?

A. I was chairman.

Q. What were you chairman of?

A. Aid to Dependent Children of the State of Washington.

Q. For what unit?

A. King County.

Q. Will you fix the year that you—

A. 1938.

Q. 1938?

A. And some into 1939.

Q. Mrs. Wall, during the period of time that you were the chairman of the King County unit of the Aid to Dependent Children in 1938 and 1939, did you become acquainted with a person by the name of Bernice Tate?

A. Yes, I did. Her name is Bernice Tate Bellows now and I finally turned my chairmanship over to her in the County-City Building, in the County Commissioners' chambers.

Q. Now—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, will you, as you go along, either supply the spelling yourself or direct the witness to do same.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. How is the name Tate spelled?

A. T-a-t-e.

Q. Do you know how the name Bellows is spelled?

A. B-e-l-l-o-w-s.

Q. Then Bernice Bellows, as she is known today, who is the same identical person that you knew as Bernice Tate in 1938 or nine? I would like to ask you to state whether or not anyone during this period of time ever solicited your membership into the Communist Party?

A. Yes sir. Thank God, they didn't get it.

Q. Well—

A. This Bernice—to begin with, I went into the Unemployment called the Workers' Alliance and from that I was taken into the Aid-elected chairman of the Aid to Dependent Children because I had been active in getting for the mothers and myself things that were needed on relief. And during this time I come in contact in the Workers' Alliance with a woman by the name of Arelene Reardon. A-r-e-l-e-n-e R-e-a-r-d-o-n, whose name is now Flood—F-l-o-o-d. And she hounded me and hounded me and hounded me about going to these Communist fraction meetings and Del Castle was also at that time in the Workers' Alliance office, and he did the same thing—so finally one day I broke down and I went with them to the Finnish Hall up Yesler Way. And I went into one of their meetings. In this meeting I saw

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this Mr. Rappaport that they talk about being a leader and several other people who I didn't know their names—perhaps if I saw them I could identify them, but not knowing their names, I wouldn't say, and they gave me the story about having a good gift of gab and about having the personality for becoming a leader and what I could do for these mothers and what I could do for their movement if I would become a member. Well, I looked around that hall and there was a lot of them looked below par. I don't look so hot myself, but I saw some of them and thought I looked as good as some of them standing in the hall that day.

(Laughter.)

This is no laughing matter, folks, this comes from the bottom of my heart. The people that I saw in that meeting to me didn't look overly intelligent and I being an average American citizen—I—I figured this thing out and I told them definitely no.

Q. Well, let's go back just a minute, Mrs. Wall, to this person whom you identified as being Bernice Tate. Did she ever—

A. Well, that is what I was coming to, sir. After I came out of this meeting, then the next mothers' meeting that was held before we held the meeting, she said, "Well, I understand you went to the meeting." I said, "Yes." She said, "Well, are you going to become a member?" I said, "Well, I don't see anything that they have to offer," I said, "I don't see any program whatever." She said, "Well, I have a Communist program platform here I will give to you,"—which she gave me, and which I later turned over, I don't know whether it was to the Prosecuting Attorney or to the F.B.I. However, she gave me that and I looked that over and it still didn't look any better than the rest of it, so they hounded me and hounded me until I saw there was nothing I could do. They would come into my meetings, and you asked the question a while ago about how they controlled the meetings. They did it by block system. Then they would appoint one of their members over here and one over there and one over there, and the mothers would get up to make any suggestions, and if it didn't tie in with the Communist idea, they—somebody would jump up and that would be voted down, so—

Q. Now, Mrs. Wall—let's—I want to get this record straight along as we go. Let's back up now to the time that you refer to Bernice Tate soliciting your membership. Did she solicit your membership in the Communist Party?

A. She sure did. She told me that if I didn't go in I wouldn't be chairman of the Mother's Union very long.

Q. Now, what year was that?

A. That was in '38.

Q. And where was it that she solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Well, at these meetings and also at her home. I went out to her home one evening. She said she had a lot of apples, and I went out after some apples and—

Q. Going back to this person you have identified as Arelene Reardon Flood.

A. Yes.

Q. Now, where did she solicit your membership?

A. In the Workers' Alliance office at Second and Yessler, the Mutual Building.

Q. Here in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes sir.

Q. And what year was that?

A. That was in '38, also, and '39, too.

Q. You referred a few minutes ago to the name of Del Castle. Will you spell that for the record, please?

A. Well, I only know his first name—whether it is all the name or not, but D-e-l C-a-s-t-l-e.

Q. Where did he solicit your membership in the Communist Party?

A. In the Workers Alliance office.

Q. What year was that?

A. In '38.

Q. Now, do you know whether or not this Workers Alliance at that time was affiliated with the Communist Party?

A. Well, I understand, from my own opinion, so many of them that were in that—evidently it was a Communistic movement, but it was kept under cover for the fact that so many people who were on relief and needed assistance, went into it to fight for better conditions.

Q. Did you ever hear the name of a person by the name of Tom Rabbitt, or Thomas Rabbitt?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not you ever attended any sectional meetings of the Communist Party where he was present?

A. Thomas Rabbitt was present the day that I went up to the Finnish Hall.

Q. Now was that a sectional meeting of the Communist Party within the Workers Alliance that you attended?

A. That I couldn't answer you. I don't know.

Q. Was it a sectional meeting of the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. Now what year was that?

A. That was in '38.

Q. Did you ever hear of a man by the name of John Laurie?

A. John Laurie was my neighbor when I lived at 1326 30th Avenue South.

Q. Did he ever solicit your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he did. He came to my home on several occasions and—

Q. What period of time?

A. '38 and '39.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Terry Pettus, the present editor of the New World?

A. Yes. He was at this fraction meeting also. There was a number of other—other people there from different parts of the city. It seemed as though it was quite a meeting.

Q. Now you say this fraction meeting you—will you just identify that for the record? What do you mean by this fraction meeting?

A. That is what they call them—what it means, I don't know, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, so that we will get it in the record in the proper place, on names, that are difficult to spell like John Laurie, will you get the spelling on that?

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Do you know how John Laurie spells his name?

A. Capital L-a-u-r-i-e.

Q. Now you referred a few minutes ago to a sectional meeting of the Communist party that Arelene Flood had taken you to?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Now was that the same sectional meeting of the Communist Party—

A. That's right. That's the only one I ever went to.

Q. May I state the question, please. Was that the same sectional meeting of the Communist Party where you met Terry Pettus?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know a person, or have you ever known a person by the name of Andy Remes?

A. I met Andy Remes in the—after the Old Age Pension Union moved up to Second Avenue, I think it was in the Lloyd Building. It was after I had gone out of the Mothers Union and not active any more that I was up there and I was introduced to Andy Remes and they said that he was the new district manager or something like that and he said that he felt that I was such a good leader for the mothers, that he thought I should have gone on with the work and gone into the Party, because I could have helped the mothers much more than dropping out the way I did.

Q. Now when that he was—when you referred to him as being the new district manager, what was he the new district manager of?

A. Communist Party.

Q. Now, when was the occurrence?

A. That was in 1939—in the summer of 1939.

Q. And do you remember where that was—this conversation was held?

A. Yes. In the Lloyd Building at Second and—just one block up from the County-City Building, between James and the next street up on the west side.

Q. Will you spell for the record this person's name?

A. Well, I don't really know unless it is R-e-m-e-s.

Q. Now you refer to this movement known as the Aid To Dependent Children. Did that organization work closely with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Well, the Old Age Pension and the ADC tied in together because the Old Age Pension backed up the ADC. It came out of that.

Q. Just about the same group of people who were influential in the Aid to Dependent Children movement also—

A. They tied right in with the ADC.

Q. The Old Age Pension Union?

A. They did, that's right.

Q. Now these persons whose names you have mentioned some seven of them, you say at different times solicited your membership in the Communist Party—were those persons also prominently identified in the Old Age Pension movement at that time?

A. Tom Rabbitt and Arelene Reardon and Del Castle—they all worked active in the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. That's all, Mrs. Wall. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do you wish to have her excused?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes, I would. She is employed and it is difficult for her to get back, otherwise.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you, Mrs. Wall.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: I am not sure our next witness is here. I want to ask if Mrs. Riley is here. Could you give me just one minute's time to see if she is here?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be at ease for one minute.

(Short recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, for the record will you request the return of this witness, so that we may have her properly identified?

MR. WHIPPLE: If you please, Mr. Chairman, I would like to recall the witness Mrs. Sarah Wall for one further question.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

SARAH K. WALL, recalled for further questioning:

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Mrs. Wall, one further question which I overlooked asking you. When did you say you quit this movement as chairman of the King County chapter of the—

A. In the early part of '39.

Q. Will you explain briefly why you quit this movement as chairman at that time?

A. Yes sir. I held a special meeting in the County City Commissioners' Chambers, in the County-City Building, and at that meeting the air was so intense with them that whatever was brought up they blocked it and finally I jumped up in the middle of the meeting and I took my gavel and called for order and I turned to Bernice Tate, who was sitting there, and I said, "For the benefit of all those present I am turning my chairmanship over to your Communist leader among you, Bernice Tate. I hereby resign." Because at that time I was raising five children and had struggles of my own and I didn't feel that I could fight the whole Communist Party here in Seattle.

Q. That is all.

(Witness Excused)

HARRIET RILEY, called as a witness, being first duly sworn, testified as follows on direct examination.

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. You may state your name to the stenographer.

A. Harriet Riley.

Q. How do you spell your last name?

A. R-i-l-e-y.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Riley?

A. 3214 Wallingford.

Q. What business or occupation are you in at this time?

A. I am going to school.

Q. Where are you going to school?

A. Seattle College.

Q. Mrs. Riley, how long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. Twenty-eight years.

Q. Mrs. Riley, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you join the Communist Party?

A. I don't remember whether it was prior to my marriage or a few months afterward when I got—but I got married in 1938.

Q. It was near about—

A. I don't want my picture taken.

Q. —near about the time that you got married?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. And that was what time, in '38?

A. I was married in May of—I have to think a minute now. I graduated in 1937 from high school, and was married in 1938.

Q. 1938. Do you know a person by the name of Bill Pennock who at the present time is the president of the Washington Pension Union?

A. I knew him when he first organized the WCF in the Traders' Building at Third and Marion.

Q. Have you ever attended any Communist Party fraction meetings with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Where were those meetings held?

A. The Old Age Pension and the WCF when it first organized and the Workers' Alliance all had their offices adjoining in the Traders' Building and they all had fraction meetings where they were in and out just like a family, you might say.

Q. Now let's just go over that again. You referred to the Workers' Alliance,—

A. The Old Age Pension.

Q. The Old Age Pension.

A. And the WCF.

Q. Is that the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

A. Yes.

Q. Three organizations had their offices in the Traders' Building?

A. The offices were adjoining in the Traders' Building at Third and Marion.

Q. That's where you attended Communist Party fraction meetings with Bill Pennock?

A. When I stated I attended them, I was working in the office, my husband was attending the meetings, but I was there. I was his wife and I was allowed to attend. I didn't take part in them.

Q. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

A. Yes. I was a member of the YCL—Young Communist League.

Q. What—YCL—is that the Young Communist League?

A. Yes.

Q. Has that organization been disbanded and reorganized into some other organization, now?

A. No. I don't know what their activities are now, because I got out of it shortly—my first son was born about a year later and while I was carrying him I got out of it and insisted on my husband getting out of it.

Q. During the time you were in that particular organization which you referred to as the Young Communist League?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now, this Bill Pennock that you referred to as having attended Communist Party fraction meetings with, is that the same Bill Pennock who at the present time is the president of the Washington Pension Union?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Thomas Rabbitt?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever attend Communist Party fraction meetings with him?

A. He also was in there. He was living out near Bothel at the time.

Q. Was that also in the Traders' Building?

A. Yes, that's right.

Q. What year was that?

A. The same year.

Q. Well, let's identify it one more time.

A. 1939.

Q. 1939?

A. Well, it was 1938. It was between 1938 and '39.

Q. Along in the winter time would that be it?

A. Um-hum.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Al Bristol?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you to state if you ever attended any Communist Party fraction meetings with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Where were those—

A. At the County office. It was on Second Avenue. I know where it is—I don't remember the exact number.

Q. What do you mean when you say County office?

A. The County office of the Communist Party.

Q. The County office of the Communist Party. Did he hold some sort of position with them at that time?

A. He was the county secretary.

Q. County secretary of the Communist Party?

A. Andrew Remes succeeded him.

Q. Do you remember a person by the name of Morris Rapport?

A. He was the—the northwest organizer.

Q. Northwest organizer of what?

A. The Communist Party.

Q. Did you ever attend any Communist Party fraction meetings with him?

A. No. He was a little too highbrow for me. I never got up that far.

Q. You never got up that far. You said something a while ago about being married. Do you know a man by the name of N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Army Armstrong?

A. Definitely. He gave me away at my wedding.

Q. Army Armstrong gave you—

A. At my wedding.

Q. At your wedding. That date again was what?

A. 1938—May.

Q. Now, was Army Armstrong a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Army Armstrong take any part in Old Age Pension Affairs?

A. He was active in the WCF at the time and he was running for state legislature. His son Cecil attended the YCL meetings with me. He is now a city fireman.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was.

Q. Why do you say that he was—in other words, what knowledge did you come in possession of and—

A. Well, I know that when the WCF was first organized it was organized by Communists and then later they dissolved because they felt they were strong enough that they could go in and dominate the Democratic Party. That was good political action on their part. They felt that they had achieved what they started out to achieve. Hugh DeLacy did not come out openly and pronounce that he was a Communist. He was one of the ones that was advised not to carry a book. He was an under-cover Communist.

But he was carrying out the Party's program. I saw him at the County offices receiving instructions.

Q. You saw him at the county offices of the Communist Party receiving instructions?

A. Yes.

Q. Now you say—you said awhile ago, if I remember correctly, that your husband at that time was a member of the Communist—

A. He was King County secretary of the Workers' Alliance, and Harold Brockway was the state organizer and they worked very closely with the Old Age Pension and WPA.

Q. In addition to working very closely with the Old Age Pension movement did your husband work very closely with Hugh DeLacy?

A. Not too closely—I mean it is just like you would—well, they were all united on the programs, they all used to go up to the County office from the Old Age Pension Union and from the WCF and from the Workers' Alliance and they all got together in these little groups, and had these fraction meetings and laid down a program, and like when, for instance when they had these sit-down strikes in the King County Building, why if the Old Age Pension Group went in and organized a sit-down strike, well naturally the other two groups went back and supported it to the United Movement.

Q. Well, did the Old Age Pension Union organize a sit-down strike?

A. No, the Workers' Alliance initiated that.

Q. The Workers' Alliance?

A. Initiated it, but the Old Age Pension Union took part—very active part in it, and so did the WCF.

Transcript of Proceedings of the

Q. That's quite interesting. What active part did the Old Age Pension Union take in that sit-down strike?

A. Well, regardless of the fact that the Communists were dominating them, they were trying to provoke good for the unemployed at the time, and actually there were a lot of people that didn't—all they knew was they were interested in bettering their bread and butter and they naturally followed this line. They didn't even know—they were just like sheep being led to the slaughter. But they all were united because you see there were so few of them at the time they had to unite—they couldn't divide.

Q. Just for the purpose of clarification of our own record—do you state at this time that the Old Age Pension Union was dominated and controlled during this period by the members of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was during the period of 1939?

A. 1938 to 1939 is the period that I say definite, because at that time I dropped out. I never kept up with it.

Q. You referred to Army Armstrong a while ago as being a Communist. Now how do you know that he was a Communist?

A. Well, they used to have the meetings and he was always in attendance and he was always working closely with them and I know for a fact that his son was a member of the YCL.

Q. Did he ever—

A. He attended meetings right in my own home.

Q. Now—

A. Communist unit meeting.

Q. Communist unit meetings. Now were there ever anyone attending those Communist unit meetings—persons, rather, that were not Communists?

A. No.

Q. In other words, to attend—to have attended one of those—

A. They had to be a Communist, or one that was just joining.

Q. And is that the reason that you know that Army Armstrong at that time was a Communist?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Hugh DeLacy ever attend a meeting in your home?

A. No, he never did.

Q. Do you know a person by the name—or did you know a person by the name of Paula Alexander?

A. Yes. She was working in the County office.

Q. Working where?

A. In the County office of the Communist Party.

Q. Now this—would you spell her name in order to identify the name in the record?

A. I knew her only by Paula.

Q. Paula?

A. That's all I ever paid any attention to. I never knew her very intimately. All I know is she was working doing some kind of work—

Q. Is that name Paula spelled P-a-u-l-a?

A. Yes.

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Q. Did you know her last name to be Alexander?

A. No.

Q. Well this same person that you knew as Paula. Do you know whether she ever worked in the office of the Old Age Pension Union at any time, or not?

A. I didn't pay too close attention and I wouldn't swear to that, because I am not sure. The woman that I am referring to is about my height, dark, and she had long hair at the time. But I didn't ever associate real closely with her. I wouldn't swear to that name.

Q. What office did you say she worked in a while ago?

A. In the King County office of the Communist Party.

Q. Communist Party. Now what year was that?

A. That was in 1938. Whether it was the same person or not, I would have to really see her.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple and Mr. Houston, perhaps you are planning on further identifying this Paula Alexander by photograph or other evidence. If not, I think reference to her name should be stricken unless you more definitely identify Paula and Paula Alexander.

MR. WHIPPLE: May it please the Chairman, I think your remarks are entirely well taken, and we are just merely starting in at this time to lay the predicate for future identification of this person who she refers to as Paula; however, this witness is the first witness as I remember it, who has mentioned the name, but I will say to you that future witnesses will definitely identify the individual and if it is not properly identified, I would be the first to request that the name be stricken from the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: With that understanding, we will proceed. We want to fairly and properly identify any person so named.

Q. Going back to this individual that you knew as Paula, whom you referred to as being an employee in the County office of the Communist Party, how old was she, approximately, at the time you knew her? About how old a woman was she?

A. My memory is so vague, I wouldn't know.

Q. Well, would you care to indicate about her age?

A. Well, I would say she was around thirty at the time—that is just roughly.

Q. And that was in '39?

A. That was in '38.

Q. That was in 1938. That would make her approximately forty years old then now?

A. That's right.

Q. And what complexioned woman was she?

A. Well, she had quite black hair.

Q. Quite black hair. Was she tall?

A. I remembered she was a very striking person. That's the only thing I remember definitely about her.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of John Caughlan?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party.

A. I know that he is.

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Q. Why do you know that he is a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I had the opportunity to visit his office several times when I was married to my husband and the Communist theory was always discussed back and forth. We were always arguing about it. He was always trying to impress me with his superior knowledge. And he handled a bankruptcy case for us when we went financially broke and at that time why we had quite a lengthy discussion and he told me—I was trying at that time to get my ex-husband now to retire from the Communist Party, and he was trying to tell me that I wasn't doing the right thing, that he was needed in the labor movement and that I wasn't educated enough along the Party line to be of help to the Party, and so forth.

Q. Did he ever offer you any instruction in the—

A. Just his instruction there in the office.

Q. His instruction there in the office. Did you accept him as being a Communist? Did he accept you as being a Communist?

A. Yes. I also know that at any time anybody in the Communist Party didn't have a lawyer's fee, they could always go to him.

Q. Now you got out—let's identify that a little bit further—about what year was it that you refer to these visits in the—in his office?

A. I don't remember the exact year that we filed bankruptcy, but I know that it was just prior to that that I had occasion to go in and I know that I used a lot of times to go in with my husband when someone in the organization needed legal advice or he needed legal advice, I used to tag along.

Q. Now, is that same John Caughlan who is also the attorney for the Washington Pension Union?

A. I didn't know he was attorney for the Washington Pension Union, but he had his offices in the Smith Tower.

Q. Do you know whether or not that was the John Caughlan who at the present time is one of the vice presidents of the Washington Pension Union?

A. I didn't know now that he held any connection with the Washington Pension Union, because I haven't kept up on their movements.

Q. It is the John Caughlan who is an attorney, and has his office at the present time in the Smith Tower Building?

A. Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mrs. Riley. Thank you.

(Witness Excused)

FAY ANGEL, called as a witness, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination, as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Mrs. Angel, let's just take this slow and easy, and get it all on the record.

A. How could I take anything slow and easy? I'm too jumpy.

Q. Will you please state your name?

A. Fay Angel.

Q. That's spelled A-n-g-e-l?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you live in the City of Seattle, Mrs. Angel?

A. I do.

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Q. How long have you lived in the City of Seattle?

A. Since May of 1922.

Q. Mrs. Angel, I will ask you, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, for lunch and a cup of coffee, was all.

Q. Well now, I don't understand—

A. Well, for a short period of time.

Q. A short period of time. Did you request to be admitted into the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes, and I had a hard time doing it.

Q. What instructions did you receive as to where to go to be admitted to the Communist Party?

A. Well, there was a man; his name was Edwards.

Q. Do you know his first name, Fay?

A. Well, I have been told that his name was—his first name was George.

Q. Now who told you?

A. Who told me his name was George?

Q. Yes.

A. Mrs. Baldwin told me his name was George Edwards.

Q. Good. I didn't want anybody to think it was me.

Q. Now, what instructions did this Mr. Edwards give you?

A. I had approached Mr. Edwards several times and told him that if I could ever find a person who could prove to me that they were a member of the Communist Party that I was going to try to become a member of the Communist Party. So one day I saw Mr. Edwards out in the community where I live and he said, "Fay, you told me you wanted to join the Communist Party." "Yes," I said, "I do." He said why. Well, I said, "I am a member of a very large labor organization. I am also a member of the Old Age Pension Union and I want to see what the Communists can offer me in regards to my activity in those two organizations." He said, "Well, sign your name right here." He handed me this card. I said, "Well, Mr. Edwards," I said, "you must understand I am pretty dumb and I can't write very much. You write my name here." So he did, and I told him the house number and everything, and he wrote it down. And he turned the card over and he wrote on the other side his name. But he didn't write his name as George Edwards. He wrote some other name—I don't know what—what it was at the present time. He said, "Now, you come in the hall there on Eleventh Avenue, Southwest," oh, he says, "Be over there between seven and seven-thirty."

Q. Where was this?

A. On Eleventh Avenue, Northwest. I am not sure, but I think it was where Elm Grove Street crosses Eleventh, Northwest. Anyway, it was in that immediate vicinity.

So I goes home and had my dinner and I takes off for 11th, Northwest, and Elm Grove Street. And when I got there I always remember people standing there on the sidewalk. I recognized several of them, but he had told me that under no consideration was I to recognize anyone and name them. Okeh. Among the people standing there I recognized Kathryn Fogg and her husband, and a couple of people that have since deceased, and everything. And so we stood there. "Well, it's a nice evening." "Oh, yeah, a nice eve-

ning." So a couple of cars drove up and—"Get in," I got in. I recognized two people in the car. I recognized the driver of the car, Hugh DeLacy. I recognized the lady sitting alongside of him, Margaret Heglund. So I got in.

Q. Now just a minute, Fay. Is that spelled H-e-g-l-u-n-d?

A. Well, I don't know how the name is spelled officially, but on the rolls of the Old Age Pension Union her name was spelled H-a-g-l-u-n-d.

Q. That's fine. Now just proceed.

A. And Kathryn Fogg got in the car, and Kathryn's husband, Jay Fogg, got in the car. And we were off. Where we went, I don't know; but all I know is that we drove a considerable distance and when we got out of the car I—I didn't get out—they all got out and leaves me there. Mr. and Mrs. Fogg and Margaret Haglund entered this house. Hugh DeLacy walked forth and back on the sidewalk. Why, I don't know, but he did. After some time they come to the door—someone came to the door and said something to Mr. DeLacy and he come to the car and he told me to come in. Well, I went in the house and they took me over and some man looked me over and let me stand in the hall and says, "I'll call you after a while," but he turned the hall light out, but I still stayed there. Eventually he got to it to call me in and he called me in and he asked me a few questions about my political beliefs and my labor affiliations and so forth. I told him. He—he said, now, if I write my name down there on the card, so I say I still can't write. So he wrote. "Well," he said, to protect me, you understand, that I shouldn't retain my own name. I could select a name or they would give me one. "Oh, well, any name would do for me, mister, you just give me one." So he give me a name, Martha Dorph, D-o-r-h. Well, he took me inside there and there was a number of people standing—sitting around in the room, but I didn't see Mr. Fogg, I didn't see Mrs. Fogg, or I didn't see Mrs. Haglund. My understanding of it was they just passed through to extend their greetings to the other comrades and went on their way to some political meeting.

I don't know where they went. Well, after a little while this meeting was over and we got in somebody else's car and I was returned to my home. And I was told on such a date that there would be a comrade come to pick me up. All right, the comrade come and they took me to Rainier Valley, and being unacquainted with that vicinity I was afterwards told that it was in Columbia City. I don't know where it was. I don't know whose house it was, but anyway, this man was a barber. His wife was a beauty operator, and they had their beauty shop and barber shop and dwelling all in this one building.

Well, they decided that I was to put out their literature and I told them that they had made a very grave mistake in asking me to do such a job as that when I couldn't read. So, I got released from that. They was a little talk pro and con and this and that, several of the comrades filtered in and out and I was again returned home.

Well then the next time they come to take me this George Edwards come and take me to a place—I don't know the name of the street—I think it was on 20th Avenue Southwest, outside the city. Anyway, it was quite a ways beyond the city limits and this people's name was Gillette. Phil Gillette and his wife was supposed to be a secretary in Rapport's office which was in the twenty two hundred block on Second Avenue.

Q. Now, Fay, can we pause here just a moment. How do—do you know how this fellow Gillette—is that G-i-l-l—

A. G-i-l-l-e-t-t-e.

Q. And the first was Phil?

A. P-h-i-l.

Q. Now, Fay, when was this that you joined the Communist Party?

A. Well, this was—it was about two months prior to the time that Kathryn Fogg left for New York City to attend the Communist convention. So, as I say, it was sometime in the last days of March.

Q. Of what year?

A. 1938.

Q. 1938?

A. Yes. Well, they didn't like me and I didn't like them. The only reason that I wanted to get into the Communist Party was so that I could definitely identify certain officers and members of local 6, and to a certain extent I was able to identify them, and one that I never had dreamed of identifying. So soon as I had accomplished what I wanted I didn't go no more. So we was—they was having a big meeting over at a member's house, who was secretary-treasurer of this unit that I was supposed to be a member of—her name was Ruby L-o-k-k-e-n. Ruby Lokken. She is no longer a resident of the City of Seattle. She is now a state employee of the State of California. So they was going to have a big whinging over there for the Young Communist League and she asked me what my donation would be to the dinner. And I told her well, since they were going to have a ham, I had a large size pressure cooker and I would cook the ham for them, which I did. And boy, they were all hungry, I guess, because they had a fourteen pound ham and it didn't go around. They almost ate the bone.

(Laughter)

So I met a lot of young boys and girls which was supposed to be the intelligentsia of the YCL, Young Communist League. But shepherding them was some that I didn't consider so intelligent, namely, Hugh DeLacy, Bill Dobbins and George Bradley. At that time George Bradley was chief business agent of Local 6 of the Building Service Employees International Union in Seattle.

Q. Fay, can we stop right there a moment?

A. You bet.

Q. Now, if you joined the Communist Party in the latter part of March, 1938, about when did this meeting of the Young Communist League occur—how much time had elapsed?

A. Well, I would say it was in the—within the first half of May.

Q. First half of May?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Fay, can you locate where this house of Ruby Lokken's was?

A. Yes. It's in the—I don't know the exact number, but it's in the 7700 block of 8th Avenue, Southwest.

Q. Now when you speak of Hugh DeLacy being at the Young Communist League, do you refer to ex-Congressman Hugh DeLacy?

A. I do.

Q. And do you refer to William Dobbins, who was president recently of Building Employees Union, Local 6?

A. I do. I do.

Q. And of George Bradley, who was the chief business agent and is now an International vice-president of the Building Service Employees Union?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Now did you recognize any of the young people at this meeting, Fay?

A. Well, there was—they were university kids and seems my job was to carve the ham and serve the potato salad and such. I didn't get to be in the dining room at the—when the introductions were going on, but I—I don't recall any of the names. The fact of the matter was they were all referred to as Comrade Margaret and Comrade Bill and Jack, and so on, and so you wouldn't gain anything if you did remember all the comrades' names.

Q. One thing interests me, Mrs. Angel.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who bought the ham that—this fourteen pound ham?

A. Well, that particular time I was working in the hotel section of Local 6. And I was working for a pretty good old guy—he is no longer in the hotel business—and he had plenty of money, and I did lots of nice things for them during my tenure of employment with them.

Supposing they wanted to get in the car and go away for a few days—I saw that the hotel operated, all the work was done and that the money was all there when they got back.

Q. Thank you, Fay, but who bought the ham?

A. Well, this man. I said to him we was going to have a party and I would like for him to donate something to it. In fact, I would like to have a fourteen or fifteen pound ham, and he said, "Okeh, you'll have it when you get ready to go home from work tonight." And when I got ready to go home from work he had it.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wonder if—while this is most interesting, I wonder if we can't make our questions and answers just a little more direct for the sake of the pressure of time involved here. I don't wish to cut into the witness' testimony but I just offer that as a suggestion and perhaps you can make it a little more direct.

MR. HOUSTON: I will gladly accept the suggestion.

Q. Fay, cut this as short as we can. You asked to be taken into the Communist Party; you were told to be at a certain place at a certain time on a certain night, and you were there, with other people?

A. I was.

Q. And you were driven to the place where you were put into the Communist Party—

A. Yes sir.

Q. In a car driven by ex-Congressman Hugh DeLacy—only he wasn't Congressman then, was he?

A. No.

Q. And in that car you recognized Mrs. Kathryn Fogg and her husband, Jay Fogg, and Margaret Haglund?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Now, a period of time afterward you furnished a ham for a dinner of the Young Communist League and there were many youthful people there and apparently in charge of the thing, or you said shepherding them, was again Hugh DeLacy, Bill Dobbins and George Bradley. Is that your testimony, Fay?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Now, Mrs. Angel, I will ask you, did you while you were in the Communist Party recognize anyone else with whom you sat in Communist Party meetings?

A. Well, at times they have all been mentioned by witnesses who have been on the stand previous.

Q. Yes, but those you know you mention, Fay. You are testifying, now.

A. Merwin Cole.

Q. Merwin Cole. Now you've sat in Communist Party meetings with Merwin Cole?

A. Ward Coley.

Q. Ward Coley.

A. Bill Dobbins.

Q. Bill Dobbins.

A. George Bradley.

Q. George Bradley.

A. Margaret Haglund. Kathryn Fogg, George Edwards, Jay Fogg, Emma Taylor,—

Q. Where did you sit in any Communist Party meetings with Emma Taylor?

A. Well, at the—I don't know what the address is but it was at the Gillette home, south of the city limits—I think was on 20th Avenue Southwest.

Q. Did you sit in more than one meeting with her, Fay?

A. No, but she had a—she had a way of filtering in and out and in and out. She couldn't get set long enough, had some book to bring, or some message to bring, or something; she would take a look and out she'd go.

Q. And this occurred several times?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. At a good many meetings. Now, can you identify for us who Emma Taylor is?

A. Well, Emma Taylor was afterwards let into the state legislature. She is no longer Emma Taylor. She has since married, and I don't know what her married name is.

Q. Did you—can you fix the date that you sat in this meeting with her?

A. Well, there was going to be a—the political campaign—was on, and all these people were looking to their laurels and to the laurels for the Party. And they just—they was on the go all the time, filtering in. They was a meeting here, a meeting there, a meeting some place else. All of them were Communist controlled whether they were rated as Communist meetings or not. They were Communist controlled concerning the political action; what to do, what not to do, what to say, what not to say.

Q. I will ask you, Fay, do you know an organization known as the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Oh, yes. I was very interested in the Old Age Pension Union from its inception until it became the Communist Party.

Q. Is the—was the Old Age Pension Union infiltrated by the Communists?

A. Absolutely.

Q. You say this as a former member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Recognized them there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Recognized their platforms?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Any doubt in your mind that it was controlled by the Communist Party?

A. Not a one.

Q. That is all.

MR. HOUSTON: I think that is all now, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much for coming down, Mrs. Angel.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Can she be excused?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, she can be excused.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I wish to put a witness on at this time to merely at this point in the record, clarify a point that was testified to this morning. I will not take this witness' full testimony at this time. I would like to put them on for that one point and then recall them some time next week if it is agreeable with you.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be.

MR. HOUSTON: Will Sonia Simone take the stand.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you stand and be sworn, please.

SONIA SIMONE, called as a witness, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Miss Simone, we have a large group of people here that wish to hear you. We want to take it down with our recording devices, so speak slowly and very distinctly and spell any unusual names. Now will you please state your name?

A. Sonia Simone, S-i-m-o-n-e.

Q. Of what country are you a citizen, Miss Simone?

A. Canada.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Perhaps you had better spell your first name, too, for the record.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Will you spell it, Sonia?

A. S-o-n-i-a.

Q. Where were you born, Miss Simone?

A. In Odessa, Russia.

Q. When were you born?

A. In 1913.

Q. When did you leave Russia?

A. I left eleven years ago—eleven years ago.

Q. That would be 1937, then, is that right?

A. No, it's the end of '36.

Q. The end of 1936. Why did you leave Russia?

A. Because the conditions there were too unbearable to live in. There was no freedom, nothing to eat, nothing to wear, and general privation and personal liberties, hard work and nothing else.

Q. Now, what did you do in Russia?

A. I used to work in office, and then I worked as an interpreter in the Intourist Bureau.

Q. For the Intourist Bureau?

A. That's right.

Q. And what was the nature of that work, were you a guide?

A. Oh, yes, I was a guide.

Q. You would guide foreigners around?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, where did you perform this work?

A. In Vladivostok.

Q. Somebody else will have to spell that, I can't.

A. Vladivostok—I think.

Q. Now, did you go to school in Russia?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Where did you receive special intrainee training to be an interpreter?

A. Well, while I was in Russia I studied English at the Academy of Foreign Languages in Vladivostok, and there, as a student to begin with, and in the second year I was sent to practice in clubs for sailors and so on and therefore—then later, I took course for interpreting and later I was attached to Intourist.

Q. Now you say you were sent to the clubs to practice. To practice what?

A. Oh, different things. It was supposed to be practice of English, but since in the club where I worked were sailors from foreign ships, and mostly Negroes and minorities and so—I was sent there, and of course in Russia when you work as an interpreter you are forced—you go to work. You sign rules and obligations. In other words, there are certain things only that an interpreter can say to a person, and in those clubs to begin with, we were drilled to say how wonderful Russia was, what conditions—splendid conditions there were in Russia, how free people were, especially minorities, how wealthy and comfortably they lived in Russia.

Q. Now did you use the term clubs in the plural or singular? Is there one club, or more than one?

A. I worked, particularly myself, I worked in the Woiovsky Club.

Q. You will have to spell that, I am sure none of us can.

A. I never have learned spelling. In Russian schools we don't learn spelling, as you do here. W-o-i-o-v-s-k-y.

Q. Now, will you describe this club for us?

A. It was a very large club, greystone building on the main street of the city of Vladivostok,—very important building from outside and no less important inside. It was beautifully furnished, carpeted, luxurious thick carpets, the best of entertainment was there, the best of silverware and curtains and everything that was the best procurable, was there.

Q. And it was to this club they would bring the sailors from the foreign ships, particularly the Negroes, is that right?

A. That's correct.

Q. And you girls would be interpreters and hostesses to these Negroes?

A. That's correct.

Q. And what were you instructed to tell these Negro foreigners that were brought directly there?

A. Well, we were instructed to say that—to show them in comparison—life in their own country, no matter where they came, and life in Russia, bringing this club as average person—a Negro you speaking to, for instance—it might be Chinese, or whatever it is, as average person's home and conditions,—living conditions.

Q. Now this was a very fine club, very beautifully furnished?

A. Yes, that was one of the best.

Q. Were there others like it?

A. Well, I don't know. I know I have been in the course of my work with foreigners later on, in hotels—special hotels for foreigners, and that was very luxurious place, but this club didn't have anything the hotels didn't have.

Q. Now was that a true picture of the conditions in Russia?

A. No, very far from true, because myself, personally, I lived, since I belonged to the country I lived in a room with my friend and we were allowed only four square yards per person to live in. Then we had a room that was eleven yards—they wanted to put somebody else, because if there was another extra yard they were supposed to put somebody else in. However, since I was doing such important work to tell the foreigners that it was all well and so on, on that account they allowed us two to live in that room.

Q. Were you lying to these foreigners when you told them what you did?

A. Well, since your life depended upon it, I suppose it was truth in solid sense of the truth. Everything in Russia is built on lies.

Q. Everything in Russia is built on lies?

A. Definitely so.

Q. And what was the purpose of your telling this story to these minority groups that they would bring there?

A. Well, to show them—I suppose to foment the trouble in the end of it, but to show them that wherever they lived, it couldn't be any better than in Russia. If they got the idea and decided to stay in Russia, or carry out their work of life in Russia, spread about wherever they went from port to port that the conditions in Russia were so much superior to anywhere else.

Q. But what you showed them and what you told them was not the truth?

A. No, it was not.

Q. In reality, conditions were very bad, weren't they?

A. Yes, they were terrible.

Q. And these people were not permitted to see the true conditions, were they?

A. Oh, no. They were taken from the—by special men to the club from their ships, or wherever they met, you know—certain spots prearranged, and when we were through with them in the club they were taken by the same men to the ships.

Q. Is there any such thing as democracy in Russia at the time you were there?

A. Unfortunately, no.

Q. What kind of a government do they have?

A. Of course it is Communistic—Communistically dominated country and it's a dictatorship—slavery.

Q. It is slavery?

A. Slavery,—nothing else but slavery.

Q. That is your testimony after having lived under it for twenty-three years?

A. That's correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, that is all I wish from this witness at this time.

For the corroboration of the testimony of Mr. Honig this morning. I would like the privilege of excusing her now to be recalled at a later date, to take up some more points.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is acceptable. Thank you, Miss Simone.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: Pursuant to an order of the Chairman, the deposition of one Mary L. Gilbert has been obtained and it was obtained in pursuance to Statutes 8180, 8182 of the Revised Statutes of the State of Washington, which makes it possible and lawful to obtain the testimony of persons while they are ill or due to any physical infirmity is unable to attend—to be in attendance at a hearing of this kind. By reason of physical infirmities, and extremely old age of this witness, we found it impossible to bring her here in person, and consequently her deposition was taken, and I would like to read it into the record, at this time.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It is the ruling of this committee that the deposition of Mary Gilbert—is it?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes, Mary L. Gilbert.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —be admitted into the record.

MR. WHIPPLE: The witness, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:
(Reading deposition.)

“Q. You may state your name.

A. Mary L. Gilbert.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Gilbert?

A. At 7515 31st N.E., Seattle, Washington.

Q. How long have you lived in Seattle?

A. Since October of 1927.

Q. With whom do you make your home?

A. I live alone by myself. My husband died a little over eight years ago.

Q. How old are you, Mrs. Gilbert?

A. I'll be eighty-three years old my next birthday.

Q. Are you a member of the Washington Pension Union?

A. I'm not a member but I have attended many of their meetings.

Q. When did you first become interested in the Pension Union?

A. Some eight years ago following the death of my husband, I was approached by a neighbor in regard to joining the Old Age Pension Union. Just at that time I didn't exactly need help as my husband left me a little insurance, still I thought it might be a good idea to learn what it was all about because I realized it wouldn't be long until I would have to depend on a pension or some outside help for a living. They were just getting the Old Age Pension Union organized at that time, and I attended several meetings, but soon quit.

Q. Why did you quit?

A. Well, they met the first few times at the Harpst Funeral Home near here. I learned from the first that those most active in the meetings, in other words, the ones who were directing all the activity of the meetings were Communists or fellow travelers and it burned me up.

Q. What caused you to think at the outset that they were Communists or fellow travelers, as you have called them, in charge of the Pension Union affairs?

A. Simply because the people who made all the motions and the people who made all the speeches and the people who presided at the meetings were all the time preaching Communist doctrine.

Q. Do you remember any specific instances in which the speakers preached the Communistic doctrine as you call it?

A. Yes, I do. I remember that there were a couple of men who attended regularly, one by the name of Riley—"

MR. WHIPPLE: That is spelled R-i-l-e-y.

"I have forgotten his first name. However, he was a University of Washington professor, and the other was a young man whose name I can't recall at this time. However, he too was a professor at the University. This Riley lived somewhere on 18th N.E. and I don't know where this young man lived, but both of these men were active like beavers preaching Russia this and Russia that. I asked this younger fellow why he didn't go back to Russia if he wanted that kind of a government and I told him that those rosy promises and aims for which they said they were working were only empty promises and that the minute the Communists gained control that those promises wouldn't amount to anything. He just laughed at me and told me that they would win me over yet. This was all about the time that Earl Browder was arrested and they were also talking about deporting a man by the name of Harry Bridges, and at one of these later meetings these Communists or fellow travelers, if they were not Communists, presented a resolution and railroaded it through the Pension Union Meeting, in which they petitioned the President of the United States demanding that the deportation proceedings be stopped against Harry Bridges and that Earl Browder be pardoned.

Q. Was any explanation made to the members of the Pension Union indicating wherein the passing of this resolution in favor of Browder and Bridges would in any manner be of benefit either directly or indirectly to the Pension Union, or the cause of the old age pensions?

A. No, there was not. I asked them once where this had anything to do with pension affairs and they just shrugged their shoulders and said that 'as pensioners we should help all oppressed peoples whenever we could.'

Q. You refer to some of these people as being Communists. Was that just your own idea or did any of them admit it?

A. Well, some would admit it and some wouldn't. But the ones that didn't admit they were party members were just as loud in their talk as those that did. Sometimes more. There was a woman by the name of Mrs. Von Dosso—"

MR. WHIPPLE: That is spelled V—capital V-o-n capital D-o-s-s-o.

"—who attended the meetings regularly and she was definitely a Communist and she admitted it openly. Her husband worked in the Soil Erosion Department out at the University as an instructor or something out there. She made the statement to me one time that 'Stalin was the only one in the world who wanted peace.' I asked her why Russia had attacked Finland and she

said that could be easily answered, but she never did succeed in answering it. I got a little strong in criticizing them at some of these early meetings and they quit picking me up.

Q. After you quit attending this local did you later attend any other Pension Union meetings?

A. Yes, I later was invited to attend an uptown meeting at which Hugh DeLacy was in charge.

Q. Was there anything in particular about this meeting that you remember?

A. Yes, there was. The theme of this meeting was to bleed the American pocketbook and take everything overseas. Every time you attend a Pension Union meeting they are raising money for something or other. They certainly are bleeding the old people of this state. It is simply terrible the way that Bill Pennock, Tom Rabbitt and Hugh DeLacy get money from these old people—pensioners, I mean.

Q. Do you have any particular occasion in mind in which the pensioners were asked for money other than for strictly pension business?

A. Yes. There were dozens of instances. One I particularly remember was just a couple or three years ago when Tom Rabbitt was running for the State Senate and Hugh DeLacy was running for U. S. Congressman. They mailed all of we pensioners letters asking for contributions of one and two dollars for their political campaign. They were really out after the money.

Q. You mentioned that you were mailed one of these letters. Did you later join the Pension Union?

A. No, I never joined the Pension Union but I did apply for a pension and am still receiving same. In other words, I am not on their—in other words I am on their rolls as a pensioner. I do, however, attend these pension union meetings every time I get a chance just to keep up with what program the Communists are trying to put over so I can work against it whenever and wherever I have the chance.

Q. What explanation, if any, do you have for the hold, if any, these Communists and fellow travelers, as you have described them, have on these old people?

A. They definitely do have a hold on these old people simply because they have sold them on the idea that they are the only persons responsible for their receiving pensions.

Q. Did you ever give the people of Washington and the—did they ever give the people of Washington and the Legislature credit for any of their benefits or for helping them in any manner as pensioners?

A. No, they don't. The only time the Legislature is mentioned is in condemning them and making fun of them. All the Pension Union speakers I've heard,—and I have heard dozens of them in the last few years, go to great lengths in damning the legislators, both individually and collectively. When they speak of the last old age pension laws that were passed at Olympia they refer to it as the "Hunger Acts"—they mention over and over again that the legislators who voted for this law "must be beaten at the next election" and that it was up to the old age pensioners to get out and spend their time —get out and spend their money and beat them. Going back to this question of the old people being bled for money, I recently attended a downtown meeting here in Seattle and it was shameful the way they dug money out of those people, especially when they knew these people depended to a large extent entirely on their pensions for their living. At this meeting the old

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people were handed out all the way from—the old people were handing out all the way from one to five dollars each to Bill Pennock.

Q. For what reason was this money being raised?

A. I don't know exactly, but the reason that Pennock gave was that they needed this money to fight against the cut in pensions and to pay attorney fees with.

Q. Did they explain what fight they were going to put up that required money or what the attorney for which the money was to hire, was going to do?

A. No, they never did. Every time they would take up a collection, and I have seen dozens of them taken up, Pennock would announce the amount of the collection and then stuff the money in his pocket. At all the many meetings I have attended during the past five or six years, I have never heard Pennock or Rabbitt or anyone else make any kind of a report or give any kind of an accounting showing what those weekly collections were spent for.

Q. I hand you herewith an instrument for which—for which—an instrument which for purposes of identification has been marked as Committee's Exhibit—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Exhibit number 15.

Q. (Continuing)—number 15, and ask you to state if you know what it is.

A. Yes. That is a bulletin sent me by the Washington Pension Union from their offices at 303 Mutual Life Building, Seattle 4, Washington, under date of Dec. 9, 1946. This bulletin illustrates how pensioners of our states are constantly being asked for funds. You will notice in the third paragraph they use these words: 'In addition to supporting your local we solicit your support for your State Office through one of the two following means: (1) That you join the Pension Builders and make a regular monthly contribution of 50 cents or more, etc.—(2) That, if you do not feel you can make a monthly pledge at this time, you use the form in the lower left-hand corner of this page to make as generous a donation as possible to the PENSION-UNION-LEGISLATIVE-FIGHTING-FUND for "60 at 60." This fund will be used for our radio broadcasts on KEVR every Saturday, to keep a full time lobby in Olympia all during the legislative session, to organize more members in the Pension Union, and to mobilize labor unions and other allies in our fight at Olympia for increased pensions.'

The thing I have in mind is that it isn't sufficient that the pensioners just pay their annual dues to their Union, but they are constantly being circularized and pressure is being put on them many times a year for money. Although pensioners are constantly being asked for money, at no time have I ever received any literature from the Union office showing that this money is being spent and knowing the close tie-in of the Pension Union, or at least, or at least of most of its officers, with the Communist Party, I have reason to suspect that it was not all used in the interest of the old age pensioners.

Q. I hand you herewith a pamphlet which for the purposes of identification has been marked Committee's Exhibit 2"—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Exhibit 16.

Q. (Continuing)—"Exhibit 16, and ask you to state if you know what that is.

A. Yes. It came to me through the mail or was given me at the Washington Pension Union recently, and is called quote The Pension Builder, and is under date of December, 1946.

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Q. Was there any thing in this issue of the 'Pension Builder' that attracted your attention, and if so, what was it?

A. You will notice in the upper column on the right hand side of the first page where Pennock talks about how people are granted pensions in Russia, and he says quote In the Soviet Union men are eligible for pensions at the age of 60 if they have worked for 25 years, and that women are eligible for pensions in Russia at 55 if they have worked for a period of 20 years unquote, and what he does not say about pensions in Russia though is the amount of pensions the men and women are granted.

Q. Do you have any knowledge concerning the pensions that they pay in Russia?

A. Only what reliable Russians who have fled that country and have come over here have said to me and have written about it.

Q. What do they say?

A. They say that the Russians who live long enough to get a pension get anywhere from fifteen to sixty rubles a month, depending on the class of work they have been doing all their life, and when you consider it would take 15 rubles to buy a decent loaf of bread in Russia, you have an idea of about how generous they are with their pensions—and that's a good illustration of how Pennock misleads his followers about Russian pensions, always praising and pointing out what he considers the advantage of the Russian system of pensions has over ours and trying to cause them to be dissatisfied with the pensions granted in this country when, if he wanted to make an honest comparison he should have compared them in dollars and cents and told his readers what could be bought in groceries and clothes with the pensions Russia grants as well as with the pensions that are granted in this state.

Q. Was there anything else in this issue of the 'Pension Builder' that particularly attracted your attention, and if so what?

A. Yes, there was. You will see on page two where Pennock as President of the Washington Pension Union states that it will be necessary to have a mass mobilization of several hundred members to stand ready to come to the State Capitol at Olympia to lobby at the legislature at a moment's notice. And he goes ahead and names some 30 or more people who he says he is going to count on for either full or part time at the State Capitol to act as lobbyists, and reading these names is like calling a part of the Communist Party roll. I don't know that I've heard all of them, but among others the names Etta Tripp, Rose Johnson, 'Dad' Pettus"—

MR. WHIPPLE: The word "Dad" is enclosed in quotes.

A. (Continuing)—"Nora McCoy, Phil O'Malley, Mollie Higman, Dr. Mary White, Tom Rabbitt, Mable Conrad, George Hurley, and of course, he includes himself and if all of them are not Communists or ardent fellow travelers, then I have been misinformed.

Then he goes ahead and tells the old folks that he needs their help to maintain this lobby and he says that and quote minimum of a thousand dollars, we estimate, is needed, and it is needed now, unquote. He also goes on to say quote We're counting on you not alone to contribute what you can yourself, but also solicit your friends and neighbors and your sons and daughters, too. unquote And it just struck me that all this lobby business and this forcing all these people to go to Olympia and insisting on them to go out and beg for this one thousand dollars from their friends and neighbors and taking it out of their own mouths was the way Communists would do things, pure and simple and that is one of the reasons I never joined the Pension Union.

If persons like Bill Pennock and Tom Rabbitt and Nora McCoy, who are known Communists or fellow travelers and also John Caughlan, were not running the Washington Pension Union as its officers, there would be a thousand—there would be thousands of conscientious old folks joining the Pension Union movement who now won't have anything to do with it. Also, a world of the old folks who are in it now are good American citizens who don't want anything—who don't want to have anything to do with Communism, but they stayed with it simply because they have no other place to go. They would welcome a house cleaning, but as it is they are in a minority and there is nothing much they can do about it. Most all the state and local officers of the Washington Pension Union are not pensioners at all, but younger people who control the organization for political purposes and for that reason the pensioners themselves have lost out and Pennock and his crowd are either out to run the Old Age Pension Union or they are out to wreck it.

Q. Mrs. Gilbert, going back to your testimony concerning this Mr. Riley whose name you mentioned at the beginning of your testimony, I would like to know if he ever held any official position with the Pension Union local that you attended?

A. Yes, he did. He was a president of the local which I attended.

Q. Do you remember any particular statements made by this Mr. Riley at any of the meetings you attended?

A. Yes, there were two things in particular that always stuck in my mind. About the second or third time I attended one of their meetings and this was about eight years ago at Mrs. Harpst's place, this man Riley was making a talk and he said that he was a Communist, and he said quote, I make a motion that we not ask the President of the United States, but that we demand that he release Earl Browder from jail and that he stop the deportation hearings against Harry Bridges unquote. I jumped up and told them I was against this motion because Earl Browder and Harry Bridges were both Communists and I said that I wouldn't be for anything that favored Communism, and when I made this statement they all jumped up and hollered me down.

Then, on another occasion shortly after that the subject came up in the local as to whom they would have for their next week's speaker, and this same Mr. Riley, who, as I said before, admitted that he was a Communist, asked this question quote: Who will we get for our speaker for our next meeting? Shall we get a Communist? unquote, and they discussed the matter a minute or two and then they agreed to leave the matter up to him.

Q. Do you know any more about this Mrs. Von Dosso than what you testified to previously?

A. Yes. On one occasion, and that would be about six or eight years ago I asked Mrs. Von Dosso why she was so interested in the Old Age Pension movement because she had solicited my membership in the Old Age Pension Union, and I noticed at the time that this was a young woman, only about 24 years old, and she said to me quote We Communists want to show the old people that we will do more for them than the Democrats will do or the Republicans will unquote. At the time she made this statement to me, this same Mrs. Von Dosso as the secretary of this particular old age pension local.

On another occasion soon after this, Mrs. Von Dosso wanted me to contribute some money to them, and I told her that if I had an extra dollar I would give it to my church, and she looked at me quite sternly and said quote If they knew you gave anything to the church instead of to the Pension

Union, you would get your pension cut. unquote They were all the time talking against our donating anything to churches, or any kind of charity except to turn it over to the officers of the Pension Union.

Q. At the time you attended these local meetings presided over by this Mr. Riley and this Mrs. Von Dosso, who you say admitted membership to the Communist Party, had Germany as yet declared war against Russia?

A. No, those meetings and those conversations were had before Germany had declared war against Russia.

Q. What was the attitude at this time concerning our entering war with Germany?

A. They were against our getting into any kind of war; they were against our lend-lease program; they were against any kind of military training, and at practically every meeting some speaker would jump up and denounce war and denounce the capitalists in this country who they said were trying to get us into war.

Q. Did you have occasion to learn their attitude concerning this same problem after Germany had attacked Russia?

A. Yes, I did at one of their meetings.

Q. What was the situation then?

A. After Germany jumped on to Russia they spent all of their time crying for an all-out effort in our support of what they called our glorious allies, as they called them. In fact, there wasn't anything that they could say strong enough in urging our country to jump in and make an all out fight against Germany. For several months before it happened they were crying at the top of their voices for a second front, everything directly opposed to what they had been preaching before Germany started this fight with Russia."

MR. WHIPPLE: And it is duly sworn, as provided in the statute.

Now I would like at this time, Mr. Chairman, to introduce these Exhibits referred to, and also introduce the deposition itself into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I understand that was Exhibits No. 15 and 16? Have you numbered them for identification?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes. The first exhibit introduced here was No. 15. That would be the letter she testified she received; the second exhibit is numbered Exhibit No. 16, the Pension folder that she referred to.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That completes your case for the time?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: There will be a—we will adjourn until 9:30 tomorrow morning. You are planning, are you not, to continue tomorrow? 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(WHEREUPON, exhibits referred to were received and marked EXHIBITS Nos. 15 and 16, respectively.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 9:30 o'clock a. m., Jan. 31, 1948.)

(9:40 o'clock a. m., January 31, 1948)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will be in session.

WALTER W. CHURCHILL, SR., called as a witness, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination, as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name to the stenographer, please.
 A. My name is Walter W. Churchill, Sr.

Q. How do you spell your last name?
 A. Churchill. C-h-u-r-c-h-i-l-l.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Churchill?

A. I live three miles the other side of Auburn, just off the Enumclaw highway.

Q. What business or profession are you engaged in, Mr. Churchill?
 A. I am a crane operator at the Boeing Aircraft Company.

Q. How long have you lived in the State of Washington?
 A. I—since May, 1934.

Q. Mr. Churchill, I will ask you if you are acquainted with a lady by the name of Hilda Hansen, the organizer of the hospital section of the Building Service Employees Union?

A. I am.

Q. Do you remember having had a conversation with her during the month of December, 1937, concerning the Communist Party?

A. I do.

Q. Where was that conversation held?

A. Well, it was in her car on the way downtown one evening.

Q. Will you detail that conversation briefly, please?

A. Well, she asked me what my political affiliations were, and I told her at that that I was a Republican. She said "Why don't you break from it and become one of the Communistic Party?" I said, "Why so?" "Well," she said, "we are all Communists," and she said "You would be much better off if you would sign up with the Communistic Party."

Q. Did she give you to understand at that time what she meant when she said that "We are all Communists"?

A. Well, I surmised that practically all the officers of the Building Service Employees Union were Communists when she said "We are all Communists."

Q. Mr. Churchill, do you know of a gentleman by the name of Hugh DeLacy, former Congressman from Washington?

A. I do, sir.

Q. I will ask you if you had occasion—I will ask you if you knew him when he was a member of the City Council in the City of Seattle?

A. I did.

Q. I will ask you to state if you remember a specific conversation you had with him in the Moose Hall in the City of Seattle at a union meeting about three o'clock in the afternoon on or about the first day of February, 1938?

A. Well, that was after the meeting was over, and a—I talked with him. He was a member of the City Council at that time, and at that present time I was out of work, and I was working at odd jobs—anything that I could find. He says to me, he says, "Why don't you join up with the Communistic Party?" And I says, "Why?" "Well," he says, "if you will I will assure you a job in the County-City Building at prevailing wages," and also assured me I would not be laid off.

Q. Mr.—

A. And I told him, I says, "Mr. DeLacy, I am sorry, but," I says, "I am not for sale."

Q. Mr. Churchill, do you know a gentleman by the name of Ward Coley, who was the business agent—was a business agent for the Building Service Employees Union back in '38—'39?

A. I do.

Q. I will ask you to state if you had a conversation with him any time during 1939 that you particularly remember?

A. He told me on one occasion, he said "If you would know what side your bread was buttered on," he says, "You would sign up with the rest of us." And I asked him then if he considered that—I says,—well, he gave me to inform me that it was the Communistic Party to sign up with.

Q. Do you know a gentleman by the name of Merwin Cole, a former business agent of the Building Service Employees Union?

A. I certainly do.

Q. I will ask you to state if you particularly remember any conversation that you had with him along in December of 1938?

A. He asked me one day in the Union Hall—I came up to see the secretary —see Mrs. Imsland about securing employment and he said to me, he says, "Walter, why don't you come through?", and he says—he informed me if I would come through and sign up with the Communistic Party that I would be certain of good employment and my family would not be in want. Also he inferred that they would expect a reasonable contribution in return.

Q. Now what did you understand—just what did he say about this reasonable contribution?

A. Well, he didn't go into detail about that.

Q. I will ask you from another angle. Were you given to understand to whom that contribution would go?

A. Well, I surmised it would.

Q. What was your understanding?

A. Well, I surmised that it would be to help the Communistic Party.

Q. It was definitely the Communist Party that he asked you to sign up with?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Now, Mr. Churchill, you mentioned the name of Mrs. Hansen and Mr. DeLacy, Ward Coley, Merwin Cole, and have detailed certain conversations you had with them during the years of 1938 and '39. I would like to ask you if during the years 1938 and 1939 if any of those above named persons were active in the affairs of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Well, they all spoke of it on several occasions and Mr. Merwin Cole on one occasion gave me a number of handbills to hand out, concerning a meeting that was held at some downtown hall concerning the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. In other words, that was an assignment for you to carry out to help promulgate this pension meeting?

A. Yes, and I distributed the handbills.

Q. You distributed them?

A. Yes, I did.

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Q. Did Mr. DeLacy take any active part in the meeting?

A. Well, he spoke of it on several occasions and on one occasion I distributed handbills for him.

Q. Handbills pertaining to the activities of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Something concerning a meeting of the Old Age Pension Union, yes.

Q. Mr. Churchill, at all times in your conversations where you have used the term "Communistic Party," do you mean the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I do.

MR. WHIPPLE: That is all, Mr. Churchill. Thank you very much for your testimony.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that the witness has other matters he would like to attend to, and would appreciate being excused from further attendance before this Committee.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Sure. Excuse Mr. Churchill. Thank you for your attendance.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Call Captain George Levich.

CAPTAIN GEORGE LEVICH, called as a witness, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination, as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Captain, I will put a sheet of paper and a pencil here because I understand you spell a lot better by writing it out than you do by spelling verbally. Now, speak very distinctly, Captain, because this is being recorded, and quite slowly so that the stenographer can get it. You can go as fast as you want to, but make it clear. Please state your name.

A. My name is George Levich—L-i-v—L-e-v-i-c-h.

Q. Fine. Now of what country are you a citizen, Captain?

A. United States of America.

Q. Do you hold a license as a master?

A. Yes, I do—master's license of the American Merchant Marines.

Q. You are a master of the American Merchant Marine operating under an American license?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any limit on your license?

A. Unlimited license, all oceans, all tonnages.

Q. Unlimited license, all oceans, all tonnages. Where were you born, Captain?

A. I was born in Krimea, Russia.

Q. Krimea, Russia. When were you born, Captain?

A. 1908.

Q. 1908. Did you live continuously in Russia?

A. Yes, I did, until I left it in 1944.

Q. When in 1944 did you leave?

A. December.

Q. What?

A. December.

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Q. December, of '44. Did you hold a license as a master under the Russian government?

A. Since 1935, I was holding Russian license as a master, unlimited.

Q. Did you operate Russian Ships of the Russian Merchant Marine?

A. Yes, practically as a sailor since I was sixteen, as a master since 1935.

Q. Fine. Are you familiar with conditions as they existed in Russia up to and including December, 1944?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What kind of a government do they have in Russia?

A. A dictatorship.

Q. A dictatorship?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, would you explain what you mean by that?

A. Well, the government consists of a ruling clique—thank you (being handed glass of water)—small ruling clique, bossed by one man, and through the members of the ruling party, they rule all the country. There is not other parties. There is no way to penetrate to—in the government, but belonging to one party, so it is a dictatorship.

Q. Well, don't they have elections in Russia?

A. Yes, sir, they have, but their election is just a farce. You have to elect a man who is nominated by the Party. If you don't, well, war for you.

Q. Well, would you explain what happens—you have participated in the elections, have you not?

A. Yes, I did. As a master for one passenger vessel in 1938, I was elected as the honorable—

Q. Honorable?

A. —honorable member of the commission who was operating this election, so I saw these mechanics very well—how they did it. Before you have to elect somebody, they give you a small sheet of paper on which the name of candidate is printed. There is a booth, you go, where to give your vote. You are supposed to drop down this sheet of paper. If you want you can scratch the name. If you want, you can put another name on it of another candidate, but to do this you have to step aside in another booth, and there is always people who are watching which way you are stepping, so if you are stepping to the right and start to scratching your little paper, your name is noted so the people prefer to keep away from big troubles, they just drop their papers in, and believe me, there is no reason to risk your life by scratching this name, because if you nominate someone, you have no chance to get him through, because this man will have only one vote, after all—yours, against untold millions. That's how it works.

Q. Are there NKVD men present at the polling places?

A. The NKVD men are only present—they are present everywhere.

Q. And they notice any deviations from dropping the printed ticket there?

A. Exactly, where you are scratching the name.

Q. How do living conditions in Russia compare with living conditions in this country?

A. It is hard to compare. It is—living conditions in Russia since I was a young man and since I was a child after the revolution are growing worse and worse every year, until I left there. There was not a single way up. It was always down. It is really hard to realize how much down it can come.

For example, I will tell you. As a master of a ship—cargo vessel that used to bring salt salmon from Kamchatka—

Q. Now just a minute, Captain, do you know how to spell Kamchatka? Will you try to spell that for us?

A. Kamchatka,—K-a-m-c-h-a-t-k-a.

Q. Now, that is a city in Russia?

A. No, it is a peninsula in the Okchoesk Sea.

Q. Will you spell that?

A. O-k-c-h-o-e-s-k.

MR. HOUSTON: (To newspaper reporters) Did you men get that over there? All right.

Q. Well, using to pick up this salt salmon from Kamchatka fisheries, I never allowed my crew to pump out the bilge water. I don't think everybody understands what this bilge water is. It is kind of technical, but it is the water who collects itself in the sides of the ship down below in the holds from the moisture and everything like this. As this fish always has a water in the barrels, this water drops down in the bilges, and on top of the water there is a thin layer of grease—fish oil, so I never allowed the engineers to pump out this water, because when we were discharging the fish, I always would send the men down below and to scoop—

Q. Scoop?

A. Scoop this layer of oil for cooking purposes. That's how the sailors in Russia live when they are sailing in between Russian cargoes.

Q. And you would use that for food, even on your own ship?

A. Exactly, because otherwise, we would have only black flour from which, twice a day, we will make a—dumplings in boiled water. That is all, no—grease, if we can get it from the bilge.

Q. You mean they would put your ship to sea with nothing but black flour for the crew to eat?

A. Nothing but black flour, and you have to understand that most of Russian ships were at this time were called burden ships. That's eight hours of hard work down below for a fireman, and two plates of black flour dumplings a day, and that's all.

Q. How do the people generally in Russia live? Is their diet much better than that?

A. I don't think so. When I happen, time and again to stay ashore for a little while, I never saw anything better. My ration was 300 grams of bread a day—if I could get it. If I failed to stand in—get up early in the morning to stay in the huge queue to get my 300 grams of bread, I would not get it the next day. If I survived this day, that is all right with the government. They won't give me that.

Q. You had 300 grams of bread rationed to you each day, provided you stood in line and got it?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And if you didn't stand in line and get it today, you didn't get a double order the next day.

A. Not at all.

Q. Did they have ration cards?

A. Well, I don't remember a time where there was not rationing of food in Russia, since the revolution. It was always.

Q. Since you were a little boy—

A. Yes.

Q. —they rationed food in Russia?

A. Not only in war time. Before the war, too.

Q. Before the war, too.

A. Certainly.

Q. Do they have different stores where you get your stuff from?

A. Yes. The system is very complicated, but to put it short, if you are a single working man—or suppose a sailor on my ship, he will have his own shop to buy it in, and he will have a special book of admittance to this shop. In this shop there will be nothing but bread. Sometimes, even for—well, something wrong with delivery they say "So there is no bread this day at all," if you are a working man. If you are in a middle position like I was myself, a captain of a ship, I would have another shop to buy in. In my shop it was bread every day, potatoes some days, maybe once a week a little salt herring, and maybe once a year a shirt.

If you are a member of the Communistic Party, you have so-called "closed shop." No one but members of Communist can buy in this shop. Well, they have everything.

And another, the best one is the Kremlin shop—oh, excuse me, the next one is NKVD shop. Well, they have more than regular members of Communist Party, and of course the—A-1, it is Kremlin shop. Well, they have absolutely everything.

Q. Now you are testifying, Captain, of what you know and have seen with your own eyes.

A. My own eyes.

Q. You have been in Moscow?

A. I was.

Q. You have seen these Kremlin shops?

A. I saw.

Q. Do they have different cards that designate what shop you can buy in?

A. It looks like a little book, on which it is printed (a), it is a Kremlin; (b) it is an NKVD shop, (c) it is high Communist officials, (d) it is like myself, as they call technicians, or intelligentsia, and (e) and down below, that is for workers of different kind. By the way, not all the workers are under the same grade. The workers in the important industry, like war industries and so on have a little bit better shops than the workers of some not so much important business, like—well, suppose it is clothes, or something like this, or shoes people can get without any way, but can get without funds, so, there is difference too, and finally for the farmers, it is the lowest grade.

Q. Captain, what was your salary as a master of a Russian ship?

A. My last salary was two thousand rubles.

Q. Two thousand rubles—what, a day?

A. A month.

Q. A month?

A. A month. According to the rate of exchange—official rate of exchange, it will make it about \$400.00.

Q. About four hundred dollars.

A. \$400.00.

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Q. Well, that is about what you get as an American captain, isn't it?
A. Not exactly; about two-thirds of it.
Q. About two-thirds of what an American captain would get.
A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now I will ask you, Captain, how much would an ordinary suit of clothes cost in Russia, a suit like you have got on, for example?
A. About three of my monthly salaries.
Q. About three months' salaries?
A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much would a pair of shoes cost?
A. A month's salary.
Q. A month's salary.
A. Exactly, 2000 rubles.
Q. 2000 rubles. You work all month to buy a shirt then—I mean a pair of shoes.
A. Pair of shoes.
Q. How much would a shirt cost?
A. Oh, well, about half a monthly wage.
Q. About half a monthly wage. Well, then, Captain, while—according to the official rate of exchange, you got two-thirds of what an American master got. Were you two-thirds as well off as an American master?
A. Not—of course not, because official rate of exchange, it is a joke.
Q. It is a joke?
A. Certainly. It is not dictated by real actual situation of the market. It is—this figure is given by the government. Why, nobody knows. There is no reason for such an exchange, but you—according to the rate of exchange, you have to buy American dollars, that's all, or they will give you, if you exchange American dollars for Russian, they will give you Russian rubles according to this exchange, but on actual American dollar you will buy much more.
Q. Then there is a black market even there on American dollars, is that right?
A. Certainly.
Q. Captain, I will ask you if, during the time you were in Russia did you buy any Russian government bonds?
A. Well, you have to.
Q. You have to. What do you mean?
A. Well, it is—in other words, it is compulsory.
Q. Compulsory?
A. If you don't buy you are out of luck—out of a job, and pretty soon in jail.
Q. Well, how much did you buy?
A. A monthly wage a year.
Q. One monthly wage a year.
A. That is a fixed figure.
Q. That's a fixed figure.
A. Fixed by the government.
Q. And in reality you didn't get 2000 rubles a month.
A. Oh, certainly not. I would pay my taxes and buy the bonds, and then different kinds of volunteer donations.

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Q. What do you mean by these different kinds of volunteer donations?
A. Well, it works this way: the Commissar or the party head of the enterprise will call a meeting and tell "The Government wants us to subscribe for the building of new bombers, so who is for it, please raise your hand," so everybody raises his hand, because if you don't, the next day you will be called to this party headquarters, and they will start to investigate why didn't you raise your hand, and if you would not give good reason for it—well, next step you will be accused to be a Trotskyite, or something or other, and then next they will find something to charge you with—anti-Communist propaganda or something, and then you have got your sentence of five or ten years in jail. Actually, it is because you didn't sign to this volunteer donation.
Q. Did you ever collect your Russian government bonds?
A. I never did.
Q. They didn't even deliver the bonds to you then?
A. Oh, no, you have to go up, first of all, but I thought "They are worthless anyway, why should I bother?"
Q. But they didn't deliver them to you?
A. No, sir.
Q. You would have to go through a lot more red tape to get them, is that right?
A. Certainly, but it was not worth it.
Q. Captain, can you give us any idea of the percentage of people in Russia that belong to the Communist Party, that are Communists?
A. Well when I left Russia, according to the official figures, it was between three and four millions.
Q. Three and four millions?
A. Yes.
Q. Members of the Communist Party?
A. Yes.
Q. And this was the official figure—
A. Yes.
Q. —of the Russian government?
A. Yes.
Q. Do you know what the population of the Soviet Union was?
A. Before their recent acquirement of peoples and lands, it was 180 million.
Q. 180 million, and of that number between three and four million were Communists?
A. Communists.
Q. Do you know anything about the organization that used to operate and be known as the NKVD?
A. Oh, yes.
Q. Will you describe their activities for us?
A. NKVD was known under many names. First one, it was "Cheka."
Q. Now what—we have got to get that down, Captain. What was that?
A. Cheka, C-h-e-k-a. It is abbreviation of two Russian words—a special commission. A special commission was created by Lenin shortly after the revolution, and the business of this commission was to fight the counter-revolution, so it was honest enough, they did fight.

After the Russian government claimed that the revolution—the fight for the revolution was finished, and they did emerge into the constructive period, they changed the name of Cheka for GPO.

Q. OGPU?

A. Yes. It is the same abbreviation of four Russian words that means—oh, I don't remember what government political office.

Q. Government political office?

A. It is the same Cheka, but now when the country was not in war, but in constructive period, of course there was no reason to fight openly the counter-revolution, but their name was the same, to fight now the rebels against the Communists, because the Russian government always claimed that as long as the capitalistic surroundings will last, the Communists will have to fight the thousands and thousands of spies penetrating from United States, Great Britain, and so on, into Russia. So, this OGPU was eliminating all those foreign spies, and internal enemies, too.

Next, when this OGPU got too bad a name among the Russian people, certainly the government changed the name, called it NKVD. It means Peoples' Commissariat For Internal Affairs, but the thing remains the same. It was the same political secret police as it was before, and finally, after I left, it was a new change. Now they call themselves MVT. It means Ministry of Internal Affairs, but according to what I can read and hear from Russia it still remains the same. It is a secret political police of the ruling party.

Q. Does this police force number very many?

A. Yes, NKVD or MVD is divided into three branches.

Q. Well, we don't care about the technical organization. Are there very many of them? Are they in every town?

A. Oh, yes, they have even their own field troops. It is an elite troops that are thousands.

Q. They even have their own troops, then?

A. Yes.

Q. Even within the army, is that right?

A. Yes, their own troops.

Q. Now, would you say there were several million members in the NKVD?

A. I wouldn't say so, because the army they use, even couldn't be a member of the Communist Party. You see, the officials—

Q. Oh, I see. Every NKVD man then, is a Communist?

A. Yes, he is necessarily a Communist, but, their troops—NKVD troops and NKVD army are not, all of them, Communists. They are just drafted men.

Q. Then there is members of the NKVD in the lower ranks that are not Communists?

A. No.

Q. Now, Captain, do you know anything about the system of courts in Russia?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, will you tell us about that?

A. System is complicated too. First of all there is a so-called people's court. The court is supposed to be elected, but it is elected in the same Russian way. In other words, it is appointed by the party. There is no jury.

Q. No jury?

A. No jury, one judge and two assistants appointed by the party, too. This peoples' court deals with small things like divorces, and—well, if you are late for your job, and things like that.

Q. Speak louder. If you are late for your job, you say?

A. Yes.

Q. Do they call you into court if you are late for a job?

A. Certainly, if you are late 21 minutes.

Q. When you are 21 minutes late they haul you into court?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, what is the penalty for something like that?

A. The penalty, one year in jail.

Q. One year in jail?

A. Well, that's a small affair.

Q. Oh, that's a small affair. Tell us about some of the larger affairs.

A. Next kind of jury is so-called—we call it too, in English—superior court?

Q. Superior court, all right.

A. Superior court. When they are—the people's court fails to give a decision, this superior court—supreme—court

Q. Supreme court.

A. —is handling these affairs, but, the main use of this supreme court is for to show political trials, when the government is fighting their enemies in the party, and one day they start to accuse them of try treachery, that's a case for supreme court. Of course, the decision is prearranged long before, sir.

Q. Prearranged, you say, before?

A. Why do I know? Because I was not behind the doors of the supreme court, but I saw many cases of NKVD court. It works just the same.

Next is so-called military tribunal.

Q. Military tribunal?

A. Tribunal. Every big enterprise—suppose like our shipping office, had a military tribunal, even in peace time. This military tribunal consists of military prosecutor, and military judge. Every case of discipline—if you failed to report on work—if you did something wrong in time of work—

Q. Did you say "work" or "war"?

A. Work. Anything that is connected with this particular enterprise, is handled by this military tribunal, and before a man gets to this tribunal, a political commissar of the enterprise, the prosecutor and the head of the enterprise, decide beforehand what to give him. Then he is brought before this jury and asked a few questions and receives his sentence.

Q. Is there such thing as justice and fairness of trial?

A. Well, not in our conception.

Q. Do they ever try anyone and turn them loose?

A. I never saw a man turned loose.

Q. Everybody that ever went before the court was found guilty, eh?

A. Without any doubt.

Q. I will ask you, Captain, did you operate as a master, any Russian prison ships, or transport any Russian prisoners?

A. Yes.

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Q. Where did you operate this prison ship?

A. Well, the concentration camps in Russia are spread, of course, all over the country, but very many of them are in the far east. They use them for digging gold and falling trees, and fishing salmon, so a big quantity of them are going from all Russia through Vladivostok, up to Okchoesk Sea, and of course the conditions on those ships are awful—something like the old slavers, handling slaves from Africa. Just people packed down in the hold, and the hold is battened down in bad weather. On my ship—particular one ship, it was a small cargo vessel of 3000 tons cargo capacity,—I used to carry about two thousand people.

Q. 2000 people would be carried in the hold of a small ship that had 3000 ton cargo capacity?

A. That's right, no accommodations whatsoever.

Q. Did you also operate ships in the far north for the Russian government?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And would you oftentimes be the first ship into one of these—

A. Yes.

Q. —small places?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you then take out prisoners?

A. Yes. Any ship—cargo ship who visits the small places up north that have no communication whatsoever in the winter time, it has to pick up all the convicts or prisoners that were farmed out in the winter time, so once I got first with my ship in a small place, a 30 men population.

Q. 13 population.

A. Thirty.

Q. Thirty?

A. Yes, and I picked up 15 convicts out of that place.

Q. 15 of the 30 you picked up as convicts. Well, who was the judge there?

A. In such a small place they usually send in winter time a court because they don't have a court in this place, so they send in a judge to small places like this. This time it was a young girl about 19 years old—girl.

Q. 19 years?

A. She was a judge, and she made 15 men convicts out of 30.

Q. Well, did you have any murderer there?

A. Yes, only one real convict was a murderer, who murdered his wife. He got three years in jail.

Q. He got three years in jail. Well, did you have—what were some of the others?

A. Well the others—there was one for example, poured a glass of vodka down the collar.

Q. Down the collar of who?

A. Of his girl friend, just like a joke—a practical joke. He got three years too.

Q. He got three years too. Now this three years means that they were to work in the concentration camps three years?

A. Yes, concentration camp.

Q. Have you seen any of those concentration camps?

A. Many of them.

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Q. Have you seen them?

A. Many of them.

Q. What is the conditions of the concentration camp?

A. The conditions are terrible. Usually it is a big lot of ground, surrounded by big wall, with four wooden towers in the corners, and machine guns mounted in the corners.

Inside you will see wooden barracks—shacks, actually. The wind will blow through these shacks. All those camps I am talking about are far north. The people are living—not living there, but sleeping there on big shelves, three rows, one ahead of another. There will be one small stove—iron stove in one corner, but the heat of this stove reaches only two or three feet. The people never—they don't care how many people are jammed in this shack, and in time the people, themselves, don't care. They are so worked out that as soon as they reach—I saw them many thousands sleeping like herrings in a barrel, close together, trying to warm themselves. Of course, there is no talking about sanitary conditions. It is all—was vermin.

Q. Vermin?

A. All over—and awful.

Q. No sanitation at all?

A. No.

Q. Do they work them very long hours?

A. At six o'clock they raise them up. They give them their morning ration. It is a hundred gram of bread and a cup of boiled water, a so-called tea, no sugar, no tea in it. Then they walk them in big groups—

Q. Groups.

A. —under the armed guards to the place of their work, and after 14 hours of work—

Q. 14 hours?

A. One-half an hour in between.

Q. One-half hour they get off in that 14-hour period?

A. Yes. They coming back and go into the barracks to sleep.

Q. What do they get to eat then in the evening, when they get back?

A. In the half an hour interval they will get another hundred gram of bread, and maybe one salt herring—maybe a little bit of barley gruel.

Q. Barley gruel?

A. Uh-huh, and in evening again, next hundred gram of bread and water.

Q. Do very many of them die?

A. Most of them do.

Q. Most of them do. They don't live out their sentence, then?

A. No.

Q. In other words, then, between these two it didn't make any difference whether this murderer got 50 years or 3 years, he would die within his three years any way?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now, Captain, we have it alleged by people here in the City of Seattle, that Russia has a wonderful pension system for their old people; that when a woman reaches the age of 55 years and she has worked 20 years at her trade, she gets a pension, and that a man gets a pension at 60 years. Is this true?

A. It is true.

Q. It is true?

A. Yes, they got a pension all right, but I knew personally one old chief engineer of Russian Merchant Marine, who sailed all his life and finally retired, and he got a hundred rubles a month pension.

Q. One hundred rubles a month?

A. A hundred rubles a month, it is a bottle of milk.

Q. One bottle of milk?

A. Yes.

Q. Well then he had to live on something besides his pension then?

A. Well, so he went back to work, and the newspapers were talking how nice this man—how patriotic he was—

Q. To go back to work—

A. Yes, in spite he was on pension.

Q. In spite he was on pension.

A. Yes.

Q. Well, how much does a loaf of bread cost? How many rubles for a loaf of bread?

A. Loaf of bread? That's hard to tell, because you don't get your loaf of bread. You get your 300 grams.

Q. How does three hundred grams compare with an American loaf of bread?

A. 300 grams—it is about a pound.

Q. About a pound. All right, then how much does a pound of bread cost, or did it cost—

A. Official price is low enough. It is two rubles a kilogram.

Q. Two rubles—

A. —two rubles, but as you don't have enough, you have to buy on the black market, and you pay a hundred rubles for enough.

Q. So then his pension would buy him one loaf of bread?

A. One loaf of bread.

Q. Well, does anybody ever retire and live on their pension then?

A. Well, first of all, very seldom the people reach the age to be retired.

Q. And then this is just—

A. Then just an example of this chief engineer.

Q. They have to go back to work to live, then. Then, would you say that their—this pension system is just pure propaganda?

A. Certainly. It is in Russian constitution every old man is cared for by the government.

Q. Oh, it's in the Russian Constitution so they—

A. Yes.

Q. Well, why do they put it there, just for propaganda to the other countries?

A. Exactly.

Q. Does the Russian government indulge in propaganda?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. How does Russian efficiency compare with American efficiency in the factories and things like that?

A. Well, actually, they can't talk about the efficiency in Russia at all, because there is not such a conception of efficiency.

Q. No such thing as efficiency?

A. No.

Q. Well, why isn't there?

A. You see the main reason is, under the Communistic system, the less a man does, the less chance to go to jail he has, so everybody tries to do as less as possible. Here's your efficiency.

Q. Well, will you explain that? Suppose you and I are engineers in an electric plant. We have got our duties to perform. What do you mean by it?

A. Well, as I see it, the ruling clique doesn't care what for the man is thrown to jail. He is thrown in jail as soon as the Communistic Party realize that this man is not exactly with them. To be able to throw in jail, or eliminate this man any possible time, they have to have on everybody, something to hook on. So, every mistake a man does is instantly reported to the Party headquarters. If you are an engineer you could make many mistakes in your work, and every one of your mistakes is registered in the Party files on each man. Then, when you slip in something more than just your technical work—for example you are very doubtful in general line of the Party, there is your time. They pick up all your previous mistakes and you are in jail. So, the more mistakes you make in your work, the sooner you get enough to be thrown in jail. What is the way to avoid the mistakes? Not to work, so the less you do, the less you risk. It means nobody—for example—may I take the time—

Q. Yes, go ahead.

A. Close to Vladivostok harbor there is a place called Suchan, S-u-c-h-a-n. It is a bunkering place for Russian ships.

Q. Now by "bunkering place," you mean where they take coal?

A. Take coal.

Q. And how far is this from—

A. It is 60 miles from Vladivostok. This place is situated on quite a big river, with fresh water, but the ship couldn't get any fresh water in this place—only coal. I visited it many times, and finally I asked the manager, "Will you please explain to me how can it, that you are situated actually on fresh water, and I can't get even a glass of fresh water from you?" So he said to me, "You see, Captain, now I am in charge of coal. I have to watch labor. I have to watch the rolling stock. I have many implements in my bunking business. I am running big risk as it is. Now suppose I start a water supply. I will have barges. I will have a barge man. The barge man will get drunk, sometime. I am responsible. The barges will be thrown ashore—I am responsible, so why should I bring on my shoulder an extra chance to get in jail?"

Q. And at the time you left Russia, you would have to go 60 miles up here to take coal, but if you wanted water you would have to go back to—

A. Have to go back to Vladivostok.

Q. I see. Captain, did you operate ships during the war for the Russian government?

A. Yes I did.

Q. Did you ever have a ship torpedoed?

A. Yes, I had.

Q. You had a ship torpedoed. Will you explain the circumstances of that to us?

A. Well, it was in—in the Pacific that—who torpedoed my ship I don't know. Most likely the Japs did in spite Russia was not in the war, but the matter is the ship was sinking, and—

Q. Now you took a torpedo right in the hold of your ship?

A. Yes, and we started to throw overboard—over the side, the cargo.

Q. Now what cargo? You had a deck cargo?

A. We had trucks and sugar from San Francisco, so to keep the ship afloat, we started jettisoning the cargo. Well, we made 700 miles on a half sunken ship and finally reached Petrotavalosk, P-e-t-r-o-t-a-v-a-l-o-s-k.

Q. Where was the level of your deck when you reached there? Were your decks awash?

A. Yes, the forward was level with the water.

Q. The floor—the deck was level with the ocean?

A. Yes.

Q. And you were in a very precarious sinking condition?

A. Yes, it was half sunk already.

Q. Half sunk already. All right.

A. Well when we reached finally the harbor—well believe me, I expected a big medal for this trip.

Q. For saving your ship?

A. Yes, ship, crew, cargo. Well, they accused me to jettison valuable socialistic property.

Q. Did they almost put you in jail for that?

A. Well, they nearly did it.

Q. They nearly did. Were they interrogating you continuously?

A. Oh yes.

Q. Did they want to know who paid you to jettison that valuable socialist cargo?

A. Well, they start always to try to make a man confess that he was paid by Americans or British, to make harm to the Soviet Union.

Q. They tried to make you confess that you had destroyed this in the pay of the American and the British?

A. Yes, as an American saboteur.

Q. As an American saboteur. Was there any truth to that?

A. What?

Q. Was there any truth to that?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Had anybody paid you to destroy this stuff?

A. Certainly not.

Q. It was done—merely done as a sole means of saving your ship?

A. Why certainly. There was no other way to save the ship.

Q. Have you ever been called as a technical witness when another captain was on trial for losing his ship?

A. Yes. I worked in Vladivostok since 1931, so, I was, in spite of my young age, I was one of the oldest skippers in Vladivostok. The oldest were already in jail—

Q. The oldest were already in jail?

A. So, I was looked as kind of expert in this business, and they asked me

many times to be. In this military tribunals there is always an expert who assists the judge to find the truth, so I was present to many, and there was no case judged right. It was as I tell you before, it was prearranged. Never mind what I should say there, it was right, there was only one way to do it—never mind.

Q. All prearranged?

A. All prearranged.

Q. Did you ever get in difficulties as a result of your honest testimony before the court?

A. No.

Q. Well, I thought that you—did they ask you trick questions?

A. What do you mean, "trick questions"?

Q. Well, if a captain lost his ship, wouldn't they say "You should have thrown out an anchor"? If the captain threw out his anchor, wouldn't they say "You shouldn't"?

A. Yes, something like this. It was not exactly the man who was judged by the court, because he was dead already, but as an expert they asked me to judge the case of already dead men whose ship was sunk, and the condition of this business was, the ship was caught in big storm, offshore, close to—and the captain dropped the anchors trying to hold on to the ground, but the ship sunk. The seas were too high for this ship. When they started to ask me was it right or not to drop the anchor, the prosecutor asked me "Don't you believe that if the captain wouldn't drop the anchor but would let the ship run ashore, maybe he would save some of his crew?" By the way, everybody perished. "Well," I said to him that, "in this case you will ask me if he would run ashore. You will ask me the first question, 'Why didn't he drop his anchors?'" so the man couldn't do it any way.

Q. In other words, no matter what he did, he should have done the other thing?

A. There is always some other way, and if everything is over, nobody can prove which way would be the best.

Q. Well, do they use that in their instructions to you in the operation of your ships?

A. Yes, they do. As I said before, every one tried to push away the responsibility from his shoulders, so there is such a position in shipping business as traffic manager.

Q. Traffic manager?

A. Traffic manager is giving the captain his orders, what to do, where to go. Once I was sent to Kamchatka in the place bound with ice. When I saw this ice I sent a message to this traffic manager where to go to discharge my cargo, because the harbor was closed by the ice. I got a reply from him very fast—"Proceed to the harbor, but don't enter the ice with the risk for your ship." So here I was.

Q. Well why did he send that kind of a telegram?

A. Well, I understand very well. I didn't expect any more reasonable answers from him, because it was this telegram he has the clear way out of any situation. Suppose I didn't reach this harbor, so, as everything is concentrated in Moscow—absolutely everything is concentrated in Moscow, the Communist Party officials from our shipping office will report instantly to Moscow that Captain so and so didn't reach the harbor. Moscow will ask the

manager, "Why didn't he?" The manager will send his answer, "I gave him orders to proceed"—I am clear, hang the captain.

Suppose I comply with his orders not to proceed to this harbor. Then when you are in ice you are always—can have a damage by the ice. Something happens to my ship. The Communist officials send to Moscow, "Captain so and so damaged his ship." Here comes a telegram to Vladivostok, "Why did captain so and so damage his ship?" The same manager picks the same telegram, "I warned him not to enter the ice with risk," and the captain, again.

MR. HOUSTON: We have reached a point where I would like to recess a few minutes, and take up a different subject when we reconvene.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be at recess for about five minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we proceed, Mr. Houston?

Mr. Levich, before we start, in answering will you turn just a little more this way so the microphone will pick up your replies?

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now Captain, when we recessed we were discussing their method of efficiency, and how they did business in Russia. Does the same thing run all through the Russian economic structure? Is that true all over Russia?

A. It is, certainly, because the system is the same, so the results are the same all through the economics.

Q. Does that run through the shipbuilding industry as well?

A. Exactly. Well, for example, the Russian government started to build a big shipyard somewhere in the Sea of Japan. It was a big, modern shipyard, and I used to carry for them heavy machinery. As everything in Russia is done according to so-called plan—economic plan—same was this shipyard too, and the meaning of this plan is that this particular shipyard must be built in so much time, and if the head of this building project fails to finish his job in time, he goes to jail. So, evidently it was not very good with his plan, because one day I arrived to this place with full cargo of heavy machinery in my hold, and the first thing I heard, that they are opening this shipyard. So, I naturally get interested. The machinery is still in the hold of my ship, but the people on shore are already opening the shipyard. How come? So I went to take a look by myself what's going on.

Q. Now the machinery you had in the hold of your ship was machinery which was necessary to have in the shipyard before it could be opened?

A. Yes, this machinery must be installed, and finished, and then the plant will start work.

Q. And when you got there you heard they were opening the shipyard.

A. They were already opening this same day, so I went ashore and saw this man in charge, the engineer Shapeero.

Q. Now will you spell that?

A. S-h-a-p-e-e-r-o.

Q. Now he is the engineer that had the responsibility of building this shipyard.

A. Yes, he was building this shipyard. The first thing I saw him he was working near the big wall of the new house and digging in a big new crack, into this wall, so I thought that's all right, already, new building and all cracked, from the top to the bottom. So I asked him, "Are you really opening

the shipyard?" and he said, "Yes, what could I do, that is the time, so I sent a telegram 'we are opening'." "Well," I said, "how about my machinery?" "That's all right, we will do it the same time."

Next trip I made, they start already repairing ships. The first ship they got, you see—excuse me. When he sent this telegram to avoid a jail sentence that he is in time to open the shipyard, of course the government sent him a ship to be repaired, because they understand it is already done, and the first unfortunate ship was built in the United States, in Los Angeles. It was steamship "MASUDA."

Q. How do you spell that?

A. M-a-s-u-d-a—M-a-s-u-d-a. That's American name, and Russian it was "SVIRSTROY," S-v-i-r-s-t-r-o-y. The ship needed some repair in the engine, and in the boilers, so when I came next trip, the ship was already here, and the gang of ship repairing engineers were dismantling her engine, but the shipyard was not ready yet. They had one big building accomplished already, finished with machinery. Another building was just finished with a floor and roof on it, and the third one was built already, but there was no floor—just the ground. So the people who were repairing the engine tried to find a place to stow away the parts of the engine they dismantled in the ship. They saw a big empty building and stowed all these parts in it, not already yet built.

Q. That was in the third building you have described?

A. Yes, without the floor. A few days later the builders came to finish the building and poured the cement all over the machinery parts. Why should they bother? They had their own plan to finish this building as fast as possible. They couldn't waste time to throw away those parts, anyway, so, in a few days the engineers start to collect their parts, and didn't find them. Finally, what happened, they towed this ship as a barge to Shanghai to be repaired.

Q. They took the ship to Shanghai to be repaired?

A. To be repaired.

Q. Was it eventually repaired?

A. No, she was sunk by Japanese.

Q. Sunk by the Japanese.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Captain, would you turn just a little more this way? The microphones don't seem to function effectively unless you are turned in this direction.

Q. Now, Captain, I will ask you, does everybody go to school in Russia?

A. Now?

Q. Yes.

A. No. Before 1936, it was a free education. After 1936, I don't remember exactly was it in 1936 or 1935, but the government made a new law. The law read this way:

"Now when the proletariat of Russia reached the level of being well off, they could begin the responsibility of education by themselves, without the help of the government."

So, even the high school is now charged. To go through the high school you have to pay. Even the first grade in Russia, it is one school.

Q. You have to pay to go to school?

A. Yes, to send your children in the school—in grammar school, you have to start paying for it.

Q. Now Captain, what is the quality of the education in Russia?

A. The quality is—

Q. Who teaches?

A. The quality is poor, and the reason why, is this: The first internal enemies of the regime was so-called "intelligentsia," so that was in time of Lenin. He felt that so-called intelligentsia is against the new regime. Who was in this category of intelligentsia? Teachers, professors, doctors, engineers, and all people who worked with their head. So they start to—first of all, to eliminate the intelligentsia of Russia, and they had very good educated people before, but they threw them in jail, killed them—in other words, eliminated, and start to create their own proletariat intelligentsia. In two months you can be a teacher.

Q. In what?

A. Two months.

Q. Two months?

A. Yes, education after the school, two months of special training you are already teacher.

Q. Why that is inconceivable. Now you mean—what age do they start to school?

A. At 7.

Q. At 7?

A. Yes.

Q. Now how long do they go to school?

A. It is nine years—both schools.

Q. You mean until they are nine years of age?

A. No, no, altogether. 9th and 10th grade, I believe.

Q. Nine or ten grades?

A. Yes. Then you are ready for teaching if you go to special training.

Q. Now how long does this special training take?

A. Well it's two months.

Q. Oh, that is two months of special training?

A. Yes, and you are already teacher.

Q. Well, how many—

A. The same thing with the university, too.

Q. Well how many years do they go to school before they are ready for this special training?

A. Well, that's ten years.

Q. Ten years?

A. Uh-huh, so the young man is through the high school and grammar school when he is 17 or 18.

Q. And then he in turn—

A. Yes, then he is given a short—

Q. Two months'—

A. —two months' course, and he is ready to teach.

Q. And he is then a teacher.

A. And all those teachers in high school are the same quality, and the quality is poor.

Q. In other words, a person graduating from high school, and go to school two months more, then he becomes a high school teacher?

A. He is.

Q. What do they teach the children in the schools?

A. Well in general it is about the same as United States, of course. Russian language, mathematics, and physics and chemistry, but as an extra, it is social economy and history of the Communistic Party,—then a few more—political discipline, in which the main thing is government propaganda of how good is Communistic system, and how awful is democracy.

Q. That is the main thing they teach?

A. That is the main thing, you know, they teach.

Q. Now you are talking about the schools the way they were in 1944 when you left, are you not?

A. They didn't change very much after the revolution to the time I left. The teaching was the same when I left.

Q. The teaching was the same when you left.

A. Yes.

Q. What happens to the children whose parents can't pay to send them to school?

A. They don't go to school.

Q. They don't go to school?

A. No.

Q. Well what do they do when they—

A. Recently, I believe it was in 1939 or '40—it was a new law, as there was already many children that couldn't visit the school, so, they start to create so-called "labor reserve" school. In this labor reserve school the children are drafted by the government without asking the parents, and they are kept in this school a few years, working half the time in the shop, doing real work for the government, and meanwhile taking some kind of education. What kind, I don't know, because I never saw inside of this school, but when the child is in this school and he is working six hours a day in the factory I don't believe he can do very much in extra two hours in education way.

Q. They put them right in the factory for six hours and then allow them two hours—

A. Yes, two hours for education.

Q. And is that two hours' education mostly in the Communist propaganda that you described?

A. Well certainly, half of it must become propaganda and half of it teach them how to write and read. That's all they can do. And then these people have to stay all their life in their profession. Suppose you got drafted in the school of electricians. As soon as you are through you are given the job by the government and you have to be electrician all your life.

Q. You can't change to something else?

A. Oh, no, certainly not. Nobody can change his job in Russia.

Q. Nobody can change his job?

A. No.

Q. Well, can you travel freely around the country?

A. Certainly not. Every man in Russia has a passport.

Q. Even inside Russia itself?

A. Even inside Russia. Everybody has a passport. It is the same size of book like our American passports when we are going abroad, but in this passport is your name, if you are married or single, name of your wife, names of your children—big stamp with your address—street, number of house, number of rooms. Another stamp from your factory or your ship, or whatever you belong to, and if you are caught with street 13th Avenue or something, on Broadway at night, you go in jail for investigation, and if you are working with this stamp of the ship, working in the farm, you will be thrown in jail, too. Besides this, especially in Vladivostok and Far East area, we had three big numbers on the passport. Number 1, number 2, and number 3—huge letters you can see when you open the book, about half the size of the book itself. Number 1, I had myself, and number one, and was very proud. It means hundred per cent citizen. It means perhaps if some trouble arises, I will be still in Vladivostok in my same job. He is a good man. Number 2, it is not so good. In trouble he will be deported from this area, and number 3, are the people they don't know when they will be thrown away from their house. Any time the government—the police can get in and pack them up, throw them in the train and sent to Siberia or somewhere else. And if you travel, of course with this passport you must have a special permission of the city police. Then you are going—suppose I have my furlough and going from Vladivostok to Leningrad, I have to visit the police—they will give me a special slip that I am allowed to go to Leningrad on my furlough. Then as soon as I am in Leningrad, I have to visit the police, give them this slip and my passport, and they will put on my passport temporary stamp where I will stay in Leningrad and for how long. Towards the time I have to go back, I must visit the police again, and they will cancel this stamp and I will be allowed to go back to Vladivostok. Otherwise, if they catch me overstaying, I am going to jail.

Q. You have to have police permission to make any kind of a trip, then?

A. Any kind of a trip.

Q. Now Captain, I am very interested in one thing. You said that they eliminated all the intelligentsia which was the educators and the professional men and the scientists, and all. Is that responsible for part of this inefficiency that they have there?

A. It is responsible, of course of the inefficiency of the educational system, first of all, but about the inefficiency of all the system, well, I don't think it is—this method is responsible. It is the essence of the system.

Q. It is the essence of the system itself. It just can't work?

A. It can't work, that is all.

Q. Well, does that carry on down into even the building trades, this lack of co-ordination? How about building their apartment houses? I hear lots of things about big, fine new apartment houses for the workers over there.

A. Well certainly. The trick is, as soon as one building is built in a huge country like Russia, you can hear and read about it all over the world. But what does it mean, one building for a big country like Russia?

Q. I will ask you, Captain, do they work on the same plan on getting these buildings built and move people in—

A. Exactly.

Q. —whether the building is finished or not?

A. One building was built in Vladivostok in 1938, especially for us captains. I was waiting for this building here all my life, because five years since I went to Vladivostok from Leningrad in 1931. I lived aboard my ship because there was no facility to get any room ashore—five years and finally they started building the special house for the captains. Well, unfortunately I was at sea when they said the building is ready and when I went to ask for my room, there was none because NKVD and party members already were in, before captains.

Q. And you still couldn't get your—

A. Certainly, I didn't get anything. Now—

Q. Go ahead.

A. Now this was a nice looking building, four stories, very nice face to it, and it was different—a doorman in front, and should make a very nice good picture for send to the United States to admire, but, the trouble was, they were pressed by this plan again, so they just did neglect the plumbing system. So, in two days the people downstairs have to move away from this house.

Q. Well, why was that?

A. Well, they had no time to finish it.

Q. Had they failed to hook the plumbing system up?

A. They put it down below, under—

Q. They run all the plumbing from the top right down to the ground?

A. Down under the flat of first floor.

Q. Just dumped it—in two days everybody in the lower floors had to get out?

A. They couldn't stay any longer.

Q. And yet there were pictures of that building sent all over the world, as a home for the captains, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. How much better off is an old age pensioner here in the state of Washington, Captain, who gets \$50.00 a month in American dollars, than a Russian pensioner getting a hundred rubles a month?

A. \$50.00 a month. When I was discharged from American army I joined this 52-20 Club. I certainly was better off than Russian pensioner. I didn't have to go back to work unless I find the work I liked. I could stay all this 52 weeks all right.

Q. You lived all right on that?

A. Certainly.

Q. But could you have lived in Russia on a hundred rubles a month?

A. Oh, certainly not. The man who tried to do it, the last I saw him I was going to the United States and he said to me, "Captain, will you please bring me some vitamin pills?" He is on a pension.

Q. Now, Captain, if you refer to this chief engineer in Russia who gets a hundred rubles a month pension, how much would a farmer or a common laborer over there get pension per month?

A. The system is like this; it is your—fifty per cent of your wage if you are a union member, if you didn't fail on your job. In other words, if you were not tried by the court for being late on your job, if you didn't change your job without the order of the government, and so on and so on, and when all those "ifs" are passed, you don't have anything.

Q. There is enough there to stop you from getting it?
 A. Sure.

Q. In other words, then, would you go this far to say that the pension system in Russia is an absolute farce and a joke?

A. Exactly. There is no pension in Russia at all, actually, because hundred rubles for a good skilled mechanic after he is 50 years working, it is of course nothing. On one bottle of milk an old man couldn't exist.

Q. One bottle of milk—
 A. A month.

Q. I will ask you, Captain, do they teach in Russia that there must be revolutions in all the democracies of the world?

A. That is what I was taught from the beginning of my schooling, and towards the end of my existence in Russia. You see, according to Marx theory, finally the Communism will prevail all over the world, because capitalism is decaying and must give way to Communism. So that's the base, so they teach people there is no way to turn the will of the history, and never mind what the United States and Great Britain try to do, the Communists will take over, and as Russia is the forward part of all Communists, it means that Russia has—it's duty of Russia to see that this revolution will be spread all over the world. That is the way they were teaching me; that's that way they were teaching the young peoples since the revolution.

Q. Do they teach the Russian people that the revolutions which they say are going to come throughout the world—will that be a bloodless revolution, or will they have to fight?

A. The Communists don't believe in bloodless revolution. They teach that you can't have a good living without destroying the world system, and destroying the system you have to fight. There is no other way, so be ready for the war, especially against Britain and the United States.

Q. They teach then, that there eventually will be war between Russia and Britain and the United States, is that right?

A. Necessary.

Q. What?

A. War will come necessarily. There is no other way. They were teaching it even in war time in the last war in the schools,—they were teaching children that real enemies are United States and Great Britain.

Q. The real enemies are United States and Great Britain?

A. Yes.

Q. During the time that Russia was our ally?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know this of your own knowledge?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you have any specific examples of that, Captain?

A. That's just from children I knew and the families I knew, the system is absolutely the same. They are talking about it the same—about the enemies of capitalism—of United States and Great Britain. It is not only in the schools. It is all over the place, in propaganda, in—any place.

Q. Now Captain, did you haul any lend-lease supplies from the United States to Russia during the war?

A. Oh yes, I did.

Q. You did. Did you haul very many shiploads?

A. Many.

Q. Many.

A. Practically all the time since the war started.

Q. Since the war started?

A. Yes.

Q. You were running a large—

A. Yes.

Q. —ship? Where would you discharge your cargo?

A. In Far East, mostly in Vladivostok.

Q. How would that cargo be received by the Russian people and the Russian army?

A. I don't get it—what do you mean?

Q. Were they appreciative of the lend-lease that the United States was giving them?

A. Well certainly not. You see, the only people that knew that it is American stuff, the people who worked on it. Everybody else outside didn't know, because, American way trying to help everybody, they help Russians aid themselves to make it easier to Russians, they would supply all the machinery with Russian—explanation in Russian language. So, suppose it was a gun, there will be many places a small tablet how to use—which knob to turn, and which button to push and so on—always in Russian, so the first thing, everything American would be erased, and left only Russian, and you will see the army people, they really believe it was made in Russia. They will boast how nice the Russian jeeps are.

Q. And the instructions on the Russian jeeps were even—

A. In Russian.

Q. On the Russian—on the jeeps that were sent from the United States to Russia?

A. Yes. There was no Russian jeeps at all.

Q. So all the jeeps in Russia were American—

A. Certainly, they never make any.

Q. Yet the Russians are boasting how fine those jeeps are. Did you ever hear any officers of the Red army express themselves as to who the real enemies were during the war?

A. You see, we got a few guns from the United States, and they started to install those big guns—it was 18-inch guns—huge guns, up in Okchoesk Sea, in Bering Straits, right across Alaska, so—

Q. Guns that we sent them they were installing across the Bering Straits from Alaska?

A. Yes. It was a colonel—I don't remember his name, who was in charge, and he was on board of my ship when I was transporting them. So I just couldn't help myself to ask him, "Do you expect to fight Germans with these guns, across the Bering Straits?" So he said to me—he knew I was in position of trust with the government as a skipper of a ship, so he said to me quite frankly, "No, this one we will use for real enemy."

Q. In other words, these big lend-lease guns were sent to Russia, were installed up here in the Bering Straits, pointed towards Alaska, and when you

asked him, "How do you expect to fight the Germans with those guns that way," he said, "These guns are for our real enemies," is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. Did he explain what he meant by the real enemies?

A. It was not necessary.

Q. It was not necessary. What did he mean by that statement?

A. Certainly democracies.

Q. Democracies. Captain, I will ask you, was there much lend-lease went to Russia during the war?

A. Yes, very much, indeed. For example, in one of my ships I had six thousand ton of lard.

Q. Of what?

A. Lard.

Q. Of lard, six thousand tons of lard, and other—many ships were in there?

A. Many ships, most of them American built, too, given away to Russia—big ships, ten thousand tons.

Q. I will ask you, Captain, did you have any instructions when you came to pick up a load of lend-lease, as to getting supplies, and things?

A. What was that again?

Q. Well, suppose now that you brought a Russian ship into the United States here. Would that ship be repaired before you went back, and outfitted and fixed up?

A. Certainly. Everything that we needed for our trips we would get in the United States. Repairs, supplies, food—any kind of supply, all in the United States.

Q. And you would order that?

A. Yes, and they will instruct the skippers to get as much as you could.

Q. Get as much as you could of these supplies?

A. Yes. So, suppose I needed—well, half a ton of sugar. I would order three tons of sugar. I would never use it. If I need—suppose hundred gallons of paint, I would order five hundred gallons.

Q. Would you get the five hundred gallons?

A. Yes, mostly I did.

Q. Now what would happen when your ship got to the Russian port?

A. Well, first thing at Russian port they will strip the ship of everything.

Q. Take everything off?

A. Take everything, even the ice-boxes.

Q. Even the ice-boxes.

A. So the only trouble I heard of in the United States, that American customs gets kind of fussy about the skipper who asks every trip a new ice-box. It was the fifth one I asked for.

Q. The fifth one you asked for.

A. Then they get angry—the Customs.

Q. The Customs got angry?

A. Yes.

Q. The lend-lease people didn't?

A. No. They didn't. That is the Customs.

Q. Well now, Captain, would they even take the plumbing fixtures and the toilets out—

A. Everything they can remove.

Q. Would they take the toilets out of your ship, even?

A. Well, in some cases they did, certainly. Every removable and possible to replace back in the United States, without what we can make a trip back to the United States, as they need to put something on their ship inside, they will come in the bottom of my ship, and even asking—taking away the navigational—

Q. Instruments?

A. —instruments, like sounders and so on.

Q. Sound detectors, and things?

A. Yes, even those?

Q. They take those off and you navigate here in the United States without them?

A. Without them, they replace them again.

Q. They replace them again. Would they take the blankets off the bunks, and the mattresses off the bunks?

A. Blankets, and—whatever it is—

Q. Sheets?

A. —sheets, and typing machines.

Q. Typewriters?

A. Yes, everything.

Q. Everthing they could strip the ship from they took.

A. Just leave you enough to make a back trip, that's all.

Q. Then you would come over here—

A. And do it all over again.

Q. And do it all over again.

I will ask you, Captain, why did you leave Russia?

A. Well, first of all I hated the dictatorship all my life.

Q. You have hated the dictatorship all your life.

A. All my life. Next, I was 16 years old when I start sailing, so I had opportunity to see what is true, and what is a lie. Before I start sailing, of course I didn't know. I really believed that most wonderful system is the Communist, because they will tell me in the school that United States is an awful country; those wild Americans are running wild on the street, and hanging Negroes on every lamp post—there is unemployment, there is strikes, and callous capitalists, so I really believe it is all right, I would try to do something new, and well, but when I start sailing—well, I saw that it was a lie!

Q. When you went to the foreign ports?

A. Yes, but I was very young when I started as a skipper. I was only 26, and believe I was proud, and I thought, "What a clever guy." But, a few years passed, and I begin to understand that it was not at all because I was smart. The government helped me to go ahead, putting away all the oldest. The eldest go to jail, I am pushing forward, so finally I start to think, "Well, what is in store for myself?" "What's my future, after all?" Well, I worked hard all my life. I did all right, but where am I going to? So I took a piece of paper and put down all these names of skippers I knew, and they quit sailing for some reason or other. The figures just struck me hard. First of all, it was not a single retired skipper in Russia, of whom I knew personally, so I thought,

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"Well, evidently I don't have a chance to retire either, because there is no such a thing, at all, and doesn't exist." So next figure was—I remember still those figures. It was three per cent, the skippers that died.

Q. How many?

A. Three per cent.

Q. Three per cent?

A. Yes, died of natural death, in most part, of tuberculosis. Well first of all three per cent, of course, it is too small to gamble on, so, next I thought, "Well, tuberculosis, such a heavy set guy—still doubtful."

Next was seventeen per cent, the skippers that committed suicide. Then again, that's all right, seventeen per cent is a little bit high, but still not high enough, and then with my character, I hardly believed I would do it too—commit suicide.

Q. You didn't look forward to that as a future?

A. No. And next, all what was left was eighty per cent in jail, and so I thought, "That's for me, now." That's why I decided I didn't want to go to jail for no reason, just because I disagree with the government—not reason enough.

Q. I will ask you Captain, during the time that you were sailing, did you sail your ship into San Francisco?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you have aboard women sailors?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. They work women just like men in Russia?

A. Yes. The last ship I worked I had six girls. Two of them were fire-women.

Q. Firewomen?

A. Yes, in stoke holds.

Q. Shoveling coal?

A. Yes.

Q. Women shoveling coal just like men?

A. Yes.

Q. Now how were these women sailors dressed when you got into San Francisco?

A. You see the reason the girls joined the Merchant Marine in Russia, it is mostly to get dressed. Every young girl, even in Communistic country, wants to be decently dressed, so the ones who can't do it, join the Merchant Marine, but they look of course, the usual Russian way, very drab and nothing to wear, and when we come here in the United States, there was always some nice people who helped them to—like—it was in particular in San Francisco, it was ladies' societies to help Russia, or something or other, they gave my girls, six girls, everything—absolutely everything. The girls were, of course, happy.

Q. Nice dresses and shoes?

A. Everything.

Q. Hats?

A. Everything that is necessary to be dressed good. When we came back to the trip out, the Customs officials took it all away from them, so this time I got angry and I said, "Now I will try to fight for my girls," so I sent a telegram to Moscow that I believe the action of Custom officials are wrong. They

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didn't buy it for—as a contraband. It was a present given to them for their own use. In a few days I got a reply: "The action of the Customs officers are absolutely right, and you as a skipper will answer if you will in future allow your crew to get any presents at all," so that was all. The girls were undressed again.

Q. I will ask you, Skipper, in your travels around the world, did you from time to time get books and literature from foreign countries?

A. Yes.

Q. How was that looked on in Russia?

A. As a rule, no literature printed outside of Russia can be brought to Russia. Every time when the ship starts from Russia the ship is searched by the N K V D and everything printed in Russia is taken away, like a newspaper—local little newspapers. We were allowed only to take outside Pravda and Izvestia. Pravda, it was a—it is—still is Communistic Party official newspaper, and Izvestia, it is Russian government official paper. No other literature could be taken outside of Russia, and any literature that the crew usually were donated by American people just to entertain them, were taken away instantly upon arrival to Russia. The only literature that penetrated Russia from outside was sent by Russian representatives here. Usually it was a box, or a big trunk, filled with papers and literature, and the address would be Trading Company or Ministry of Trading, or something, or else, but all this thing will go right to the N K V D, and a few times I started to protest—excuse me, gentlemen, but it is not your address. He would say, "Never mind, we know better."

Q. Did you buy books in England and America?

A. Yes, I personally did, and I usually had on board with me many American, English, French books and any kind I could get hold of, but, the trouble was to keep them on board of my ship so I learned very easy the trick, how to do it. When the man of N K V D would come to search my room, I would leave on my desk a fountain pen—usually cheap kind, 30¢ or something, then have ready a glass of whiskey, and then pour him a glass of whiskey and then he would open the book case, look all over my books—"All printed in Russia?" "Yes, certainly,"—lock the door and he will disappear and so will my fountain pen.

Q. Captain, I will ask you, is bribery of that kind a common thing among Russian officials?

A. Yes, you can do many things with bribery. First thing the ship is back from United States in Russia. First thing, it is a big truck alongside. This truck belongs to the party officials of the city, so if you understand your business, and you don't want to get in trouble, you start loading fruits and sugar—well, whatever is good, on this truck. The truck goes away. Now you are fixed with party officials in the city for this trip anyway.

Next will come a light car. This one will be from our office. Well, nobody wants to get in trouble with his next boss, so you load this little car.

Then there are different small department heads, and they will come with a big bag, so you fill them up too, so your papers will go through much easier, and finally—of course there are many girls who are pushing a lot of your papers through,—well, you give chocolates and lipsticks and everything, so the bribery is widely spread.

Q. Is that true all through the system then?

A. All through the system.

Q. Captain, did you carry a commissar aboard your ship?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was the real boss of the ship?

A. The Commissar.

Q. But you were the master in charge of the ship, weren't you?

A. Yes, mine is blame, his is praise.

Q. What is that?

A. Mine is blame if something is wrong.

Q. You are blamed—

A. His is praise if something is good.

Q. In other words, if you have a good trip—

A. That's all right.

Q. He gets the credit, but if something happens bad, it's your fault?

A. I'm to blame.

Q. Did you always know who these commissars were?

A. Oh, yes, it is official member of the party who is sent, especially to supervise the activity of the crew, especially in foreign harbors, and of course, they wouldn't tell me that he is spying on me, but everybody knows that he is looking for the skipper because most of skippers are not Communists, so they are always under suspicion, and the commissar has to look after his actions.

The commissar, as soon as aboard, he starts to create his own secret service. He picks up a few people from the crew and gives them the assignment to look after so many people, and another guy after so many people, and then the work starts. They report everything the people are talking—everything, if abroad, to whom they are talking, where they were going and so on, and if something he believes wrong with the skipper, he reports the skipper, and the skipper gets fired.

Q. Now, in foreign ports, Captain, did they let your crew go ashore and visit here in America?

A. Well, not very much. Before you start from Russia, you have to go—as a skipper, you have to go and visit the N K V D. Then—not only the skipper, but all the crew is summoned to see the secret police, or N K V D. In some way, it is to cancel—

Q. What?

A. Cancel? To make not clear.

Q. Oh, to cancel.

A. To make not clear to other people who is the secret agent, you see?

Q. Oh, conceal.

A. Conceal, that's it. They take all the crew to talk with. Who will be the secret agent on board your ship you couldn't find, because everybody were talking to the N K V D, but the skipper would be told how to look after the crew in a foreign harbor. I would sign a paper in which I would tell that in case if something will happen against this instruction, I understand I could be tried as a traitor to my country.

Q. As a traitor to Russia?

A. Yes, and my signature. In this instruction, it was about thirteen points.

Q. Thirty points?

A. Thirteen, or something like that. First of all I am responsible to see

that the crew are not given shore leave any time but from 17 to 5:00 o'clock afternoon until 10:00 o'clock afternoon.

I have to see that all the people that are going on shore leave are going in groups of four or five men.

I have to see that all these groups wouldn't go visit anybody—private people in the United States. Neither talk to anybody on the street. Neither visit the beer parlor, nor visit the movies—theatres, nor buy Russian newspapers, and the only thing that was permitted to them is to buy clothes and food and so on.

Then I will, when here—oh, excuse me. Still in Russia, I would be charged with the duty to collect as much information on what is going on in the United States. In particular, such a thing like approaches to the harbors, depth, and weather conditions, and some particular navigation aids and so on, and so on. That's from the point of view of a navigator.

Then I would be charged with duty to collect information on plants, factories, and all this industry I could observe myself, without getting too conspicuous in this work.

Then I will be charged with the duty to collect information about the mood of the people in this particular country, how they feel against their government, how is their on the job duties and so on and so on. Well this way, every Russian skipper in any foreign country was working like a spy for Russia. If you don't, well, that's too bad.

Q. You have to make those reports upon your return, is that right?

A. Yes. As I know, the skippers usually try to give as much water as possible in their report. That's all.

Q. They try to build them up to—

A. To give as much water in those reports—just give water.

Q. Water?

A. Yes.

Q. Now—

A. But the Communists, they did a real job.

Q. Oh, the Communist skippers did a real job?

A. Certainly.

Q. Now Captain, when you granted shore leave to your people here in the United States, were they accompanied by an N K V D man or a trusted Communist?

A. Yes. As I said before, actually it was on each Russian ship, it is two secret service, one from N K V D, man, you don't know who they are, and then another group is created on the ship by the commissar. He might not know the N K V D people, but he has his own five or six too, but those people are reporting everybody else in those groups.

Q. They are spying on each other.

A. Spying on each other.

Q. Does the same—is the same thing true in Russia?

A. Oh, yes, absolutely.

Q. Will you explain it?

A. Well, actually in Russia, they don't even have to have a big secret police itself, because all Russian people are participating in the work of spying. There is a law. It says that if a man is spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda—in other words, criticizing the government, he is guilty and he

must go to jail for ten years, and the men who is listening to him is guilty too, and goes to jail for five years. So now this way—suppose five men met together and one was talking against the government. Other four men, they don't know him very well. Maybe he is a secret police agent himself, and if they fail to report him next morning they will be accused to listen to propaganda and get five years in jail. So to save themselves, they have to report the man who was talking against.

Q. If you and another captain were to talk together—you would say something, this other man would run down and report you for fear you would report him and say "I talked to so and so—"

A. Yes.

Q. If he doesn't report you, then—

A. Because he is guilty to listening to me.

Q. That espionage system all throughout Russia?

A. Exactly.

Q. Now Captain, during this period of time that you were operating between Russia and the United States, did you from time to time carry secret couriers aboard your ship?

A. Yes.

Q. How would you clear these men with the Immigration and Customs officials in this country?

A. You see, it is not hard to get around American Immigration. They don't search the ship, after all. They ask you to show your men. You don't show the ones you don't want to show.

Q. And they would slip ashore while the ship was in port?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever take secret couriers back to Russia?

A. Yes.

Q. How would they clear Immigration?

A. The same way.

Q. The same way. They would be hidden aboard the ship?

A. Same way, he is hanging around. The last one, it was in Portland. He was sitting in my room. Nobody asked who he is.

Q. He just went right on, and you—

A. Yes, he might be agent after all.

Q. Agent of the ship?

A. Yes. He was sitting right here. The Immigration checked the crew and he sailed with me.

Q. When was this, Captain?

A. It was in 1943, in Portland.

Q. 1943 in Portland.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now Captain, I want to go back just a minute to your testimony pertaining to these large guns. I think you said they were 18-inch guns.

A. Eighteen or sixteen.

Q. Sixteen or eighteen inch guns.

A. Big guns for shore defense.

Q. For shore defense?

A. Uh-huh.

Q. And they were mounted in the—

A. In the Providenie Bay.

Q. Spell that now.

A. P-r-o-v-i-d-e-n-i-e.

CHAIRMAN: Pardon me, will you spell that so the press can get it?

MR. HOUSTON: Did the press fail to get that? P-r-o-s-i-d-e-n-i-e.

THE WITNESS: Oh, excuse me, not "s" but "v", the fourth one.

MR. HOUSTON: P-r-o-v-i-d-e-n-i-e?

THE WITNESS: That's right.

Q. Providenie Bay.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now Captain, did you transport these guns over on your ship?

A. Yes.

Q. You actually carried these guns over. Where did you get them here in the United States?

A. In Portland.

Q. In Portland, and did you see the same guns subsequently mounted there?

A. No, I was sent with them, and discharged them at this place, and waited. Military people were on my boat that installed these guns and were working on them, and I left this bay when they were already mounted.

Q. When you left they were already mounted?

A. Yes.

Q. You are not testifying to something you heard?

A. No, no, I was working on them.

Q. You were working on them.

Now I will ask you, Captain, first just to clear the record, did you ever join the Communist Party in Russia?

A. No.

Q. Have you had any connection with the Communist Party since coming to the United States?

A. No.

Q. Do you ever intend to join the Communist Party?

A. No. They tried to get me.

Q. They tried to get you.

Now Captain, do you think that Communism is any threat to America?

A. Without any doubt.

Q. Without any doubt. Do you think it will eventually lead to revolution and war with Russia?

A. Yes.

Q. Now what makes you say "yes"?

A. First of all their aim is to make a revolution every place. Then we knew in Russia that there is in any country communistic—they never call the Communistic Party of America, or something like this. It was a branch of Communistic Party. American branch, French branch and so on. It was the same Communistic Party, so they used to tell us in Russia when I was in the school, "How big is American Party?" or "How big is German Party?" How nice they do in this party, and how bad are they doing in that party, but their aim is through the parties in each country to create as much trouble as

is possible, and then step in, trying to help the people inside and take it over.

Q. In other words, the Communists will create trouble and friction and—

A. And then Russia steps in and take it over, like they did already in many countries.

Q. Same pattern was taught for America that has been followed in other countries?

A. Absolutely, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: It is now 12:10 and I think we will recess. Pardon me, there are just one or two further points I want to clear with the Captain after lunch.

CHAIRMAN: We will recess until 1:40.

(Recess)
(1:30 o'clock, p. m.)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Captain, you hold an American license as a master of all ships, all tonnages, all oceans?

A. Yes.

Q. What is called an unlimited license, is that right?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. Are you a master of an American ship?

A. No, I am a chief officer of one of the ships.

Q. You are a chief officer on an American ship?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it a large ship?

A. Yes, it is about 10,000 tons.

Q. 10,000 tons. Why are you not a master?

A. Well, I didn't get it yet.

Q. You didn't get a job, in other words?

A. No.

MR. HOUSTON: The Captain, Mr. Chairman, didn't want any impression gone out that he is a master of an American ship. He is licensed to be but he hasn't been able to get a ship yet. He is chief officer on one.

Q. Now Captain, before lunch you testified that due to the Russian system of slipping couriers and agents in and out of the country, you made the statement it was easy to get them by Immigration. Did you mean any criticism of Immigration in that regard?

A. Oh, not at all. Everything is relative for Russia to try to get out of Russia, or inside of Russia, and it is absolutely nearly impossible to do, because they have a guard every next step with dogs, and they are shooting at you without warning. Of course American Immigration couldn't do such a thing. As far as American Immigration is concerned, they are doing a beautiful work, but they simply couldn't afford to shoot at anybody in sight, and so—

Q. The only way you could keep these Russians from slipping in and out on the ships that way, would be to shoot them, then?

A. Well, they actually do shoot at people when crossing the border.

Q. In Russia they actually shoot people that try to get in and out that way.

A. Exactly. They hold the guns and dogs, and they trace you and shoot at you first, and then grab you.

Q. Oh, they shoot first and then grab you?

A. Certainly.

Q. And there wasn't any criticism at all intended toward any Immigration officer?

A. Certainly not. The only thing what I meant, having Russian experience of course it seems too easy to me. No risk for life, at least.

Q. In other words, you are used to the Russian system, where if an unauthorized person tried to board a ship they would just shoot them and that is all.

A. That's all.

Q. You were in the army of the United States of America, Captain?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you receive any medals for your service?

A. Three.

Q. You received three medals. Did you receive any citations?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you receive a citation from the navy?

A. Yes.

Q. How did that occur, that you were in the army and you received a citation from the navy?

A. I joined the American army and it was in the Transportation Corps. This Transportation Corps was doing the transportation job, so all Merchant Marine people quite naturally get in this outfit, but when I worked in the Army Transportation Corps, evidently some records of my work in the army got into the Navy Intelligence Service, so—

Q. Wait, lets not discuss anything that occurred in the Intelligence Service. May I have permission to strike that word from the record?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: We don't want details of any of our armed forces intelligence service.

Q. Captain, may I ask you this way: Were you loaned to the Navy by the Army?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. And as a result of the service you performed for the Navy you received a Navy citation?

A. Being in the Army I was working for the Navy.

Q. Did you also receive a citation from the Army?

A. Yes I did.

Q. Now, Captain, you have observed this meeting this morning. If some one in this crowd were to get up and shout at the speaker, or to condemn the chairman in a meeting like this in Russia, what would happen?

A. Well such a thing is absolutely impossible in Russia. Nobody would dare to do such a thing, but if somebody would, well, he will be in jail very soon.

Q. They put them right in jail?

A. Right in jail.

Q. Well would that be the end of it or would they probably—

A. It depends on what kind of question would be discussed on the meeting. If it would be a government program of some kind, of course this man will be accused of trying to make an obstruction to the government, or would be accused in trying to make an anti-Communistic propaganda, and he would be finally shot.

Q. He would be shot—

A. He would be shot.

Q. —if it was against the government program?

A. Yes.

Q. Now Captain, I want to discuss a little further with you, penalties. What happens to the captain of a ship who loses his ship—that is, the ship is wrecked.

A. Everything in Russia is government property. There is no private property whatsoever, so, when you work—suppose on board of a ship, you are using the government property and a valuable one—a ship, cargo, and so on. If something happened and you lose your ship you are guilty in wrecking the government, and as you have nothing to pay with, you are shot.

Q. Do they not recognize that accidents are beyond the ability of anyone to stop?

A. No. There is no such a thing. According to Russian theory, any accident, if you dig into it, you will find a guilty man.

Q. Is there any such thing as an act of God?

A. No, the man is always guilty.

Q. And the captain that loses his ship is always shot?

A. Yes, the captain is responsible for it. He is the one to be shot.

Q. What about a railroad engineer that has a wreck which is not within his power to stop?

A. Same thing with the railroad engineer. It might be not only railroad engineer will be in this position, but—some railroad—whatever it is, dispatcher?

Q. Dispatcher, yes.

A. Dispatcher, or it may be head of the—of this particular district or something like this, but any time it will be one guilty man.

Q. One guilty man.

A. At least one guilty.

Q. Yes, at least one. Somebody is shot for every accident then?

A. For example, it was in wartime the order given by Timoshenko that—especially for truck drivers, if a truck driver have a trouble on the road he must be shot on the spot.

Q. That was an official order of General Timoshenko during the war?

A. Yes.

Q. If a truck driver had an accident on the road he was to be shot on the spot?

A. On the spot.

Q. Now I want to ask you, Captain, as a man that was educated in the Russian schools and lived the major portion of his life in Russia, do the

Russians and the Communists and the school systems and the propaganda—does that all teach an absence of God? Do they teach atheism?

A. Most definitely so. According to the Russian beliefs, all religions are the opium—

Q. Opium?

A. —for the people.

Q. Religion is an opium for the people.

A. For the people. In other words, religion is supposed to suppress the working people, and to help the rulers to rule them.

Q. And the Russian government is definitely against religion?

A. Definitely.

Q. Have they tried to stamp churches and religion out in Russia?

A. They certainly did. First of all, they start to destroy—actually destroy churches, and some of them were converted into movies, and the kind of clubs—clubs of any kind, and so on and so on.

Q. They made clubs and movies out of the churches?

A. Out of the churches, and then all the majority of the priests, shortly after the revolution, were thrown in jail and concentration camps. It was—they were mostly accused in anti-Communist propaganda, but it was what they get for their preaching in church, but, if a man would still stick to the religion and would like to marry a girl in church, or to christen his child, he would run a risk to lose his job. Officially, he couldn't be brought under the trial for this deed, but the union will call the meeting, and the leaders who are all Communists, will tell him that he still believing in God, he is not a good proletarian, and so on and so on. Then he will be on this accusation, will be thrown away from the union, that is all, but, when a man is thrown out from the union, he will lose his job, because anybody who is working must be a member of union in Russia. Then when he is thrown away from the union, he automatically lose his job. When he loses his job, he automatically lose his bread, because you can't get a ration, only if you are working. So when you are out of job you are out of bread. Then, you have either to starve or surrender yourself to the police—or still, and in any way, in due time you are in concentration camp, just to try to christen your child, or marry a girl in church.

Q. Now Captain, during the war we heard the heads of the Russian government opened the churches; that they changed their attitude and permitted people to go to church during the war, was that true?

A. Yes, it is true.

Q. Why was that true? Why did they do that?

A. You see, in spite of all the government pressure on churches, Russian people en masse still remains believers.

Q. Believers?

A. Believers.

Q. Believers in God?

A. Yes.

Q. And religious?

A. Religious, that's the word, so, when the war started and Hitler started pushing inside of Russia, he realized very well that the Russian people that was cut from their religion would evidently like to get their church back. So, with Hitler's army there was always Russian priests and all church imple-

ments, and as soon as he pushed in some place—Russian place, he instantly would open a Russian church. That's how it happened that Ukrainians where he was moving very fast, actually were helping Germans to go faster, because they saw their only chance to get their church back.

Q. In other words, as fast as Hitler's armies overran Russia, they immediately opened the churches in every town—

A. Yes.

Q. —they went into?

A. Yes.

Q. And the Russian people wholeheartedly attended the churches?

A. Certainly.

Q. And that got to the Russian people in the areas where he had not conquered yet?

A. Exactly, and then of course the Communist Party realizes they are losing many people this way, and started opening churches themselves again.

Q. They didn't change their thinking any, it was an expediency of the war, then?

A. Yes, I am quite sure it is—it will be the same after awhile, and I believe it is again going on—all this suppression of churches.

Q. They are suppressing the church?

A. Yes, they never did change their ideas about church.

MR. HOUSTON: I see. Mr. Chairman, I believe that is all from this witness. It is possible we will recall him at some future time if we need him—that is, during the term of this hearing, but I would like to have him released from the hearing if it is agreeable to you now, to let him return to his duties aboard ship which is not in this port at this time, even.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will leave it to you and the Captain to decide that.

(Witness Excused)

ELLSWORTH CLAYTON WILLS, called as a witness, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name for the record, please?

A. Ellsworth Clayton Wills.

Q. How do you spell your last name, please?

A. W-i-l-s.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Wills?

A. 2131—46th Southwest, Seattle.

Q. What business, profession, or occupation are you in at this time?

A. I am a college student.

Q. Where—

A. University of Washington.

Q. Mr. Wills, how long have you resided within the State of Washington?

A. Outside of the war service, must be about thirty years.

Q. Mr. Wills, the record in addition to being taken down stenographically is also being recorded, and I will greatly appreciate it if you will address your

remarks to the "mike" directly to your left and speak loud enough so there will be no question of its being recorded.

Mr. Wills, have you ever held any official position with the State of Washington?

A. Yes. I was a member of the Washington Legislature.

Q. As a member of the Legislature of the State of Washington, what district did you represent?

A. I represented the 34th District.

Q. During what years, please?

A. 1939 and 1940.

Q. Mr. Wills, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you first join the Communist Party?

A. I think about 1935.

Q. Mr. Wills, do you remember the name of the person that recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Just—

A. James Cour.

Q. Would you spell that for the sake of the record, please?

A. C-o-u-r. Cour.

Q. Do you remember where he recruited you in the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes. Do you mean the actual episode?

Q. Yes, the building, location, or where was it, in other words?

A. A restaurant directly in the middle of the block, the Columbia Cafe, as a matter of fact.

Q. Here in the City of Seattle?

A. Here in the City of Seattle.

Q. After being recruited in the Communist Party and joining the Communist Party, what unit of the Party were you assigned to, or what unit of the Party did you attend?

A. The West Seattle unit. It had a number, but I don't recall the number.

Q. For the sake of the record, what years did you attend meetings of the Communist Party in the West Seattle unit?

A. It was in the West Seattle unit, only.

Q. And what years—

A. I would say roughly between the years 1935 and 1940.

Q. During the period of five years from 1935 to 1940?

A. Now this—don't misunderstand me. Not attending the actual unit but certainly involved.

Q. I understand. You referred to Mr. Cour as being the person who recruited you into the Party. Did you know what his activity was at the time as to what his employment was?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was that, please?

A. Mr. Cour was either—well, he was working for the Voice of Action. His capacity I am not sure of. I think he was an assistant editor.

Q. Do you remember the name of the editor at that time?

A. Yes. Lowell Wakefield.

Q. Now, what was this Voice of Action?

A. The Voice of Action was the Party publication in the City of Seattle and on the Northwest coast.

Q. What do you mean when you refer to the Party publication?

A. Well, I say it was directed by the Communist Party. It was the Voice of Action. It should be almost self-evident.

Q. I will ask you to state after you joined the Communist Party, if you ever were active in the affairs of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, as a speaker and also as—well, you might call it the collateral speaker. I didn't only speak, I also determined some part of the policy—I mean very little policy.

Q. Did you go out making speeches to the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Oh, yes. About three times a week for a long time.

Q. Under whose auspices were you making these speeches?

A. The Speakers' Bureau of the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

Q. Who controlled the Speakers' Bureau of the Washington Commonwealth Federation at that time?

A. Who controlled it?

Q. Yes sir.

A. That's a rather difficult question.

Q. Maybe you don't understand what I am driving at. I will withdraw that question and ask it this way: Were you a member of the Old Age Pension Union at the time you went out and made speeches to the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Oh, yes. But I—

Q. Yes.

A. I want to clarify that situation so there won't be any—

Q. Let me ask you, the next question I think will clarify it. Did you join the Old Age Pension Union before or after you joined the Communist Party?

A. After.

Q. At the time you joined the Old Age Pension Union how old were you?

A. I don't want to appear modest—

Q. Well, approximately.

A. Well, around thirty-two or thirty-three, around there.

Q. Thirty-two or thirty-three. What was your purpose in joining the Old Age Pension Union when you joined?

A. I want to clarify that situation before we go any further, I mean just as a matter of clarification. I didn't join the Pension Union as a pensioner, obviously. I joined the Pension Union because they received a certain amount of my dues—I mean paid into the various Party channels. Those dues were accepted by the Pension Union and in exchange I was given a card which made me a member of the Pension Union. And that is—as my actual membership is concerned, that is as far as it applied.

Q. You just merely paid your dues in that?

A. That is right, yes.

Q. You got a card back?

A. That is right.

Q. But you did go out and make speeches to them—

A. Oh, definitely; oh, sure.

Q. All right, now when you went out and made speeches to the Pension Union what were the purpose of those speeches—what were—

A. Well, at the particular time, we won't go back into the Legislative body, what it consisted of, many persons are probably here who know the situation as well as I do. The idea was to organize the Pension Union and to keep it organized because it was a very, very important and essential point in the policy. You had something dumped in your lap, incidentally; something you never had before, such as a lot of old people who usually are politically incapable because of age, for one thing, incapable of any organized thought. Naturally they had one thing they wanted—they wanted a pension. Promise them anything.

Q. Now it was the policy of what organization to organize the Pension Union and keep it organized?

A. It was the Communist policy.

Q. Now, did you ever receive any direction as to the line of thought you would develop at your—in your speeches before the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Oh, yes. The line of thought at that time was taken usually from the publication of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, and at that time it was—first the New Dealer and later on I forget what they called it now, in other words, I didn't have to be briefed before I went into a meeting at any time of the Old Age Pension Union to make a speech. I knew.

Q. In other words, you knew what your line was before you made the speech?

A. I knew—that's right.

Q. Now then, state to this—into this record whether that was the Communist Party line or not the Communist Party line?

A. It was the Communist Party line.

Q. Now at the time you were paying dues into the Old Age Pension Union were you also paying dues into the Communist Party?

A. Well, probably—I don't know. I mean—

Q. During the period of time that you were in the Communist Party were you also in the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes. During the whole period. I mean, as far as the Pension Union was concerned, yes.

Q. Going back to your activities in the Communist Party, did you reside in West Seattle at the time?

A. That is correct.

Q. Did you ever act in any, oh, let's say either official or semi-official position in your respective unit of the Communist Party out in West Seattle during the period of time you lived out there?

A. Yes, yes I did.

Q. State that for the record, here.

A. Well,—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Please speak toward the microphone.

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.

A. I acted in this capacity, that I was chairman of several meetings, but don't understand that I was official as chairman. There was—it was sort of an honorary position.

Q. In other words, it was passed around from time to time?

A. That is correct, yes sir.

Q. In due course of time, you were the chairman.

A. That is right.

Q. But you did at different times act as chairman of the—that West Seattle unit during the period of time—

A. That is right, yes.

Q. Now, can you identify the names of any persons that were members of that same West Seattle unit of the Communist Party, Mr. Wills?

A. Yes, I can.

Q. Will you name them for us, please?

A. Mr. and Mrs. Hester.

Q. Now what Mr. Hester—do you know his first name?

A. I do not know his first name.

Q. To refresh your recollection I will ask you if it was Al or Albert?

A. That is right.

Q. How do you spell that last name?

A. H-e-s-t-e-r.

Q. Do you think of any other name?

A. Margaret Haugland.

Q. Margaret Haugland?

A. That is right.

Q. Will you spell the last name, please?

A. Wait until I see it. I never could spell it. H-a-u-g-l-a-n-d.

Q. Do you think of any other name?

A. Elizabeth Boggs.

Q. How do you spell her last name?

A. B-o-g-g-s.

Q. Anyone else?

A. Let me refresh my memory a minute.

Q. Well, I will ask you if you ever heard—if you knew a person by the name of Mable Jensen?

A. Yes sir. Definitely.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not she was a member of this West Seattle branch of the—or unit of the Communist Party, during the time that you were—

A. She was, yes.

Q. Did you ever hear the name of Mike Smith?

A. Yes of course. He was my seat mate in the Legislature—we served the same session.

Q. He was your seat mate in the Legislature?

A. No, he wasn't my seat mate—but I mean we were in the same group together—same Legislative group.

Q. Well, will you state at this time that Mike Smith during that period of time was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, absolutely.

Q. Does the name Morris Rapport or Rappaport mean anything to you?

A. It does considerably, yes.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not—I will ask you to state who Morris Rapport was, briefly.

A. Rapport at the time I was involved was the Northwest organizer for the Communist Party—

Q. Mr. Wills—pardon me. Did you have something further to add?

A. Well, I don't know how much more important he was than that.

Q. Mr. Wills, during this period of time that you were in the Party in various capacities as you have testified from 1935 to 1940, did you ever hear of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

A. Oh yes.

Q. State briefly into the record what the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was.

A. Well, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was a group of volunteers from the United States of America who were supposedly going to Spain to win the Spanish revolution. I was subscribed to, you might state it that way, by Morris Rapport, but my passport was not actually delivered or anything for certain reasons. I volunteered for that organization.

Q. Going back just a little bit—who recruited persons into the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

A. It usually operated this way—that through a—well, through the Party press.

Q. Now again will you identify what you mean by Party press?

A. Well, it is very difficult to identify it, in other words, you have so many booklets to buy—

Q. What party are you talking about?

A. I am talking about the Communist Party.

Q. That's the only identification I wanted to know.

A. —so many booklets, and you would get perhaps on one meeting night perhaps a bundle of the stuff and you had to use it—I mean it was sort of dumped on you.

Q. All right. Did you ever have a discussion with Morris Rapport about your going over to Spain?

A. Oh, definitely, yes sir.

Q. Along with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

A. That is correct, yes.

Q. Do you remember when it happened, what—

A. It happened in Meve's Cafeteria. The date I don't know.

Q. Well did you—was there anything done about your going over to Spain—did you take into—was there any overt act on your part toward accomplishing that purpose?

A. Well, not an overt act, no. I was young and able—I will put it that way.

Q. Well, did you do anything—did you start to Spain or did you—make any effort—

A. Well, I was going all out, yes sir. But due to personal difficulties at the time, when my family was ill, I didn't go. That's all there was to that.

Q. Did you have to have a passport to get from this country over there?

A. Yes. Definitely.

Q. Anybody give you any instructions about how to get—

A. Yes, I had instructions.

Q. Who gave you those instructions?

A. Rapport did.

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Q. Did you know at that time—when you were given those instructions by Morris Rapport to get that passport that you were being recruited into the Abraham Lincoln Brigade by the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes, definitely. I talked about that—

Q. Did you go to Spain as a result of that?

A. No, I didn't. I did not.

Q. Your reason for not going was what?

A. Well, it was purely—well, a personal family reason. In other words, my family was ill. That's the only reason.

Q. Now, referring to the persons whom you named a few minutes ago as being members of the West Seattle Communist Party unit namely, Mr. Al Hester and Mrs. Al Hester, and Mrs. Mable Jensen, and Mable Conrad and Elizabeth Boggs, did you actually yourself sit in Communist Party meetings with them?

A. Absolutely.

Q. There in West Seattle?

A. That is right.

Q. Now state—

A. I wish—I wish to make a statement of my own here. This is as of about seven years ago. In other words, I don't know what the status is now.

Q. Now you say you do or don't know?

A. I don't.

Q. I understand. I understand now that you are testifying as to conditions—

A. That is correct, yes.

Q. —at the time you were in the Party then, not now?

A. That is right.

Q. Now then, what part, if any, did any or all of those persons whom you have named play in the Old Age Pension Union movement during the time you were in the Communist Party?

A. I wish I had a match, please. I am going to have to expand that question a little, if you don't mind.

Q. Well, let me ask the question another way. Did they take any part in the Old Age Pension Union Movement?

A. Oh, but certainly.

Q. Then just discuss that, if you will.

A. In the first place, what didn't we concern ourselves with? May I put the question on that basis rather than the statement. We concerned ourselves with everything that looked like it had potentialities of mass movement. Anything. The Pension movement at that particular time that the Legislative act was made were—well, the pensions were available to the old folks. Immediately required from the standpoint of the Communist Party an organization—of course, you don't get away this easy. If you are getting anything from the state and the Communists has anything to do with it you are going to organize. You know that. Therefore, the Pension Union was organized. And I say it was organized on the basis only that it could be controlled by the only persons who were interested in organizing, and that was the Communist Party.

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Q. Now you—

A. Does that clarify that at all?

Q. Very well, sir. And do you make that statement as a former member of the Communist Party knowing what the Communist Party's attitude was at that time?

A. I do, yes, absolutely.

Q. Mr. Wills, have you ever attended any plenums held by the Communist Party?

A. Yes, yes I have.

Q. Do you remember a particular plenum held in the Norway Hall of the Communist Party that you attended?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. About 1938?

A. Yes I do, around there.

Q. Just briefly what is a plenum held by the Communist Party?

A. Well, a plenum is a sort of a form of convention, I mean that's about the closest I could come to it, in which the various units get together and they elect certain representatives. It doesn't make any difference who you elect, anyway. I mean you're almost either—I mean they use the form of democracy as something that is not democratic. A plenum, you get together when a major change of policy is taking place, usually.

Q. Would there be anyone sitting in those plenums that were not members of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. This particular plenum that you referred to that you sat in—where was this held?

A. Norway Hall.

Q. And what year was that, if you remember?

A. Around 1935, I believe.

Q. Now did there any—was there anyone seated in this plenum or present in this plenum that was not a member of the Communist Party?

A. I doubt it very much. Unless of course there were Federal agents. I don't know.

Q. Well, do you know of anyone sitting in that plenum that wasn't a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Do you remember the names of the persons who attended that plenum along with you?

A. Some of them.

Q. Will you recount those that recur to your mind at this time?

A. Both Hesters.

Q. You mean by that the two Hesters you talked about—Al Hester and his wife?

A. That is correct, yes. That is right.

Q. All right. Were there any doctors there?

A. There was a Dr. Baxter.

Q. Was that a man or a lady?

A. It was a lady. Not a doctor, either.

Q. Do you know of anyone else that was there—do you remember anyone else that was there?

A. Yes sir, her daughter was there.

Q. What was her name?

A. Marjorie Baxter.

Q. Marjorie Baxter. Do you know who—what her name became subsequently?

A. Yes, of course.

Q. What was that?

A. Plumb. No I'm wrong, pardon. I take that back. That's wrong. Westman.

Q. Westman. Do you know Lenus Westman?

A. I have never met the man.

Q. Do you know whether this Marjorie Baxter was—later became related to Lenus Westman?

A. Yes I am aware of that. They are man and wife, I believe.

Q. Now, was there anyone else there, that you remember?

A. I am pretty positive that Brockway was there, and I am quite sure that Wakefield was there.

Q. Brockway. Do you remember what—was that—was that Harold Brockway?

A. That is right. That is right.

Q. You are quite sure that Harold Brockway was there?

A. I would be fairly certain, yes.

Q. What was his—he doing about that time?

A. Well, at that particular time when the plenum was called there was a little internal disturbance in the Party. I mean the boys weren't getting along. They usually don't anyway. And the reason for the plenum, I think, was for certain—I got the impression, anyway, that the idea was to straighten out Wakefield.

Q. What Wakefield was that?

A. That's Lowell Wakefield.

Q. Lowell Wakefield. Is that the same Lowell Wakefield that you testified to a while ago was editor of the *Voice of Action*?

A. That is correct, yes.

Q. The Communist Paper—

A. That is right.

Q. —in this locality? It was your impression that this plenum was held for the purpose of straightening out this Lowell Wakefield?

A. Also—it was held for another reason, also. I don't want to use bad English. The result also was for the purpose of elections that were coming up. In other words, the various districts of King County had to be consolidated. You had to bring all these units together in order to make out your slate. Now I say, by slate that the Party never did anything in its life politically except slates.

Q. What Party are you referring to, by the word Party?

A. I am referring to the Communist Party.

Q. All right. Was the head of the Party of the Northwest District at this plenum?

A. Rapport was there, yes.

Q. Who handed down the Party line on that occasion?

A. That I don't know. My local unit was responsible for my indoctrination.

Q. Was anyone else at this particular plenum that you recall—other than those persons whom you have named?

A. No—

Q. Refreshing your recollection I will ask you if Margaret Haglund was there?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, did you ever serve our country during the war?

A. I did.

Q. What branch of the service were you in?

A. I was in the United States Navy.

Q. Did you receive an honorable discharge—

A. I did.

Q. —from the United States Navy?

A. I did.

Q. When were you in the United States Navy and for how long?

A. During 1942, 1943, '44—three—two years anyway. Overseas, two.

Q. You were overseas two years?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, I would like to ask you to state if you finally got out of the Communist Party?

A. How did I finally get out?

Q. First I will ask you if you finally got out of the Communist Party?

A. I got out, sure. I got expelled, if that's what you mean.

Q. That's what I want to know. How did you—how did it happen that you got expelled from the Communist Party and what was the circumstances?

A. Well, the circumstances were just plainly this: That a lot of the—many members of the Legislature—I think there were seven—we made this statement publicly to the PI here in Seattle, that the Russian aggression against Finland was an open act of aggression, and I felt honestly that it was, and I think I had a lot of companionship on that. We made that open statement. As a consequence of that statement which was diametrically opposed to the Party line, I was expelled out of the Communist Party. Does that clarify that?

Q. That does. In other words, by reason of the fact that you and six other Legislators made a public statement censuring Russia's attack upon Finland—

A. That is right.

Q. —you were expelled from the Communist Party?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now what did that act of expulsion consist of?

A. In my case it didn't follow the usual pattern. The usual pattern first is to get you up before some—before an important committee of the Party and thereby crucify you, as an example. Well, apparently what the Party opinion was at that time that I would be better off left alone, so they sent an emissary from some other unit that I didn't know, to pick up my book, which I did. I yielded the book.

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Q. Now, do you at this time know who that emissary was?
 A. I do not.

Q. Was it a man or a woman?
 A. It was a woman.

Q. A person totally unknown to you at that time?

A. Completely unknown to me, yes.

Q. And a person whose identity has never yet been revealed to you?
 A. I wouldn't know her if I saw her tomorrow.

Q. That's all, Mr. Wills, thank you every much.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Wills.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: Now the next witness is Alfred Gordon.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you stand and be sworn.

ALFRED GORDON, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Be seated, please. And try to speak loud enough to be heard and toward the microphone.

MR. WHIPPLE: He refers to that microphone there.

If it please the Chairman, I would like to have this instrument identified and given a number in this case.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Number 17.

MR. WHIPPLE: I should like to have this one marked.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Number 18.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name?

A. My name is Alfred Gordon.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Gordon?

A. 1325 Holly Street.

Q. How long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. Twenty-three years.

Q. Mr. Gordon, I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 17. I will ask you to examine that and state for the record, if you will, what that is.

A. That's my membership in the Communist Party for the year 1947.

MR. WHIPPLE: May it please the Chairman, I would like to dictate this exhibit into the record as being 1946-1947 membership card of the Communist Party of the United States of America, the same being No. 55817 over the signature of Henry E. Huff, signature of state chairman.

Q. Mr. Gordon, do you remember when you joined the Communist Party?
 A. October, 1946.

Q. Mr. Gordon, who recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. A party by the name of Ward Coley, executive of the Building Service Employees International Union.

Q. Were you a member of that union at that time?

A. Yes sir. Member of the executive board.

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Q. Mr. Gordon, do you know a man by the name of William Pennock?

A. I do.

Q. Is that the same William Pennock who at this time is the president of the Washington Pension Union?

A. He is.

Q. Will you—I would like to ask you whether or not this same William Pennock was a member of the Communist Party at the time you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. I was so informed.

Q. Who informed you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. A party by the name of Olga Schock and also Mr. Ward Coley.

Q. Were you—is that the same Mr. Ward Coley that recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. Did you know this Olga Schock to be a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you spell that name, please?

THE WITNESS: S-c-h-o-c-k.

Q. Was she also an employee of the Local 6 Building Service Union?

A. She was.

Q. I will ask you to state how long you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. I resigned from the Communist Party in May, 1947.

Q. Mr. Gordon, I will ask you to state if you ever heard of a person by the name of Thomas Rabbitt?

A. I did.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not Thomas Rabbitt was a member of the Communist Party?

A. I was so informed.

Q. Who informed you that Thomas Rabbitt was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Olga Schock and Ward Coley.

Q. The same two officials that you referred to a few minutes ago?

A. The same two, that's right.

Q. And were they members of the Communist Party at that time?

A. They were.

Q. Were they members of the same unit of the Communist Party that you were a member of?

A. That's right.

Q. This Thomas Rabbitt whose name you have referred to, is that the same Thomas Rabbitt who at this time is vice-president of the Washington Pension Union?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you answer it yes or no?

THE WITNESS: That's right.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Mr. Gordon, as a former member of the Communist Party, I will ask—I would like to ask you to state whether or not the Washington Pension Union

was being used by the Communist Party as a Communist Party front organization?

A. Absolutely.

Q. What causes you to make that statement?

A. The fact that I belonged to the Party and I heard the matter discussed.

Q. Did you hear that matter discussed in the Communist Party?

A. In the unit of which I was a member at that time.

Q. Did you ever receive a card put out by the Old Age Pension Union?

A. I have.

Q. I hand you at this time again what was identified for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit 17, which you testified was your Communist Party card.

A. That's correct.

Q. That is the card that was issued to you?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Now, I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 18 and ask you to exhibit—ask you to examine that and state what—what similarity, if any, exists between those two cards?

A. This is a card of membership from the Washington Pension Union.

Q. Yes sir.

A. It is copied after the membership card of the Communist Party to my opinion.

Q. It is your testimony that Exhibit 18, which is the card that is given to the Old Age Pensioners of this state, is similar to the card that is given to members of the Communist Party?

A. On the same lines.

Q. What is the date on the card issued to the Washington Old Age Pension Union members?

A. That is 1946 and '47.

Q. What is the date issued on the card—the Communist Party card that was issued to you?

A. 1947.

MR. WHIPPLE: For the purpose of the record, may it please the Committee, I want to call the Committee's attention to the fact that they are formed structurally the same, for whatever benefit that might be for the record, no allegation being made, of course, that they are put out by the Communist Party.

That's all, Mr. Gordon, thank you.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: There seems to have been a little misunderstanding here, Mr. Chairman. The next witness isn't here, he is on the way here and I very much wanted to use him ahead of the last witness that I was going to use.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: How many witnesses?

MR. WHIPPLE: There are just two more witnesses.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Approximately how much time will it take to cover their testimony?

MR. WHIPPLE: It will take probably an hour and a half for the two of them. I can start with the one I was going to use last, if you want me to.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would prefer that you do. The State Patrol is tied up here at this time, and other parties who find it inconvenient to be here late in the day.

MR. WHIPPLE: I will be very happy to proceed.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wish you would proceed.

MR. WHIPPLE: Call Mr. Smith.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Stand and be sworn, please, Mr. Smith.

HOWARD F. SMITH, called as a witness, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. You may state your name.

A. Howard F. Smith.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Smith?

A. 1612 Boylston Avenue, Seattle.

Q. In the City of Seattle?

A. Yes sir.

Q. What position or occupation do you hold at this time?

A. What do you mean—what occupation?

Q. Well, what do—do you do anything for a living? What occupation are you in?

A. Well, I have a hotel, and have a dairy, and I raise cattle and hogs.

Q. Oh, now, Mr. Smith, I first want to ask you if you ever joined the Communist Party of the United States?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Have you ever—have you joined the Communist Party of the United States more than once?

A. Well, no, not that I know of.

Q. I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 19, and will ask you if that is a photostat of your former Communist Party card?

A. One of them, yes.

Q. I will hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 20, and ask you to state if that is a true photostat of another of your Communist Party cards?

A. It is of another year.

Q. I would like to dictate into the record Exhibit 19 is a photostat of Communist Card No. 88628, Communist Party of the United States, 1944 membership book, name, Howard Smith; State, Washington; District, Northwest; County, King; City, Seattle; Section A.D. or Ward 35. Branch 350. This book was issued on October 26, 1943, signed Henry P. Huff, Chairman. I would like to dictate into the record the Committee's Exhibit No. 20, which is a true photostat of the Communist Party card No. 42014, 1946 membership card, Communist Party of the United States of America. Name, Howard F. Smith; City, Seattle; State, Washington; under date of November 4, 1945, signed Henry P. Huff, signature of State Chairman.

During your membership into the Communist Party, Mr. Smith, did you ever make any contribution to the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I believe I did.

Transcript of Proceedings of the

Q. Do you have any idea at this time how much money altogether you donated to the Communist Party during the period of time that you were a member?

A. Well, I started out easy and I got going pretty heavy. I—probably \$3,000.00. I don't know whether that would catch it.

MR. WHIPPLE: May it please the Chairman, I have a group of photostats of checks and rather than to identify each separate check as an exhibit, I have purposely clipped them all together and would like to introduce them all at one time.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: How many are there—how many sheets?

MR. WHIPPLE: There are one, two, three, four, five, six, seven. And I would like the group of seven sheets identified as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Exhibit No. 21.

(WHEREUPON, seven sheets, photostats of checks, were ADMITTED as Exhibit No. 21, and are attached hereto and made a part hereof.)

Q. Without going into a discussion of each separate check at this time, I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 21, and I will ask you to look at each page and state whether or not the checks represented there were checks you issued to the Communist Party or Communist Party front organizations?

A. That's right.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Answer a little louder, Mr. Smith, so that it may be recorded.

A. That's my signature, and that's the check.

Q. I'm going to develop all that. I just wanted you to look at it, at this time. Now, did you sign all the checks represented by the photostats on these seven pages?

A. That's right.

Q. Now I will go ahead with those individually. I find here a check under date of February 28, 1944, made payable to Huff & Reeves, and endorsed by Huff & Reeves in the sum of \$10.00. Did you sign that check?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Why was that check made out payable to Huff & Reeves? Who was this Huff and who was this Reeves?

A. Carl Reeves is a fellow they'd sent out here from Pennsylvania and Huff was executive secretary of the Northwest District. And Reeves was a new man, I think, that was taking some job here in the office in Seattle.

Q. Now, who sent Reeves out here, the Communist Party or who?

A. Well, I don't know. I saw him here. He was Mother Bloor's son.

Q. He was Mother Bloor's son? Who was Mother Bloor?

A. Mother Bloor is one of the first organizers of the Communist Party. His brother was—I knew he was a Communist, I saw him in the office. I don't know how he got out here.

Q. Okeh.

A. Brought his family.

Q. Who was this man Huff whose name appeared on the same check?

A. Henry Huff was the executive secretary of the three-state Northwest District, a member of the National Committee.

Un-American Activities Committee

Q. Member of what national committee?

A. There is only one national committee. In New York.

Q. Mr. Smith, for the purpose of the record I want to know whether it was the Communist Party, the Prohibition Party, or what party now are you talking about?

A. Oh. It was the Communist Party.

Q. Thank you, sir.

I call your attention now to a check which you have reviewed from the stand, or seen from the stand, bearing date of May 16, 1944, made payable to Marian Carruthers and endorsed by Marian Carruthers, check being made out in the amount of \$25.00.

A. In '44?

Q. The date—yes. Who was this Marian Carruthers?

A. Marian Carruthers was a Party functionary that—think she came up to the hotel and she wanted me to donate \$25.00 or more. I think it was the Bridges Committee, or the Anti-Refugee Committee. There was so many committees—so many solicitors that you lose track sometimes. But I think it was the Harry Bridges committee.

Q. That was this \$25.00 donated to Marian Carruthers by you, knowing it was going to the—Communist—

A. Oh, yes, she came up and solicited me.

Q. Did you know her as a Communist at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. I notice a check under date of July 20, 1944, made payable in the sum of \$100.00 to a man by the name of Leonard Wildman, the check being endorsed by Leonard Wildman, 155—21st Avenue, Apartment 310, telephone number Capitol 7765, and also endorsed, counter-endorsement by the Washington State Communist Political Association, Ralph Hall, treasurer. Do you remember issuing that check?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember what that check was for, for a hundred dollars?

A. They had to make their quota and they called me up in the office and asked me to donate some money. I told them I was kind of short so I give them a hundred.

Q. They called you up in what office?

A. In the—up in the Headquarters of the Communist Party, I think it was 910½ Third Avenue.

Q. Who was this Leonard Wildman that you made the check payable to?

A. Leonard Wildman was—he and his wife were both—how I come to know he was in the Communist Party. I think they were paid functionaries from the Communist Party.

Q. Now, the next check I wish to ask you about bears date of August 25, 1944, made payable to the Communist Political Association and endorsed by the Washington State Communist Political Association and it was in the sum of \$82.00.

A. \$82.00. That check represents—I was executive secretary and treasurer of the 43rd Branch of the Communist Party and I used to get all the money in from the squad captains and come down to headquarters and turn money in and I think that check is—is money that I collected at my branch, in straightening up with the treasurer at headquarters.

Q. Now, I notice the next check bears date of October 30, 1944, and is made payable to Ralph Hall. The check is endorsed by Ralph Hall and the Washington State Communist Political Association and is in the amount of \$50.00. Do you remember what that check is for?

A. That check was—the Communist Political Association—they pretty near wore out everybody and they were short of funds and every time I'd show up they wanted some money. I remember that particular time they wanted two hundred and I give them fifty.

Q. Mr. Smith, the next check I would like to question you about bears date of January 18, 1945, made payable to cash, but was endorsed by the Washington State Communist Political Association and that check was in the sum of \$100.00. Do you remember what that was given for? And—

A. What date was that?

Q. January the 18th, 1945. Made payable—to refresh your recollection I would like to show you the photostat of the check—January 18, 1945, made payable to cash, \$100.00, and endorsed by the Washington State Communist Political Association. Did you issue that check to them?

A. I did.

Q. Do you remember at this time why you wrote it out to cash instead of out to the name of some individual person?

A. Well, I don't know. I guess it was another—there was one instance where Carl Reeves called me up to his office and wanted to know how much money I had in the bank. I am not sure whether that is the one. But I split my bank account with him and I don't know whether I give him part in a check, or not. I am not sure of that. I don't—I give him lots of checks.

Q. I will ask you—do you remember giving a check to the Russian-American Lodge, I.U.S.O. in the sum of \$100.00 back in March 17, 1945? Do you remember giving that Russian-American lodge a check for \$100.00?

A. Well, I give them a couple of checks that—could I look this over?

Q. Yes sir. Well, did you ever attend this organization called the Russian-American lodge?

A. The—I—I—I could explain that lodge. Those were public functions, so I give those checks. It was after I'm invited to join the International Workers Order, but I never joined, but I used to attend their functions. They always solicited me to attend them and sent me notices. I think that was in the Polish Hall. And at that place they held drinking parties and had dinners and usually showed Soviet Union pictures and ordinarily they'd have some sailors off of Soviet ships and they were usually giving somebody a birthday party, or something. At that particular time they were collecting money for orphans or say somebody in Europe or something and I would give them a hundred.

Q. Did you ever meet a man—strike that. Do you remember at the time you give this check, of meeting a man there at this particular function by the name of Nicolai Redin?

A. Yes. They wanted to introduce me to Nicolai Redin and I had had a few beers and I guess he had, too, and so we felt quite chummy and he put his arm around me and says, "You're a good Comrade." And he had lots of other sailors and he had his wife and a lot of other people that are under cover in the Communist Party used to attend those places.

Q. Yes sir. Now, referring to the last check I wish to have you describe just at this time as part of this one exhibit, I call your attention to check also made payable to cash under date of January 26, 1946, and endorsed by the Northwest District of the Communist Party and in the sum of \$50.00. Do you remember what that check was for?

A. Filled out just to cash?

Q. Yes.

A. It's probably one of those other checks that they were trying—that somebody fell down on their quota and—I—they cry and you can't get away from them, so I give them as little as I could.

Q. Then you did give all these checks as they are represented here in this exhibit—on the dates indicated by the exhibit—to the Communist Party of the United States of America?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Answer a little louder, please, so it can be recorded.

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Mr. Smith, I would like to establish at this time what years you were in the Communist Party, a member of it here in the City of Seattle? In other words, when did you get out, if you did get out, of the Communist Party?

A. When I got out or when I got in.

Q. Well, let's start out that way. When did you get in?

A. I think I got in about six months before the war started, I think it was August, 1941. Is that the right date—I wouldn't be sure of it.

Q. Well, if the war started in December of '42, you got in about six months—'41, you got in about six months previously, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. All right, when did you get out of it?

A. Well, I don't know whether I'm out of it yet.

Q. You mean—

A. You see I—

Q. What did—I will ask you this question, then. Did you ever cease your activities in the Communist Party as a dues paying member?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you cease your activities in the Communist Party as a dues paying member?

A. Oh, that was in—oh, that was a couple of years ago.

Q. Now I will ask you, during the period of time that you were a member of the Communist Party, were you also a member of the Washington Pension Union?

A. Yes, I—I—I—I would like to answer your question but this is such a grave situation that I would like to state here how I happened to want to join the Washington—

Q. Mr. Smith, I am going to ask you all those questions, and if—let's just take one thing at a time—now, were you a member of the Washington Pension Union?

A. Yes sir.

Q. All right. Now I want to go back at this time and ask you to state for this record who first recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. Dominic Bianco.

Q. Is that the same Dominic Bianco who was—will you spell that last name?

A. I can't spell it.

Q. Well, is that—I will ask you if that name is spelled D-o-m-i-n-i-c, Dominic, B-i-a-n-c-o, Bianco?

A. That's as good as I could spell it.

Q. Is that the same Dominic Bianco who is at the present time a vice-president of the Washington State Pension Union?

A. I imagine so. He is an old white-haired man. He wears glasses and has an affliction in his speech. That's all I can say.

Q. Now—

A. I haven't seen him in a long time.

Q. Why did you go into the Communist Party in the first place, Mr. Smith?

A. I went in the Communist Party to get the Communists and expose them to the people of the United States because I had gone through years of contact with them, and somebody had to find out what they were doing, and so I took this means to—they had many years before, when I was an organizer for different things of the City of Seattle they had always wanted me to join but I had never joined. And at this time I come down out of the Indian country. I'd been trading with the Indians for about four years and I heard the war was going to start and I figured that we'd have the same condition as we had when I come back from the last war and I was going to find out what made these Communists tick, and I figured that I'd go in and join them and I'd find out what made them tick.

Q. Were you a veteran of the first World War?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Had you been active in the organization of any other organizations along the waterfront or otherwise, here in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes, I had.

Q. What was that?

A. I was the organizer of the Blue Shirt Army of America. We had 6,000 members in Seattle and I—that was the bonus march. I sent thirteen carloads of veterans to Washington, bummed their chow, bummed their food and I used to speak every night on the skidroad and that's when I first run into the Communists. Later I was organizer and worked on the Unemployed Citizens' League—later I saw the Communists break up and they established the Workers' Alliance. I—I had a pretty fair idea of what these Communists were. They—continuously from 1930 on they contacted me and wanted me to join their Party but I never joined.

Q. Were you—

A. I remember at one meeting in 1932, and that was the days when they had these fellows passing through the cities and there were so very few Communists, and very few people understood what it was about, and I was invited to attend a meeting. And I went out to—I don't recollect, it was in some basement that I attended this meeting, and this fellow, this bewhiskered guy from Russia got up and he says, "Friends, Comrades and Peasants"—I took a powder. I got up and I said, "If you call these Americans peasants

they'll pull your legs out by the sockets." And that was the last—they didn't get me into the Communist Party at that time.

Q. Did you get into the Workers Alliance movement?

A. Well, the Workers' Alliance, the—we took over. The Blue Shirt Army of America took over the Unemployed Citizens' League—

Q. What did the Communist Party do to the Unemployed Citizens' League, if anything?

A. Well, I fought them on the floor. That was a good organization. That was an organization of the people of America—found themselves in a distressed condition and they went out and they tended to their ownself. They started seventeen factories going here and the people started the first commissary in the United States and I think that that organization was made up of all the radicals that the whole—that the United States ever had. The IW's, syndicalists, anarchists and Socialists, but they were all Americans.

Q. Now what did—what did the Communist Party do—

A. Well, the Communist Party to begin with tried to get into that. Nobody knew what a Communist was. We thought he was some kind of a infected creature with long whiskers, that was my opinion of them—the Communists, and so all at once I discovered in one particular place in the Capitol Hill local some Swede fellow got up and told that he had two thousand fishes down here he could get for us. And then one Communist jumped up here and objected to fishes and another one objected and this one objected, and that one would object. That's the first time I noticed their infiltration into the Unemployed Citizens' League.

Q. All right, now let's just go on from there. Did they—did they take the Unemployed Citizens' League over?

A. Yes.

Q. All right.

A. I'll tell you when they took it. They gradually kept that up until those people would be stronger than the opposition. I fought them on the floor. And then when we—when we took the County-City building, went down there and I spoke out there to 5,000 people. On this platform there were several Communists. I knew they were Communists. They had Bill Dobbins down there and he was—I know we'd taken the floor and we were sitting in the Commissioners' room and Bill Dobbins says, "Well, I guess I'll go home." I suspicioned him as a Communist or something at that time. I wasn't sure. Well, I says, "Let's stay." And at that time they were hanging the County Commissioner's effigies, they had stuffed—you know—hanging 'em around in there, and they had the people all in there. And so I went out—the people were getting hungry, so we ate up at the jail, we—we made arrangements with the jail and we ate up at the jail, I mean by that, we got food from the jail and fed all the people in there, and I went down and talked to Johnny Dore and I told him, "Don't call the police out," I says, "These people just want an answer from the commissioners." And that was down in Johnny Dore's office. He says, "I won't, until—I won't do nothing until the commissioners give me orders." Here come a fellow in with a note to Johnny Dore, and I took a powder. I went out there and then the cops and the sheriffs and everybody else begin to throw them out.

Q. Now, Mr. Smith, let's just go back now. After your experience with this movement, did you have any experience in the organization known as the Workers' Alliance?

A. After this is when the Workers' Alliance and the high powered politicians and those people that weren't earnest in the working class movement to improve the conditions of the people—they ruined the Unemployed Citizens' League and they threw me out of the Civic Auditorium when I told them to elect their own people.

Q. All right, let me ask you this question. What happened to you individually and personally I am not particularly interested in except as respect to the Communist Party.

Do you know whether or not the Workers' Alliance was a Communist front organization at this time or not?

A. The Workers' Alliance established themselves at 84 Main Street, and they got a doubtful character by the name of Byrd Kelso down there and a few other of those fellows that were Communists and they established themselves as the Workers' Alliance. They had another building up there that they were established in and the Unemployed Citizens' League just worked out the picture and drew the Washington Commonwealth Federation and the Workers' Alliance.

Q. Now this Byrd Kelso you referred to. He is deceased now, as I understand it?

A. Yeah.

Q. Now, was this Byrd Kelso a Communist?

A. He was in my branch. He used to pay dues to me.

Q. He used to pay dues to you as a Communist and—

A. That was—three fifty. I was a squad captain.

Q. You were the squad captain in three-fifty.

A. I had so many subscriptions—

Q. All right then. Is that the same Byrd Kelso that later became the head of the Workers' Alliance organization that you testified to?

A. Yes.

Q. Now then, do you know whether or not the Workers' Alliance amalgamated itself with the Washington Pension Union?

A. I went—my first—when I first decided to go into the Communist Party I went to 84 Main Street, this was down the tough end on skidrow, I went over to 84 Main Street into their office and some of these characters took me in, and Byrd Kelso took my hand and there was Clara Wheeler and Byrd Kelso and I went in the office and they signed me up in the Old Age Pension.

Q. They signed you up in the Old Age Pension? Just a second. Now let's establish the date they signed you up in the Old Age Pension as best you remember.

A. That was about—that must have been about six months before—that was before—well, I got recruited in the Communist Party in the convention in the Moose Hall by this Dominic Bianco. I was attending a convention.

Q. You were attending a convention of what?

A. Of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. I will ask you where that was?

A. In the Moose Hall.

Q. Then you were recruited in the Communist Party by Dominic Bianco while you were attending a convention of the Old Age Pension Union in the Moose Hall? Now is that your testimony?

A. That's right.

Q. All right. That's—let's just stop there for the time being.

Now then, I would like to ask you to state whether or not during all this time that you were a member of the Communist Party whether or not the Washington Pension Union was being used by the Communist Party as a front organization or not? Was it used as a front organization?

A. Well, I think it was, yes.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not you had anything to do with its being used as a front organization or if you ever sat in any high plenums of the Communist Party in which that subject was discussed?

A. Well, I think when I belonged to the Communist Party that the Old Age Pension was already a front organization of the Communist Party. It was well known to all the comrades in the Communist Party that the Old Age Pension was the front.

Q. It was—

A. —It was a front and they taught us in the branches, and many of the Old Age Pensioners belonged to the branches that I belonged to and there was no question in anybody's mind but that we were all brothers and sisters. And the fellows—many of them that were head of the Old Age Pension were prominent Communists so I—it was established in my mind that we were all just the same thing.

Q. Did it continue to be a front organization for the Communist Party as long as you were in the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Now, I would like to—you referred to Dominic Bianco. I would like to ask you—do you know a man by the name of John Boan, B-o-a-n?

A. Yes. I know a fellow by the name of John Boan.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. He—he was in the 35th branch that I was in and later he was transferred to the 43rd where I was executive secretary. He used to pay dues to me.

Q. I will ask you to state if you know a man by the name of John Caughlan, an attorney here in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes, I know John Caughlan. He was a popular character in the Communist Party. I went to school with him and I attended schools where he taught, and he seemed to be the attorney for the Party, and I met him at many private homes where just functionaries and prominent Communists would appear and I talked to him on numerous occasions about the Party and there is no doubt in mind that he is a member of the Party and when I was convinced of that I tried to recruit him, and he says, "Comrade"—I was a recruiter—I recruited for the Party.

Q. Now, referring again to this same Mr. Caughlan, you say you went to school with him. What school do you refer to?

A. I went to the Swede club school, they held schools—I went four years—five years—four years to schools. I went to the Bay building with him—

Q. Now, is that the Seattle Public School system you are talking about or some other school?

A. No, that is a Communist workers' school in which they teach—they start you out in the primary way and end you up—

Q. Well, did they give you anything to study when you went to school?

A. The first year you study the history of the Communist Party and First Marx. Second year you study Second Marx, dialectical materialism, the class struggle, and they give you books that keep you reading forever as additional reading; then the next year—if you are not dead by the next year, they move you up into political economy and the—your additional reading—if it don't drive you crazy in three years you are pretty tough.

Q. Now, referring to these subjects in these schools. Was it while taking instructions in the subjects you have mentioned that you attended school with John Caughlan?

A. Yes, I attended in the Bay building.

Q. In the Bay building. Did you ever attend any that he was a teacher in?

A. Yes, I attended when he was teaching the public speaking class in the Swede club at 8th and Olive.

Q. Do you remember what year that was?

A. I could get it. I got a lot of stuff here, but I could get exactly—

Q. Well, was it during the period you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 22. Just examine the title of that briefly, so I can ask you a question.

A. Political Economy.

Q. Now, is that a book that they furnished you to study when you were going to the Communist Party school?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Now, did you ever hear of a person by the name of Nora McCoy?

A. Yes, I have heard of Nora McCoy.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not she is a member—or was, rather, a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, you know I would be the last person to call anybody a member of something that they—the intrigue in the Communist Party is so definite in their attempt to hide everybody, it is so apparent that if I made you a statement that this fellow is a Communist and that fellow is a Communist I would do a disservice to this Committee.

Q. Did you ever sit in any Communist Party plenums with Nora McCoy?

A. Yes, I sat in plenums with Nora McCoy.

Q. Did you ever get in trouble along about this time for charging too much hotel rent?

A. I did, yes.

Q. Were you a hotel operator here in Seattle at that time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask—I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification Committee's Exhibit No. 23, and ask you to state if you ever saw that before?

A. Notice to the Landlord. Yes, I have.

Q. Have you seen that? In other words, you got in trouble with the OPA over hotel rents, is that right? You charged—

A. Well, I tell you. I didn't get in trouble with the OPA. The OPA got in trouble with me.

Q. Now, this difficulty that you had with the OPA—just answer the question now. Did you finally get it straightened out?

A. Well, I made a monkey out of them—

Q. Just a minute now. Did you or did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You did. Now, was anybody sent to you in getting this trouble straightened out with the OPA at this time?

A. No, I got it straightened out myself with the OPA, but I didn't get it straightened out with the hundreds of my customers that went down to visit the OPA, so I was called into the Old Age Pension union office in the Lyons building and Nora McCoy was the one that—said to me, says, "I thought you were one of us?" I says, "Well, I thought I was too, what's the beef?" "Well," she says, "Sit down and explain it to me." Now if you want me to explain it—

Q. No, don't go into all that. Just tell this Committee what Nora McCoy did?

A. Nora McCoy exonerated me with the hundred old people who had gone up and drove the OPA crazy, that I had done the proper thing.

Q. Why did she do that?

A. Because she had no argument. Because we were brothers and sisters.

Q. In what cause?

A. What is it?

Q. You were brothers and sisters in what cause—what organization?

A. Well, she was undercover in the Communist Party and we only seen her at different places. She was trying to fool somebody that she wasn't in the Communist Party.

Q. Well, did she fool you?

A. Not a bit, but I never saw her card or nothing.

Q. I understand that. Did you ever hear of a person by the name of William Pennock?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Is that the same William Pennock who at this time is the president of the Washington Pension Union?

A. I think so.

Q. You referred a while ago to those Communist Party schools, that you attended at the Swedish Club. Did you ever see this man Pennock there?

A. Yes sir.

Q. What position, if any, did he have there at these schools?

A. Teacher.

Q. What did he teach you there?

A. He tried to teach me public speaking.

Q. Did you—at the time that you were a member of the Communist Party did you ever have occasion to attend any of the executive secretary meetings of the various branches of the Communist Party?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Where would those meetings be held?

A. Well, the executive secretaries from all the different branches in the county are held in the headquarters of the Communist Party which moves around quite a little bit. I attended these meetings at 10 — 910½ — 109½ — 910½ Third Avenue. It is Victory Hall.

Q. Did you ever see William Pennock there?

A. Yes, I have seen him there, not as an executive secretary, but as some kind of a shadow going through, back and forth to Huff's office.

Q. Well, now, we are not interested in shadows, but was he there on any kind of Communist Party business?

A. Well, that's the only people that got in there. That was the headquarters, and if they didn't have business in there they didn't stay in. In the Communist Headquarters there is nobody allowed in there except they're on business.

Q. All right. How many times have you ever seen William Pennock in the Communist Party headquarters?

A. Well —

Q. Do you have any idea?

A. A good many times.

Q. More than once?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. More than ten times?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Would you care to indicate the number of times?

A. I don't know so I can't indicate.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Tom Rabbitt?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Is that the same Tom Rabbitt who became the organizer and is at the present time the vice-president, one of the vice-presidents of the Washington Pension Union?

A. I think it is. He was an air warden and he had a wife and seven kids in Kirkland — I think that's the same one.

Q. All right. Have you ever sat in any Communist Party plenums with him?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was another one of those kind of — trying to fool somebody. He was kind of under cover.

Q. Let me ask you this question. Could persons in these plenums that you have sat in, could they have sat in those Communist Party plenums had they not been members of the Communist Party?

A. In order to get into a plenum which would be in each branch, you get orders, the executive secretary gets orders that you're going to have a plenum held probably in the Finnish Hall. Then you get all your transmission bills — funds from whoever is executive secretary, the scissorbills in my branch don't know anything. So I — I go up to the headquarters of the Communist Party. And they tell me they are going to have a plenum and they want me to send two delegates and two alternates or one delegate and two alternates, and maybe I can send one visitor. I go back and tell them that we'll vote and get them.

Q. How do you get them in that plenum, then?

A. Well, then we give them an official card and whoever gets in there we take from each branch up to the executive secretary of either the King County or Northwest District, a written paper who is our delegate, who assists and all those papers are kept before three girls. I never seen any boys there — they usually had girls at the desk; but when you come into the plenum, you walk in there, they usually hold it Sunday noon. Everybody thinks you are going to church. We used to hold it down there to the Finnish Hall. I know —

Q. All right, go ahead and tell us how you got in there.

A. Well, first you come to the first girl. You open it up and look at it, says, "What branch are you from?" You say, "I'm from 430 or 1060," or whatever branch I'm from. So she looks up this. Here she finds me okeh. Then she passes me on to the next girl. The next one says, "Are you a delegate, an alternate delegate, or a visitor?" I'm a delegate. She looks in some cards to see whether I'm a delegate. They know what I am before I even get there. I'm all paged and tallied. So she gives me a delegate card. She gives me a pin to pin it on me and the other one takes me over and then I'm in the plenum.

Q. Do you mean to tell me you've got to pass this examination of these three persons before you get in?

A. Oh, yeah. You've got to have your stuff there. If you are not identified in that stuff — I know one time when I won the scholarship in the Bay Building to go from the Workers' School to the — attend the plenum. And I didn't have the proper credentials. They got me lost somewhere and I had a heck of a time. I had to send a messenger in to tell a certain person to come out and it took me about half an hour to get in.

Q. You had to send for a comrade to rescue you, huh?

A. Well, that's —

Q. I will ask you this question: Would it be possible for a person not a member of the Communist Party to have got past the door and gone in to one of these plenums?

A. No.

Q. Now then, it was in such plenums as that, you say, that you have sat in Communist Party meetings with Tom Rabbitt?

A. Yes.

Q. And Bill Pennock?

A. Yes.

Q. And — do you remember a person by the name of Terry Pettus? Present editor of the New World?

A. Never saw him in there.

Q. Never saw him in there. All right. Do you know a person by the name of Mollie Higman.

A. Yes sir.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mollie Higman was a member of the Communist Party?

A. I know — yes, I saw her in plenums.

Q. All right —

A. Only on that evidence. I never saw her card, don't even know what branch she belonged to.

Q. But you did see her in plenums?

A. That's right.

Q. Now did you know a person by the name of Etta Tripp?

A. Oh, yeah. Etta Tripp was—she was an old lady lived in Bremerton. She got—I had this branch out there—I had an undercover branch out there in a preacher's house.

Q. What was that number of that branch?

A. 43rd.

Q. 43rd.

A. You see, they give me her card and they said she lived in Bremerton. And she was a real old lady. I used to feel sorry for her when she sat down. And she was worked into the—I guess they darned near killed her. I expected her to knock off anytime.

Q. Well, when you were running this branch of the—this 43rd Unit, you say you met at some preacher's house?

A. Yes. That was Edmiston's house.

Q. Was that the name of the minister you referred to?

A. That was a fellow that preached Sundays and taught Marx Mondays.

Q. Preached on Sundays and taught Marxism on Mondays?

A. Yes.

Q. Now let's just skip back for the time being. This Etta Tripp was a member of your own union, it that right?

A. Etta Tripp—I went to collect her dues—I collected her dues—I had a hard time finding her, and I found her in the Old Age Pension Union and she was busy and she was high in the Old Age Pension Union and I told her I wanted to collect my dues and she paid the dues. And she used attend meetings out in this Edmiston's house.

Q. Now this Mollie Higman that you referred to a while ago—was she active in Old Age Pension Union affairs, too?

A. Yes. I used to see her around there all the time.

Q. Do you remember a person by the name of Emma R. Carpenter—C-a-r-p-e-n-t-e-r?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Any particular reason why you remember that lady?

A. I remember Emma Carpenter because Emma Carpenter—I—er—she had a beautiful niece.

A. (continuing)—and this niece used to be dancing down there—I have seen her different places and I really felt bad about it, but I couldn't feel bad because—

Q. Well, did you ever recruit any member of her family in the Communist Party yourself?

A. I recruited this—this niece.

Q. You recruited this niece in—

A. Yes. As bad as I hated to, you have to have ice in your veins in the Communist Party. They used to send her down to these halls to dance with colored people. That's the kind of Communist Party—and I—I recruited this—her niece in the Communist Party. She was a beautiful girl and she—finally went to—back East someplace. The Party was using her.

Q. All right. Do you remember a person by the name of Mabel Conrad?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Is that the same Mabel Conrad who at the present time is executive secretary of the Communist Party—I mean of the Washington Pension Union?

A. I don't know what her position is now, but I know she—she was a member of the Communist Party. I attended executive secretary meetings with her in the headquarters of the Communist Party and I have been to schools with her and I saw her—

Q. Are you referring—

A. Saw her in the Old Age Pension office, saw her at many private homes where just Communists go to have their nightly sprees and functions.

Q. Do you remember anything about ever attending a leadership class with the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I think she attended those leadership classes, taught by Henry Huff. In the headquarters of the Communist Party.

Q. Now then, did you ever hear of a person by the name of Terry Pettus?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. What position, if any, did he hold with the weekly newspaper referred to as the New World?

A. I didn't understand you.

Q. What position, if any, does he hold on the newspaper known as the New World?

A. Well, I guess he runs the New World. He sold me some stock in it.

Q. All right. Now just tell us about that.

A. About the New World?

Q. You said he sold you some stock in the New World. How did that—

A. Well, it come up in the branch meeting that somebody came as a representative for the New World they always brought them around to the different branches and we usually had—it was more or less like the Daily Worker. We always figured each batch would take them and when we had some to deliver they were always—we would—somebody in the branch that brought them down there, it was the official publication of the Communist Party—

Q. Well, did anybody make you buy any stock in this official Com—

A. They got \$10.00. I bought one share.

Q. One share?

A. That is when it turned from the New Dealer over to the New World.

Q. All right. Were you a member of the Old Age Pension Union then?

A. Well, I—I have belonged to so many different organizations, that I don't remember. I remember they never expelled me from the Old Age Pension but I don't—I kind of got so I didn't pay my dues and I would give them donations.

Q. All right now. I will ask you to state whether or not as an officer of the Communist Party and as a member of the Old Age Pension Union if you knew whether or not the New World publication was the official mouthpiece for either of those two organizations—was it or was it not? Do you understand what I—

A. I understand what you're talking, but you don't know what I am thinking.

A. (Continuing) They draw such a network of—around anything, it was—I could state as the New World is that nice American newspaper that's printed in the City of Seattle that the Communist Party is trying to make the people of Seattle believe isn't a Communist Party paper.

Transcript of Proceedings of the

Q. All right. Was that also the official mouthpiece of the Washington Pension Union?

A. That's right.

Q. Now then, did you ever hear of a person by the name of Florence Bean James? F-l-o-r-e-n-c-e B-e-a-n J-a-m-e-s.

A. Yes. I been to her house.

Q. Who is Florence Bean James?

A. Florence Bean James is the lady who runs the Repertory Playhouse out in the University District, and that business she runs is Communist run.

Q. Why do you say that business she runs is a Communist run?

A. Because that Repertory Playhouse is part of the program of the Communist Party in which to educate the youth of the University of Washington and familiarize them with their propaganda through that Repertory Playhouse the line of the Communist Party. In that Repertory Playhouse many members of the actors are members of the Communist Party. They have a Communist branch.

Q. Do you know that of your own knowledge, Mr. Smith?

A. Why sure.

Q. Why do you know that of your own knowledge; how?

A. Because I've been in the back room in the Repertory Playhouse behind the scenes and with all their great actresses and actors, I've sat in executive secretary meetings with their actors and actresses; I've been back there—well, this character Pennock married their star which—

Q. Who was that?

A. Oh, I don't know. She was so high up I couldn't even talk to her. I—

Q. Would you know the name if you were to hear it?

A. Yeah.

Q. Was it Louise Hastert? L-o-u-i-s-e H-a-s-t-e-r-t.

A. Yes. I was behind the stage in the Repertory Playhouse. Nobody back there could even possibly be anything but a high Party member.

Q. What was the occasion of that?

A. Oh, to celebrate being a Communist, I guess. Once in a while you had to take a rest. You worked all the time, so the show was over and I think it was three o'clock they decided to put on a play. I know I was given a—what is it—a Bronx cheer—the actors. Nobody got mad at anybody. Pennock and this girl was there and Hurley and—wait a minute; not Hurley, but anybody of any importance in the Communist Party—I didn't see any second-raters in there.

Q. Well, now, you made the statement a while ago, if I remember correctly about—if I am in error be sure to correct me, for the sake of this record. Is Florence Bean James a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I never made that statement.

Q. I am asking you now if she was a member of the Communist Party? If you know whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party?

A. I don't know whether she was a member of the Communist Party only for the fact that because—that we talked like brothers and sisters. She's under cover.

Q. Well, what do you mean when you say you talked like brothers and sisters?

Un-American Activities Committee

A. Well, I've got the 43rd branch. Florence Bean James comes down and says, "Smitty, we've got to win." She's running for schoolteacher, or something. She's running for—on the schoolboard.

Q. All right—

A. Well, she comes down to my Communist branch and says, "Smitty, we've got to win." She wants to come down and talk. I invited her down to give a talk. We call it a social club. I distributed literature out of there, and my comrades take armsful of her literature and give it all out to everybody, but I never say she was in the Communist Party, but she was so close to it—I think she's under cover.

Q. We are not, of course, obviously for this record, interested in any knowledge you don't personally know yourself.

Let me ask you this question: Did you ever attend any meetings in the Repertory Playhouse that she attended where no one else was present unless he or she were Communist members?

A. Only that meeting that was behind the scenes.

Q. This meeting which you refer to that was behind the scenes. Was that a meeting of Communist Party members, or—

A. That was a drinking party.

Q. Well,—

A. When everybody got—well, when he run out of money and didn't have nothing else and he got kind of droopy he walked out and went home in the last act—

Q. I am not interested in the drinking party. I just want to know whether or not there were any Communists there or not?

A. They were all Communists.

Q. And was Florence Bean James there?

A. Yes.

Q. All right. Now then, I want to ask you to state whether or not the Repertory Playhouse ever furnished programs or entertainment for the Washington Pension Union?

A. Yes. The—they furnished them at 84 Main Street, they furnished them in all their places, in the Building Service Union, they furnished in every hall which the Communist Party had the Repertory Playhouse furnished their entertainment. Every time that any comrade Communist would come here from New York like Browder, Foster or Ford or any of those people we'd have a big proposition going on and the Repertory Playhouse furnished the entertainment.

Q. All right. I want to identify some more exhibits here to put into the record.

Now I hand you what has been marked as Committee's Exhibit Nos. 24, 25 and 26, for purposes of identification, and ask you to examine them, please, and state if you know what those are.

A. Those are cards that I was given by the Communist Party to recruit people on. That's why I say you can't tell who is a Communist by cards.

Q. Now, are those cards signed by anybody?

A. Henry Huff, and I signed the name—number—I signed whoever I want to in there, see, if I was crooked I could sign your name and you would be a Communist. So I say, a card don't mean anything in the Communist Party.

Q. These three cards do not contain the name of any person at all?

A. No.

Q. You were handed cards issued in blank except that they were signed by Henry Huff?

A. I don't think they hand them to everybody.

Q. I say you were?

A. Yes sir.

Q. And those cards all bear numbers?

A. That's right.

Q. And you had the privilege, as long as you turned in the dues, of writing anybody's name in there that you wanted to write in, is that right?

A. That's right, I had to present somebody, though.

Q. And for that reason you say, necessarily the holding of a membership card wasn't necessarily positive proof—

A. Well, I can explain it this way: In my branch I had—I got transferred out—they banished me out here to this preacher's house. And then they said I'm executive secretary of this branch. I went down to build up this other branch, and this branch wasn't functioning very good, so they sent me out there to give it some new life or something, and I was looking over who belonged to the branch and the outgoing secretary just handed me a bunch of names, who belonged to the branch and where they lived. I saw one comrade by the name of Lily Pons, so I said, "Gee, I didn't know I was getting such popular folks into my branch," and nobody knew who Lily Pons was.

Q. Was it your—did you—is it your testimony that that was a fictitious name?

A. That was her Party name, see? So in order to find out who Lily Pons was, I went down to Headquarters to the Executive Secretary of King County and said, "Say, who is this person—this ain't that Lily Pons dancer, is it?" And he says, no, that's Beatrice Hildebrandt. She's in the police department but we can't give out her name because she is under cover.

Q. Now from time to time as you would attend these Old Age Pension Unions, would you find them distributing literature there advancing the Communist Party line?

A. Yes sir.

Q. I hand you here an instrument which has been marked for purpose of identification Committee's Exhibit No. 27; another instrument which has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit 28; another pamphlet which has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 29; another pamphlet which has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 30; another pamphlet which has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 31; another pamphlet which has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 32, and I will ask you to state if you have seen those six pamphlets before?

A. Yes.

Q. And if so, where did you get them?

A. Well, those pamphlets were given to us to give each one that we recruited. We gave them those pamphlets to take home and read. That's when, under Browder, we was trying to be Capitalists and Communists, we were trying to win the war. And they didn't care who was in the Party and we

just recruited everybody we could recruit. And each recruit received those pamphlets so he would get an understanding before he would come into the branch meetings.

Q. Referring to recruit, are you referring to members of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Now then, I will ask you to state whether or not these pamphlets were also distributed in Old Age Pension meetings?

A. Oh yes. They were—I—recruited—I recruited Old Age Pensioners.

Q. And these pamphlets now that you have exhibited here, and identified, is it your testimony that they were distributed at the Old Age Pension meetings?

A. Oh, yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: May it please the Chairman, I would like to introduce these pamphlets into the record at this time.

THE WITNESS: I would like to make one statement. You understand a person that was designated by the Executive Secretary to go out and recruit recruits in the Communist Party had to have the paraphernalia with him. He had to have the cards to sign them up and so forth. And he carried one of those and give them to the recruit.

MR. WHIPPLE: Q. And this is the same literature that you passed out to the Old Age Pension Union members as well, is that right?

A. Yes. To members who had been recruited. You never give it to them until you had them signed up in the Communist Party.

Q. You had these Old Age Pensioners signed up in the Communist Party?

A. Well, I recruited a bunch of them. Walker and his sister and oh,—

Q. Let's not go into that. I just want to—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple—pardon me, go ahead. How much testimony will you have after this?

MR. WHIPPLE: It's going to go pretty fast from here out.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Pretty fast, what do you mean?

MR. WHIPPLE: Oh, I think, say ten minutes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: All right. Proceed.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Exhibit No. 27 is entitled as follows: "The King County Communist Party formally welcomes you as a member with full rights and privileges into the ranks of the Party of the American working class of people, etc."

Pamphlet No. 27 is the constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America. For sale for five cents.

Pamphlet No. 29 is entitled, "Stages in the History of the Communist Party, a Political Review," also available for five cents.

Pamphlet No. 30 is a pamphlet entitled, "Women in the War," by Elizabeth Drury Flynn. Also for sale for five cents.

Pamphlet No. 31 is entitled, "The Communist Party of the United States of America—Its History, Role, and Organization," by Earl Browder. Also for sale for five cents.

Pamphlet No. 32 is entitled, "Production for Victory," by Earl Browder. Also for sale for five cents. Now, just briefly I wanted to—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are these the Exhibits you want, Mr. Whipple?
MR. WHIPPLE: I think so. There is one other here.

Q. I want to hand you a check here which has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 34. I wish you would examine that check and state if you know what that is?

A. That is Harry Bridges Victory Committee, \$20.00.

Q. Is that the Harry—is that the Bridges who has been referred to from time to time in this hearing?

A. Yes, the—

Q. President of the International Longshoreman's Union?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, were you a Communist when you gave this defense committee \$20.00?

A. Yes sir.

MR. WHIPPLE: I would like to introduce this check into the record as a check drawn on the Seattle First National Bank under date of February 8, 1945, made payable to the Harry Bridges Victory Committee in the sum of \$20.00, signed by Howard F. Smith, and endorsed by the Anglo-A-n-g-l-o-California National Bank. Underneath that is printed, "Harry Bridges Victory Committee."

THE WITNESS: They had an office set up and one of the comrades came and told me, either wrote me a letter and told me to come down and see him, And I went down to see him and I—they asked me for a donation.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Now do you know whether or not the defense of Harry Bridges was a major program of the Old Age Pension Union during the time you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. It was a major—it was one of the big issues in all Communist fronts and Communist Parties.

Q. Well, was it a big issue in the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes sir.

Q. What was their policy toward the defense of Harry Bridges?

A. They were out for it one hundred per cent.

Q. Out for what?

A. To defend Harry Bridges.

Q. I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 33, and ask you please to briefly review that and state if you know what that is.

A. It's a delegate—a card I received as a delegate of the 430 plenum—Branch 430 of the Northwest District plenum.

Q. Was this your card to the King County convention of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: I would like to introduce this into the record, Mr. Chairman.

A. The card and then that name—

Q. Pardon me just a second, Mr. Smith.

MR. WHIPPLE: The name Smith, Branch, 430, King County convention Communist Party, United States of America, dated April 23, 1944.

Q. Now did you have another remark to make concerning this?

A. Well, the first thing you were sent as a delegate from King County and then from there you were given a card to—to the district convention.

Q. Thank you.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now, may it please the Chairman, I would like at this time to show the Chairman these exhibits that have been properly identified and have been entered into the record. I would like to make a statement to the Chairman at this time, that there are many other things that we might at some later date wish to use this witness for.

I would like to dismiss this witness at this time, from this present hearing, with the understanding that the Committee's investigation office can recall him if necessary.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is satisfactory.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, may I make a statement for the record that in certain instances here we have introduced photostats instead of originals as exhibits. The originals are in the possession of the Committee but cannot remain permanently and for that reason we have photostated the originals and are introducing them. After the Committee has reviewed and has seen to their satisfaction that the photostats are true and accurate copies of the originals, they will be returned to their proper owners.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is understood by the Committee.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, I have one more witness I would like to examine this afternoon. I would greatly appreciate about just one question I want to ask him, but I would greatly appreciate just a minute's intermission before this. I haven't seen him for—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: How long would it take to interview this witness, I—

MR. WHIPPLE: It will take a minute to interview him and probably two minutes to examine him on the witness stand after that.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: A minute to interview him and two minutes on the stand. If the State Patrol will bear with me that long. I realize some of these gentlemen have to work tonight.

MR. WHIPPLE: I just want to be sure that this is the witness that I think it is. It is a matter of identity. I don't want to mislead this Committee or the witness by presenting the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It is my understanding that this will be very brief. We will be at ease for one minute and then proceed.

(Short Recess)

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you stand up and be sworn, please?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: (After swearing witness:) Will you sit down, please.

THOMAS F. EARLING, called as a witness, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. This testimony is being recorded in a recording device and will you speak into that mike just ahead of you there and speak loud enough, Mr. Earling, that your testimony will be recorded.

Will you state your name, please?

A. Thomas F. Earling.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Earling?

A. At 3211 42nd Ave., S.W.

Q. How long have you resided in the City of Seattle?

A. Thirty years.

Q. Mr. Earling, do you know a person by the name of William Pennock?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. This Mr. William Pennock you refer to—is he the same person—the same William Pennock who at the present time is the president of the Washington State Pension Union?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Earling, I would like to ask you if anyone ever attempted to recruit your membership into the Communist Party?

A. Yes, William Pennock did.

Q. When did William Pennock attempt to recruit you into the Communist Party?

A. In the latter part of 1946.

Q. When did—where did this attempt—where was this attempt made?

A. Up in Hugh DeLacy's headquarters.

Q. Was Hugh DeLacy present at the time?

A. No.

Q. What did Mr. Pennock say to you in his attempt to recruit you into the Communist Party in Hugh DeLacy's headquarters in October of 1946?

A. Oh, he—up in—in Hugh DeLacy's headquarters, he wanted

Q. He wanted what?

A. He wanted—money—to donate.

Q. He wanted you to donate some money?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, what did he say about the Communist Party, if anything?

A. Well, he says—they always—against racial discrimination, it was FEPC.

Q. Now what headquarters did you say this was?

A. Hugh DeLacy headquarters.

Q. Was that a political headquarters, or what?

A. Yes.

Q. Not a Communist Party headquarters?

A. No.

Q. Now where was this headquarters located—what building was it in?

A. It was on Third Avenue about Spring and Seneca, I believe.

Q. What?

A. About between Spring and Seneca. Had a printing establishment on the floor right below that.

Q. All right. Now what reference did Pennock make to you about the Communist Party on this occasion?

A. He wanted me to get into it, this discrimination—

Q. He wanted you to get in what?

A. This Communist Party.

Q. Thank you. That is all. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you, Mr. Earling.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, that concludes the testimony we have to offer today.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will adjourn until 9:30 next Monday morning.

(ADJOURNMENT until 9:30 o'clock, A.M., Monday, February 2, 1948)

February 2, 1948, 9:40 o'clock A. M.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will be in session as soon as the committee arrives.

Are you ready to call your first witness?

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Costigan, please.

HOWARD G. COSTIGAN, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Costigan, before we proceed, when you use an unusual name or word that you please spell it, because we are recording these proceedings; and also that you answer, when it's necessary to say "yes" or "no" that you answer instead of shaking your head, because the recording device can't record the shake of the head.

Q. Will you please state your name?

A. Howard Gary Costigan.

Q. Are you a resident of the City of Seattle, Mr. Costigan?

A. Well, I expect to be when we own our home.

Q. You have lived here for a number of years?

A. That's right. I was born in Seattle. I was born just a few blocks from here, as a matter of fact.

Q. How old are you, Mr. Costigan?

A. Well, I've had a birthday just a couple of days ago. I'm forty-four.

Q. Forty-four. Mr. Costigan, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. I was a member of the Communist Party, although not a card-carrying member, from I think about the first of—1937 through the first couple of months of 1940.

Q. You left the Communist Party in 1940, is that correct?

A. That's right.

Q. Would that be about April of 1940?

A. Yes, it was before the national convention of the Democratic Party, and my position was—very clearly was supporting the policy of the Roosevelt administration on foreign affairs, and I felt that the collective security program of the Roosevelt administration was still as sound as it had been before the Soviet-Nazi Pact, although there were other members of the top control of the Communist Party in this area who obviously disagreed very sharply, and took the Commonwealth Federation or the ranks of the opposition, and in

support of the isolationist line an effort was made, of course, to obtain full support for Wendell Wilkie during that period.

Q. Now, Mr. Costigan, I will—I'll withdraw that question. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. Morris Rapport, the district organizer.

Q. You refer to the man who is known as Morris Rapport and also Morris Rappaport?

A. Well, I presume that I—I didn't know his name was Morris Rappaport; I've since seen it in material before the committee.

Q. Mr. Costigan, will you explain the circumstances surrounding your being solicited for membership into the Communist Party? The occasion, and what brought it about?

A. Well, in 1935 we formed the Washington Commonwealth Federation. It was not formed with the support of the Communist Party; as a matter of fact, the Communist Party was sharply in opposition to its formation. At that time the Commonwealth Federation was an organization of liberals, of labor, and of generally progressive groups that were supporting the Roosevelt administration. In 1935 the Communist Party was intent upon establishing a third party, called the Farmer-Labor Party nation-wide. They considered Roosevelt a social fascist and they considered me a social fascist too. Following the 1936 plenum of the Communist Party held in New York, the Dimitrov Orientation was instituted. Do you want me to spell that?

Q. Will you spell that word Dimitrov?

A. D-i-m-i-t-r-o-v. That's Georgie Dimitrov who is now the Bulgarian Communist czar. But the Dimitrov Orientation became known as the Popular Front, and it was—it was considered the Democratic front in the United States. Following this change of policy, the Communist Party changed its, became complete anti-fascist in its program and was thoroughly opposed to what it had previously called the Class Struggle Line.

Following that decision, the Communist Party through Trade Union affiliations and through liberal organizations, penetrated the Washington Commonwealth Federation to the point where many of the members of the Executive Board of the Commonwealth Federation were Communists. That is, I mean by that, they were not open Communists; they were covered, or secret Communists.

So during that—and I was told then by Morris Rapport that the general policy of the Communist Party would remain one of anti-fascist support, it would therefore not in any sense of the word counter the program of the Roosevelt administration.

Well, one thing that must be said for the Communist Party members, they're very hard workers, and among other things they attend meetings regularly, they are diligent in pursuing whatever line they're at the moment supposed to be pursuing; and from 1937 through 1939, until the Soviet-Nazi Pact was signed, they were the most ardent and perhaps the most conservative supporters of Roosevelt and the Washington Commonwealth Federation. I was at no time put in the position of taking Party discipline during that period. I was at no time asked to perform functions other than that which I would have performed in any instance, because I was completely supporting the W.C.F. policy and the W.C.F. policy became their policy.

However, in 1939, with the arrival of the startling switch in the Party line, I then began to recognize for the first time that the Communist Party membership were primarily interested in the Soviet Union's foreign policy; and that despite the fact that they had been pro-Roosevelt up to that time. They had even gotten—carried around the buttons for the third term that we had been putting out, and had gone so far as to say that Roosevelt was without doubt the greatest leader in the world, as far as the people were concerned. They suddenly discovered, without any change on his part, that he was the number one war-monger in the world. And that was a little difficult for a lot of people to understand.

Included among those who found it difficult, was your witness. I attempted for some period of time thereafter, to get the progressive forces within the W.C.F., many of whom were probably Communists during that period of time, to accept—that is, I mean many of the leading forces—to accept the idea that Roosevelt was still as sound, that collective security was still correct, that we should quarantine aggressor nations then, and later; but I found that it was impossible, and the Executive Board by that time had been so thoroughly penetrated by the Communist Party, that it was necessary for me to leave the Commonwealth Federation, and I organized the Norris-LaGuardia Committee for Roosevelt in 1940 in the Pacific Northwest, and campaigned against the line that DeLacy and the rest of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, who were also the Executive Board of the Commonwealth Federation, were pursuing.

Q. Can you fix the date, approximately, that you left the Party, Mr. Costigan?

A. Well, it's a little difficult, because in the first place I was never a card-carrying member, I was never in a unit, I met with—repeatedly on political questions, to discuss it with the top leadership, and I had very little contact, as far as the Party was concerned, on any other basis. I didn't pay any dues. I—I frankly, had no real feeling of being in the Party, except to consult with these people, up to that time.

Of course, as soon as the Party line changed, why, I began to feel the heat. And the heat was intense.

Q. The Communist Party has pursued a course of vilification and persecution?

A. Well, all you have to do is to take a look at the "New World" during the last 1946 campaign, to find out that I am probably hated more than anyone in the Pacific Northwest by the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, I see no particular reason. I am perfectly willing to testify before this committee. I have nothing I want to cover up. As a matter of fact, I haven't anything to lose; that is, at least I haven't a job to lose, because your headlines last week from these committee rooms, saw to the fact that my job was taken too. So—

Q. You have lost your job since this—

A. Oh, yes,—

Q. —hearing began?

A. —I mean, some of the more flamboyant testimony last week helped to do that.

Q. You mentioned the "New World," Mr. Costigan.

A. Pardon me, for interrupting you, but as I am trying to make that point, in 1946 I spent a lot of money, which I didn't have, to try to make it clear that

I was bitterly opposed to—and this is my fundamental opposition to the whole policy of the Communist Party, other than the fact that it's undemocratic, that the only democracy in the party is the right to pick the various reasons why you're for the Party line, whenever it changes, because I mean there is no democracy otherwise. Anybody who opposes the Communist Party line is immediately out. As a matter of fact, there is only one inexorable rule in the Communist Party, I've learned both as one who has had to oppose it and one who worked with it during the period when it was following the Roosevelt policy, and that is that under any circumstances any compromise can be made, any issue can be promoted or discarded, any—even the people's kind of progressive issues, any movement can be built or wrecked, as long as it satisfies the current policy of the Soviet Union. In other words, its foreign policy line. That is an absolute must, for continuing membership in the Communist Party is that you become complete servient—subservient to the Soviet foreign policy.

Now in 1946 it seemed to me that, and it does today, that appeasement of potential aggressors is just as likely to undermine American security as it was in 1937 and '38, when many of the progressive and liberal forces backing Roosevelt, including at that time, of course, although I say in quotes progressive, as far as the Communist Party is concerned, even the Communist Party was backing the policy of the Roosevelt administration in stopping shipments of scrap iron to Japan, in opposing shipments of oil, in suggesting further sanctions against potential aggressors as long as they were members of the Axis.

Well, it occurs to me there is no difference, except there's a greater menace in the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union than there was in the totalitarianism of the Nazis and of the little Sawdust Caesar, the gentleman from Italy, Mr. Mussolini. So consequently, it seems to me that if we were for the use of sanctions against potential aggressors in 1937 when the headquarters of the Axis was in Berlin, there wasn't any real reason why we should differ if we were consistent in 1947 when the totalitarian movement had moved its headquarters to Moscow. And that was my issue against DeLacy, and that was the basis upon which the campaign was fought. And I think it's generally well known, and it certainly ought to be, I put on enough radio broadcasts on it. At the time, also, one of the things that occurred to me, I find that it received very little mention in any of the—in the Communist press and in the "New World," the Atomic Energy Control Plan of the United States, which is probably the only plan that would safeguard the world against a potential third world war, was completely turned down by the Soviet Union, and was turned down by Henry Wallace, and likewise has been—was turned down during the course of the campaign, by DeLacy and the forces that were supporting him.

Q. Mr. Costigan, is it your testimony that the Communist Party has dual objectives? In other words,—

A. Well, I would say this, that the Communist Party—now, my intimate knowledge of the Communist Party came between, as I say, between their shifts. They shifted on to the Democratic Party line, and before that they'd opposed me, they'd opposed a lot of others who were forming the Commonwealth Federation, and then they shifted off of it again in 1939, following the Soviet-Nazi Pact, although it took a few of them a few days to catch up. They caught themselves coming back a few times. The twist was a little sharp, but they couldn't find the right words to use. Some of them are still a bit confused from that experience.

However, that—in that period they were honestly, in the first place, interested in the social welfare of these groups that they penetrated, but they were interested in it, I later discovered, only in so far as it did not interfere with Soviet foreign policy. And as soon as they were able, they were good willing workers, they were perfectly capable of expressing an intelligent point of view on the subject, and when they had penetrated it sufficiently so that they gained control of an organization, they then put the screws on the organization for purposes of diverting it to Soviet foreign policy, no matter what it cost the liberal group they had penetrated.

Does that answer your question?

Q. Yes. In other words, they had a short-term objective, and yet always—

A. Always, as I said when I opened this, the basic objective of the Communist Party, its members, whether hidden or open, is to always follow the Soviet foreign policy. Now regardless of what compromises they make, for example, right now there's a—in Chicago, there's a candidate for the United States Senate who has been picked by the Democratic Party. He's a—he is a man who served in the Marine Corps during the war, and he is considered an ultra liberal. The forces in Chicago that are head of the P.C.A. are going to oppose him, not because they disagree with his domestic policies, but because they say he is a reactionary because he supports the Marshall Plan. In other words, they are bitterly opposed to him only on one ground, and their line is always that sort of thing.

For instance, they were opposed to Claude Pepper when Pepper was supporting the Roosevelt program, and as soon as he became friendly to the Soviet position, regardless of the fact that he had voted for lynch—that he had filibustered against the lynch law—anti-lynch law, I should say, he had been for—at one time he even defended the poll tax, as I recall it, nevertheless as soon as he became pro-Soviet in his commitments, he was suddenly a progressive. There is only one line upon which they pick them, and that is that you're progressive if you're for the Soviet foreign policy, and you're reactionary if you're against it.

You can be for old age pensions, you can be for any liberal principle, and you're still reactionary as long as there is only one definitive issue. I just want to make that point absolutely clear. There's one definitive issue. If you're anti the Soviet policy, no matter what it is, if it happens to be pro-Nazi at the moment, which it was during the period of the Soviet-Nazi pact, and remained so until Russia was attacked in 1941, and then suddenly like an electric shock on June 23rd the boys suddenly woke up to find out the imperialist war had turned into a people's war and they were blasting at Roosevelt then for not getting into the war in time.

He had been, of course, the number one war-monger up until the moment the Soviet Union was attacked.

Q. Now you mentioned, Mr. Costigan, that you carried no card in the Communist Party. You were recruited into the Communist Party definitely?

A. Yeah, I was recruited. I said that. I said that Morris Rapport recruited me.

Q. Did you sign an application?

A. Well, I didn't sign an application. I signed my—I signed a name, Jack Robinson, I think, which should have been more significant than it was. But anyway, that was all. That was the end of it. I mean, it was only Morris and me.

Transcript of Proceedings of the

Q. Do you know whether or not that's a common practice in the party, for the purpose of shielding those whom they do not wish to be known as Communists?

A. Well, I don't know what it is today. I know what it was then. I mean that the—

Q. Was it at that time?

A. The point then was that there were just thousands of people who were looking for an opportunity to—to effectively work within the framework of the progressive movement in an organized sort of fashion, who were being recruited, and they were not Marxists. Many of them were actually—they had never heard of Karl Marx. And they certainly had never heard of that terrific hyphenate known as the Leninist-Stalinist—wait a minute, Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist prospective. And so—but they were in, many of them certain of one thing, and that is that they were working with other people who were also interested in the same objective in various mass movements. So consequently, they weren't necessarily conscious of Party membership, and I imagine many of them never carried cards.

Q. Did you from time to time, during this period, meet with high officials of the Party—

A. How could I avoid it? I mean, after all I was on the—I presume I was on the political bureau. They kept calling me into meetings, and some of the meetings they held at my place and various other places around—I mean, I can't remember all of the facts that most—that some of these witnesses who have terrific memories, almost photographic memories, can remember. Probably it is because I know too much. But—I mean, the point is that there were just too many meetings, and so on. So I'm not going to be able to give you statistical information of the type that I understand several witnesses gave, including the throwing of Party cards in people's faces and all that sort of thing.

Q. Let's not discuss the other witnesses, Mr. Costigan. Now, you were continuously in meetings then, would you put it that way?

A. Well, whenever it was necessary to meet for the purpose of following out a policy on questions of—and remember, I want to repeat this, that during that period there was never anything at all discussed, except how better to build the liberal movement and the Democratic Party, and particularly the Roosevelt point of view on the Democratic Party.

Q. You have testified that the Communist Party secured complete control through penetration and infiltration of the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

A. That's right.

Q. Do you know—

A. They didn't do it by open party membership though. I mean, see in 1935 they attempted to penetrate the Commonwealth Federation as the Communist Party, then—then they wanted to convert it to a third party movement. Well, similar to what they're doing with P.C.A. right now. But they weren't able to do that. Now, subsequently they attempted to get into the W.C.F. through front organizations which affiliated with the Federation. And they did that quite successfully because there wasn't any essential difference. You couldn't spot a Communist in the period when the party line was absolutely identical with that of the—of the Roosevelt program.

Q. Do you know—did you know anything of an organization called the Old Age Pension Union?

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A. Yes, I know quite a bit about the Old Age Pension Union. I ought to; I founded it.

Q. Was the Old Age Pension Union opposed—I'll withdraw that.

Did the Communists oppose the Old Age Pension Union after it was founded?

A. Yes. As a matter of fact, I got into quite a bit of hot water about that, because the Pension Union was—it occurred to me, I talked to a lot of older people who were really very hard pressed and who had been rooked by a lot of politicians who merely wanted to use their mass strength in the state to get themselves elected to office. "When you Elect me Governor" was the general slogan, "Then I'll get you an Old Age Pension." And it seemed to me they were getting the old people nothing.

So I got out on the air one night, and, incidentally, I was not the voice of the Communist Party on the air—I got on the air one night and simply said that I thought that it might be wise if these people would organize themselves to fight for higher pensions with less red tape for more deserving older people. And it seemed to me that—that they ought to organize themselves so that they wouldn't be used by somebody else. And I repeatedly said that, terrific mail came in, and so somebody wrote me and asked me if I'd organize the group. I said no, I didn't want to organize the group, I'd be glad to explain what I thought ought to be done, from an organizational standpoint, because I felt that no one, including Costigan, should be in the position to use it as a political machine to build himself for office, particularly after I'd made the statement that that had been done before. I suggested they organize, and not tax themselves and affiliate with the trade unions and the other groups that were part of the progressive movement, the W.C.F., for the purpose of fighting for more adequate old age pensions, and so we organized.

For about six months thereafter, the Communist Party leaderships still busy with the Workers Alliance cause, which was pretty much a lost cause, charged me with establishing a dual union. As a matter of fact, they didn't attempt to take over the Pension Union until after it became clear they were not going to be successful in rehabilitating the Workers Alliance, which flopped with the W.P.A. project, you know.

Q. Did the Communist Party subsequently take over the Pension Union?

A. Well, the easiest way for me to answer that, is to say, which was characteristic of the W.C.F., that the W.C.F. movement or position of being primarily interested in the needs and welfare of the local people in the area, which means that it was reflective of popular sentiment to the fact that it became finally in 1939, after the Soviet-Nazi Pact, completely an instrument of Soviet foreign policy, I would say that the Pension Union is in about the same position from the top-leadership principle that today, for instance, the—everything is subjected to the same kind of discipline, you've got to be pro-Soviet in your policy in order to—that is, in their resolutions, and so on, I know that some of the leadership of the Pension Union are, of course, Communist Party members.

Q. Did you ever meet with a man by the name of Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes, of course.

Q. Was Hugh DeLacy a member of the Communist Party at that time?

A. I never saw his card at any time. As I've explained to you, I don't know, but I mean if I was a member of the Communist Party, Hugh DeLacy was a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Did you discuss Communist Party program with Hugh DeLacy?

A. Not very—not that I can recollect. I mean, it was just tacitly understood that this was the Party line, but—

Q. Did he further that Party line?

A. Oh well, that's automatic. I mean, he didn't jump off at any turn. He's never been blasted by the Communist Party. That's the best barometer.

Q. Did you know a man by the name of William Pennock?

A. Certainly, he used to be my secretary.

Q. Will you explain the circumstances of his leaving you as secretary?

A. Well frankly, I had too many secretaries, and it occurred to me that as long as the Pension Union—the policy was then being adopted largely by the W.C.F., that it would be a good thing for him to get out from under the W.C.F. administration, so I can get into the Pension Union. I put him in there.

Q. Was Mr. Pennock a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I've never—again, I would just assume that he was a member of the Communist Party, by reason of the fact that I mean he was in all top fraction meetings at various times, and met on policy. It's certainly every indication. If you mean by seeing a Party card, I can't say that.

Q. No, I don't mean that. The members of the Communist Party don't go around displaying their cards do they, Mr. Costigan?

A. No, I've never seen one. And that's why I can't understand about having one thrown in somebody's face. And, it seems to me that we ought to keep to the realistic approach to this thing, as far as we can.

Q. Well, Mr. Costigan, we'll—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Pardon me, let me state here that that is not an issue at the moment. There has been Communist Party cards admitted in evidence here, and I don't think—

THE WITNESS: Well, I've never seen one, that's all. I'm sorry.

Q. I might say, Mr. Costigan, that every Communist Party card that's been admitted in this hearing has been identified by the holder and owner of it as his own card. There's been no other cards submitted here.

Now, do you know a man by the name of N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes, I know N. P. Atkinson.

Q. Was N. P. Atkinson active in the same way that you've described these others?

A. I would certainly say he was active. I don't know exactly whether it's in the same way, but I would say that he was a far more obstreperous, belligerent follower of the Communist Party line than anyone I ever ran into contact with. He was always attempting to lecture people on what was the proper course to take, and how to properly interpret the Party line.

Q. Would your testimony be that Mr. Atkinson was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I would say that if he weren't a member, they were certainly missing some good dues-paying prospect.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Jess Fletcher?

A. Yes, I've known Jess long before the—he entered the Communist Party and before I entered the Communist Party.

Q. Did you meet with Jess Fletcher during this period of time in furtherance of the Communist Party line?

A. Yes, I met with Jess Fletcher in—during the Democratic front period. Jess Fletcher, of course, remained in the Communist Party afterwards, so he could give you more information on some of the later dates than I could.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Terry Pettus?

A. Terry Pettus is the editor of the "New World." He was the editor of the "New Dealer" or was the "New Dealer" until the change in the Party line and it became the "New World" then.

Q. Was Terry Pettus a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I've met with him in fraction meetings, and so on, I presume he was.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Harry Renton Bridges?

A. Yes, I know Harry Bridges. As a matter of fact, Harry Bridges was active in the attempted formation of this Western Conference for Franklin Roosevelt that we were planning in 1939, and on which I went to Washington, D. C. and talked to the President, and to Henry Wallace who was then supporting the Roosevelt position, and to a number of other people, including Norris and LaGuardia, arranging for this conference to be held in the West, in Salt Lake City, with the objective that we would help to get a bloc of western delegates to make possible the combination of Franklin D. Roosevelt for a third term without the support of the deep south, which of course meant that he would be in a better position to take an action against the poll tax bloc; and Bridges was quite active in that, and I had met with him on the—he was then regional organizer for the C.I.O. and I met with him and discussed that question up here, and down there.

Q. Have you discussed with Mr. Bridges the things that the Communist Party were interested in?

A. I never have. I've never discussed with Harry, to my knowledge, or never to my memory, I've never discussed with Harry Bridges anything except a straight Democratic Party policy. But, I did meet with Bridges in places where there were Communists present.

Q. Did Mr. Bridges ever meet in your house?

A. Well, he was up there—I can't remember how many times. He was there at least once, and at that time he—he was there on a—I think he was up here on longshore business from California, and I think they were getting ready to form the California Federation for Political Unity. That was an organization that was built a little bit like the W.C.F., of the pre-primary organization of Liberals and Progressives in California, which I subsequently addressed at Fresno, California, at the time they nominated Olson, Patterson and Downey, I believe.

Q. Who—did you invite Mr. Bridges to the meeting at your home, or was he invited by someone else?

A. I didn't invite Bridges there. I think that Morris Rapport, if I remember correctly, arranged the meeting. I think that he was there, and I think Bridges was there.

Q. And at that time Morris Rapport was the district secretary of the Communist Party.

A. District organizer.

Q. District organizer. Do you recall who else was at that meeting, Mr. Costigan?

A. No, I don't. As a matter of fact, I think there was always a—I mean there was a changing group of people at a top fraction meeting, and I don't

remember who was in at that time, particularly. I mean if—there might have been most anybody, that is anybody who was topped.

Q. Were they followers of the Communist Party line that met at your house on this occasion, people that you believed to be Communists?

A. Oh yes.

Q. Do you recall anyone being present at this meeting that was not a Communist?

A. Well, I wouldn't—wouldn't know whether there was anyone present who wasn't a Communist, I'd say that I was accepting them as—as Communists. Otherwise I doubt that they'd be meeting with Morris Rapport, in a closed meeting.

Q. Now can you—do you have any idea as to the time that this occurred, can you fix it as to year, and maybe the season?

A. No, I can't. I—I mean, I'd assume it was in 1937, because I'd certainly fix it prior to the—or early '38. I'd fix it before the California Federation for Political Unity meeting, which was held in 1938.

Q. Do you recall whether Mr. Bridges met at your house more than once?

A. No, I don't think so. Isabel might know more about that than I know. I don't think so.

Q. Now, do you know a man by the name of Thomas Rabbitt?

A. Certainly.

Q. Mr. Rabbitt hadn't been here very long when you were a member of the Party, had he?

A. No, Rabbitt wasn't in the—wasn't in any top fraction meetings or bureau meetings. He wasn't considered very reliable by Morris Rapport.

Q. From your discussions and information that came to you from meeting and discussing with top fraction Communists, did you gain the information that Mr. Rabbitt was a member of the Party? Was he a follower of the line?

A. Well, I don't know how trusted he was, but I would say that he was ardently attempting to be trusted.

Q. By the Communist Party?

A. By the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of John Caughlan, an attorney in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes, I know John.

Q. Will you state what information, if any, you gathered about Mr. Caughlan at this time?

A. Well, I don't know exactly what you mean, other than the fact that are you attempting to ask me whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Q. That was what I intended to work up to.

A. Oh. Well, I would assume that John Caughlan was. I didn't meet with John on that level. John wasn't, at that time, was certainly not anywhere near a top apparatus, personnel and top apparatus personnel.

Q. From Party sources, did you gain the information that he too was a follower of the Party line, and one who would carry out the wishes of the Party?

A. Well, I wouldn't only have to take it from top information; I could just simply take it from my own knowledge, that is, that—I mean, I never saw him deviate once from the Party line at any time. Did you?

Q. Would your testimony be here, as an expert witness, one who knows the Party line, as a former member, that John Caughlan is a member of the Party then?

A. Well, I don't know how you qualify as an expert witness on these things. I only know that I—that John Caughlan has—let's put it this way, he has never been attacked, and I presume at that time he followed the line at the time of the Roosevelt program, he switched with the line. Then he switched back when the line switched back, then he switched back again, so I assume that if you keep on that twisting, turning international policy railroad long enough that you must be a pretty good rider of the Party line.

Q. Now, to clarify this picture, during the period of time that you were in the Party, you were a hidden secreted member, your membership was not made public at any time, by them or by you, during the period of time you were cooperating with them—

A. No.

Q. —is that right? And did you ever attend unit meetings?

A. Never.

Q. They kept you away from the rank and file of the Communist Party meetings.

A. That's right.

Q. These meetings you've testified to were high fraction meetings.

A. That's right.

Q. That explains why you wouldn't sit in meetings and know some of these smaller fry. Is that correct?

A. Absolutely correct.

Q. Now, I want you to clarify just a little bit, Mr. Costigan. You speak here of this always following the Party line. Is the Communist Party a democratic party? Does the line originate down in the unit meetings and work up to the top until they say, "This is what our people want to do."

A. No, it works the other way, down. I mean, what—for example, right up until the Soviet-Nazi Pact, as I think I previously indicated, the Party line was full support for Roosevelt for a third term, and there were a lot of Communist Party members who were wearing third term buttons when the blitz came along and caught them short. As a matter of fact, some of them were still confused the following spring, they were still wearing third term buttons in one lapel and "The Yanks Aren't Coming" in the other lapel, which was a little bit confusing to most everybody.

I would assume that you have—you have the right to agree either today or tomorrow with the new line, if you happen to be in a unit or a section; you might take until next week to agree, if they think you're worth that much attention. But, ultimately you either agree or you're out. And the line is sent down from New York, of course, because the "Daily Worker"—if the "Daily Worker" were late, they couldn't make up their minds on some of the questions.

Q. During the period that you—the time that you were in the Communist Party, was the paper which is now the "New World," I believe then it was the "Washington New Dealer," was it not? Was that an unofficial organ of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I would say it was certainly—it was certainly, if it wasn't controlled openly, it was certainly remarkably intuitive. It—every time the "Daily Worker" talked it sputtered; I mean the reaction was almost auto-

matic. I'd say that it was the most remarkable case of parallelism in history, if it weren't for the—

Q. Today—no, let's—I'll withdraw that. Is it your testimony that membership in the Communist Party and continued membership, means undeviation from the foreign policy of the—

A. Yes, it's automatic. That's why I—I mean, I feel, as a liberal, that it's—the Communist Party penetration of progressive and liberal organizations and people's movement, is extremely dangerous to those movements by reason of the fact that ultimately the test that is applied after the hidden Party members have gained control of those movements is that that movement shall follow the Party line or be crushed.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all. Thank you, Mr. Costigan. Thank you very much for appearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Just one question, Mr. Costigan. You have appeared here voluntarily this morning, have you not?

THE WITNESS: Why, yes. I mean there's no—as I say, it became perfectly obvious that it was necessary. I thought the 1946 campaign had cleared that all up.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you, Mr. Costigan.

(Witness Excused)

MRS. ISABEL COSTIGAN, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Will you please state your name, Mrs. Costigan?

A. Isabel Harris Costigan.

Q. You are a resident of the City of Seattle?

A. I am.

Q. And you are the wife of Howard G. Costigan, the former witness?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now I'll ask you, Mrs. Costigan, have you ever belonged to the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you first affiliate with the Communist Party?

A. In the fall of 1938.

Q. Were you subsequently, for a period of time, active in the Communist Party?

A. For a few months, yes. It would start perhaps the—the summer of 1938, it was late summer or early fall.

Q. It was prior to the birth of your child?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you assigned a unit in the Communist Party in which to attend meetings?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. What unit was that, Mrs. Costigan?

A. It was a secret University unit.

Q. And did you attend meetings?

A. I attended some meetings, yes.

Q. Mrs. Costigan, I'll ask you if you ever sat in any Communist Party meetings with Hugh DeLacy.

A. Not in those meetings—not in those meetings in units.

Q. Not in unit meetings.

A. No. No.

Q. But did you sit in fraction meetings with Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes, we attended them. There were some at our house, at our home.

Q. Was Mr. DeLacy a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, to my knowledge, he performed as one and came with people—he was in attendance with such people as Morris Rapport. And Harry Jackson, who was a—worked with Morris Rapport, who was a Communist official.

Q. Did you understand these meetings being held in your home to be Communist Party meetings?

A. Yes. Yes.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of William Pennock?

A. Yes. Bill lived at our house at one time.

Q. Mr. Pennock lived at your house. Did Mr. Pennock ever attend any of these meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Pennock a member of the Communist Party?

A. To my knowledge he still is.

Q. You mentioned that you attended unit meetings of a secret University unit. Do you know Ralph Gundlach?

A. Yes, I know Ralph Gundlach.

Q. Did Mr. Gundlach attend any of these Party meetings?

A. No, Mr. Gundlach was in another unit.

Q. He was in another unit.

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever attended Communist Party meetings with Mr. Gundlach?

A. No, before I was a Communist member, I broke up a unit meeting at his house one night. I went up to his house, not—and some of the members afterwards told me that that was a Communist Party unit meeting that I had invaded, and—

Q. While you were in the Communist Party, did you receive information that Mr. Gundlach was a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, one doesn't receive information, one—on those, one merely attends the same meetings, works on the same program, it's—it's implied and understood rather than—that is, once in there, those things are just—aren't discussed. The program that is being worked on is the—

Q. While you were a member of the Party, was there any doubt in your mind that Mr. Gundlach was a member of the Party?

A. None whatsoever.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Eby?

A. Harold Eby, yes.

Q. Was Mr. Eby a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever sat in Communist Party meetings with Mr. Eby?

A. Yes, he attended, or was—spoke at the Communist unit, University unit.

Q. Do you know a Mr.—

A. And his wife was an official of the Communist Party, that is, she did Communist Party work in their headquarters.

Q. Do you know her first name?

A. I think it's Etta. I mean, I—I don't—

Q. Could it have been Lenna?

A. I don't recall at the moment. I—

Q. But it is the lady who—

A. It's Mrs. Harold Eby.

Q. Mrs. Harold Eby. Do you know a Professor Joe Butterworth?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Butterworth a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. To my knowledge.

Q. Did Mr. Butterworth attend any of these meetings?

A. Yes, he and—his wife was almost more active than—his wife is now deceased—but Dorothy was actually I think a little more active than Joe was. But they were—

Q. Was there any question as to whether or not Joe was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not in my mind.

Q. Do you recall ever having met Harry Renton Bridges?

A. Harry Bridges was a guest in our home, yes. He attended at least one meeting there.

Q. At least one meeting.

A. I recall it because I was fixing warm milk for him for his ulcers, and—

Q. You didn't actually sit in the meeting then; you were in the kitchen warming milk for him, is that right?

A. Yes, I usually provided the food and did that sort of thing, at those meetings.

Q. Was this a Communist Party meeting that Mr. Bridges attended of the top fraction—

A. Well, I understood it to be. Mickey Orton was there and Hugh DeLacy was there, and I think—as I say, it's difficult for me to remember all of the people attending a meeting in 1937. And I just—too many things have happened before and since. But, he was there with Morris Rapport, and with—I believe Bill Pennock was there. But there was a large group attending, of labor leaders and others who were in attendance.

Q. Were there—

A. I think Jess Fletcher was there, as I recall.

Q. Were there any there who you did not believe to be Communists?

A. I would think there would be every effort made to keep anyone who was not a Communist out of such a meeting, because those meetings were always very—very hush, and there was every reason to keep non-Communists away.

Q. Do you recall whether or not you invited Harry Renton Bridges out, or did someone else invite him?

A. No, I wouldn't ever—you see, these were not tea parties. They—I was not extending the invitations, I merely opened the door and—the people came in, and I assume that Morris Rapport arranged who arrived.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Terry Pettus, editor of the "New World"?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Pettus a member of the Communist Party during the period you were?

A. I always assumed that he was. He met on such meetings and followed the Communist Party line with devotion.

Q. Now do you know a man by the name of N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes, I do. I recall one of the times when the—it's funny—it's very difficult to be a Communist and have a sense of humor. And I think I was probably one of the least likely candidates for a Communist that I can think of. And—N. P. Atkinson was dressing down my husband because my husband couldn't get along with people and wasn't following the line properly. And I recall N. P. pacing up and down the floor and giving Howard—and all I could think of it was certainly the pot calling the kettle black, at that point. And Howard was holding his temper very nicely, and N. P. Atkinson was giving Howard quite a dressing down, and—about Howard's inability to get along with people and to follow the line in its finer implication.

Q. You've testified you know William Pennock quite well.

A. Yes.

Q. He lived in your house, did he not?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you heard from Mr. Pennock lately?

A. Mr. Pennock called me last night, and I must say I like Bill Pennock personally. He's a very amiable person. And—but my feeling, and I told Bill that last night, I will not say anything here that I didn't—hadn't said to Bill personally—that Bill does a job in a nice way for the Communist Party, and they use other people with sharper minds for other work. Bill is the one to admire the ladies' hats and is kind to people, and thinks of nice little things for people, and he is a very amiable person who—it would be very hard for the—for an outsider to believe that, if you hadn't watched the fact that he had never deviated from the Party line, it would be very difficult for the person meeting Bill Pennock for the first time to consider him a Communist. Therefore, he was very valuable, and he's been very valuable in the Pension Union, because—

Q. You say he called you last night. What was the substance of his conversation?

A. Well, he wanted to reach Howard, and ask Howard—he just couldn't believe that Howard and I would lower ourselves to testify here, that after all we were friends, and that this—that to subject ourselves, to lower ourselves to testify before this committee, was something he just didn't think even the Costigans could stoop to, I believe, was about the gist of it.

And my answer in reply was that there is no way in which a Communist fights fair, that I couldn't possibly lower myself in the estimation of a Communist, there's nothing to which they haven't subjected us in the past few years in the way of intimidation of—anonymous phone calls, anonymous letters, of almost blackmail, of threats, open and covered, that the Costigans could never earn a living in the Pacific Northwest as long as there were any Communists.

And we've been subjected to the most—and that's one of the things I think it's so easy to slip into the Communist Party and it's so difficult to get out. And I think there's many a member in the Communist Party that goes along the line now because he doesn't dare do otherwise. For one thing, to say he's getting out of the Communist Party is like being excommunicated is to put it mildly, because a Communist once in the Party lives and breathes in that atmosphere. His social contacts are either in the Communist Party or among people he's trying to recruit into the Communist Party. His activities are for those causes which the Communist Party is espousing at the time. And he is in a whirlwind of activity, he never has an idle moment, and all of those are with Communists or potential Communists, or people whom he is trying to influence. So he has no social life, outside of the Communist Party.

He has to get to the point his economic life is dependent upon it, because if he breaks with them, whatever job he has—he is exposed and his job is forfeit. There is no—there is no security for him in the—the non-Communists won't speak to him and the Communists won't speak to him, so he's—he's in a place where he has no associations whatsoever for a period of time after getting out of the Communist Party.

And in my estimation there is no morality in the Communist Party, there are no levels to which they will not stoop to attack a man, personally, financially, morally, and in any direction in which they can attack someone, they will do it.

Q. In other words, they use the smear tactics?

A. If smear tactics—if they consider smear tactics will be effective, they will use smear tactics. And—but different people are used for different attacks. That is, Bill Pennock probably would not be used in smear tactics. Bill Pennock is a nice Communist.

Q. Do you think that is of Bill Pennock's choosing, or is that because this is the role they have decided he should play?

A. I think it's partly Bill's nature. Bill is a—Bill is a kindly individual. I think the Communists are smart enough to try to put people into—never underestimate the power and the intelligence of a Communist. That's—and I think they try to put people where they are most effective.

Q. You didn't hear Mr. Pennock kicking on this door the other morning, did you?

A. No, I haven't been down.

Q. Why did you leave the Communist Party, Mrs. Costigan?

A. Well, I was sold a bill of goods which I was—I was sick from the moment I first attended a unit meeting. And it was only a matter of just my—I suppose my reactions are a little slow, so it took me a little time having gotten in, to get out again, but—and it was sort of an easing out. That is, I didn't have a card, so I didn't have any card to dispose of and there was no moment of—no precise moment in which it could be said I broke with the Party, because I just was—I was sick from the moment I got in. I was sold a bill of goods of democratic centralism, for one thing, the theory being that the little people decided what is needed for the little people, and they tell—they have a little group meeting, a little fraction meeting, and then they tell the leader and he tells somebody else, and it goes on up, and pretty soon decisions are made which are good for the little people.

Well, once you get into a Communist Party Unit, you don't say anything. You're just told what is good for the people, and what is going to be the line

this week and next week, and what is the most important thing to do and what should be done this week and next week, and you're assigned a job to do and meetings to attend, and that sort of thing. And there's no—there's no outfit which talks more democracy and practices more dictatorship than the Communist Party. They just—their talk and their practices are completely opposite.

Q. Do they revere the traditions of this country and our way of living, standards of morality?

A. Well, that's one of the reasons, at the time I got into the Communist Party, I think they were espousing many of the things in which I believed. I've—I'm an ardent individualist, and—but at that time they were—they were opposed to Mussolini and Hitler and dictatorship here and abroad, and to the shipment of scrap iron to Japan, and all of those things which I felt very keenly about the encroachments of Fascism throughout the world, and it was very easy to slip into the Communist Party at that time, because they talked a good democratic line. And—but once in, I found very low respecters of any morality on which we base our standards of living.

You will notice the kind of people whom I know are Communist Party members, will switch marriage partners in the Communist Party, but they stay in the Communist Party. And if—I think the Communist Party at no time would hesitate to break up the marriage if they thought—if one partner of the marriage partner was not going quite down the Communist line and might help—might help the other partner break away from the Communist Party.

I know I was considered a suspect in the Communist Party for a long time, and that's one of the reasons I think I got in was because—until I had become a member, they were always a little suspicious that I might sort of help to pull Howard away from them. So I was never very trusted by the—by the Communists.

Q. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. I—I don't recall precisely, but I think it was Mrs. Harold Ebby.

Q. Now, Mrs. Costigan, I want to get it just clearly in the record, without any explanations, will you just relate as near as you can, the conversation last night with Mr. Pennock, what Pennock said to you, your reply, his reply, and so forth. Will you repeat that conversation as near as you can recall it?

A. Well, Bill told me that—well, it was a long conversation, so to repeat all of it here would be a little difficult. Bill said he was not calling up at the behest of anybody in the Communist Party, and that his was an individual call—by the way, Terry Pettus had called previously and reached Howard. Terry Pettus called asking if it was possible that Howard were going to testify.

Then Bill Pennock called, and Howard was out at the moment, so I answered the 'phone, and we had a rather lengthy conversation. The old thought that we couldn't stoop to so low to sit in the same chair as Homer Huson had sat in, and, well, it could be expected perhaps of Jess Fletcher, but certainly not of the Costigans to testify. The thing about the Communists expect the other people to fight fair, and—whatever they consider fighting fair, but—and certainly testifying against them or admitting one's previous mistakes was not part of fighting fair, I presume.

Q. Do you believe that Communism is a threat in the United States of America today, Mrs. Costigan?

A. I think the Communist Party in the United States is definitely a threat. Whether they practice theoretical Communism, I don't know. I've never been a reader or a student of Karl Marx. And the only thing I can say is that I think one of the things we need to do with our young people is to prepare them so that when they get to the university or get places where they're going to run into Communists, is to have them have some basis of an understanding of democracy and an understanding of—the principles in our political beliefs so that they're not taken in by these things, so that they have some background. I think one of the finest things that could happen would be to have a—some of the theories of Karl Marx and some of the theories of the Communists taught in the high schools so they would know them and know their arguments. Now, they come up against them in the university, they are totally unprepared and have no answers and don't know wherein the doctrines are at fault. And—

Q. Don't you believe hearings such as these are good to expose the theories?

A. Yes, I think many a liberal for a long time has been stopped. One of the smartest pieces of propaganda that the Communist Party ever put out was the term "red-baiting." If you are a good liberal, the theory goes, you will never red-bait. Now red-baiting is a term that is—the Communists set the definition, and if you—in order to not red-bait, I finally concluded in my slow way of arriving at my conclusions, that if you allow the Communist Party to put you in the position of not red-baiting, you are not in a position then to ever criticize any stand that the Communist Party takes, because if you criticize anything the Communist Party does, any members of the Communist Party, any activities of which they pursue, you are per se red-baiting. Therefore, you are not a liberal. Therefore, according to the Communist Party form of reasoning, you cannot attack the Communist Party, you cannot disagree openly with the Communist Party, and remain a liberal, because if you do so you are red-baiting.

And I think the only hope for a liberal movement in this country is to expose the—the dictatorial, not the progressive line of the Communist Party, which is the window-dressing. As I say, the Communists talk a progressive line, but their actions are something entirely different. And it's my quarrel not with their talk about progressive measures, but their practice of dictatorship, and of following the Soviet Union, with which I quarrel very bitterly.

Q. They have a secret hidden objective at all times, then.

A. I would say it was always the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Q. That is paramount in their thinking and—

A. Yes, but they never sell a prospective member that line. That isn't what they talk to the prospective—they find out what the prospective member is interested in, and those are the things that the Communist Party is interested in, is—are whether it be the old age pension, or trade union movements, anything of that sort. It's always—it's always a progressive—the progressive approach that is sold to the prospective member.

Q. Now, I want this one thing answered. There are other members that you can identify in the Communist Party that we have not asked you about today, is that right?

A. Oh, definitely, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much, Mrs. Costigan.

Mr. Chairman, before we progress, may we have a short recess?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Be at ease for about ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes, we are, Mr. Chairman.

W. E. McCARTER, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. William E. McCarter. William E. McCarter.

Q. Mr. McCarter, the testimony in this hearing, in addition to being taken down by the stenographer, is being transcribed by a sound device. Will you please talk loudly and talk into this "mike" here so—

A. As much as I can, brother, but I've been sick and I haven't got very much of a voice.

Q. I appreciate that, sir. Where do you live, Mr. McCarter?

A. I live at 2920 Norton.

Q. In what city?

A. Everett.

Q. How long have you been a resident of the State of Washington?

A. About twenty-nine years.

Q. Mr. McCarter, I'll ask you if you ever belonged to one of the pension unions over at Everett, Washington?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which one of the locals were you a member of?

A. Local 25.

Q. Was that the so-called daylight local, or the so-called night local?

A. That's right, daylight local.

Q. Is there more than one local in Everett?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The local that you belonged to met, you say, in the daytime.

A. Yes, sir. No—I'll take that back. At night.

Q. The one you belonged to met—

A. Yes, at night.

Q. —at night. Now, was there a local that met in the daytime?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words, there are two locals of the Pension Union in Everett, Washington.

A. That's correct.

Q. One meeting in the afternoon, and one meeting at night. Now, prior—strike that. When did you join this—

A. Well, I don't just remember the year, but they at that time, they were in the old building by the viaduct. They met in the Workers Alliance building, at that time.

Q. Was that back in the days when the Workers Alliance was still in existence?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you had any experience in the Workers Alliance movement, Mr. McCarter?

A. Well, I belonged to them for a while, but very little experience.

Q. Do you know whether or not the Workers Alliance later affiliated with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, sir. Later.

Q. After the organization of the Old Age Pension Union, what happened to the Workers Alliance?

A. Well, they—going back from the time that they were on that building at the viaduct, they—the Workers Alliance had to give that building up, on account of not paying their rent for two or two and a half years. And then they moved over on Rockefeller, the Old Age Pension Union moved over on Rockefeller in a room of their own. And the Workers Alliance then rented a little old shack, right across the street from the Old Age Pension Union, of theirs. So the Workers Alliance was an organization of their own at that time, those that—well, they had an organization of their own, and yet a great many of them belonged to the Old Age Pension Union and they would come over and meet with us—with the night.

Q. Now, did the Workers Alliance finally cease to function?

A. No, not—well, they eventually did, yes.

Q. Now, going back, I would like for you just as best you can, for the sake of this record, fix the approximate date of when you joined the Pension Union, as to the year. Can you give us some idea?

A. Well, my memory, I'm getting pretty well up in years, and my memory doesn't go back as good as it used to—I can't give you the exact time, but I've been out of the Old Age Pension Union along about eight or nine years, something like that.

Q. Then it would be somewhere prior to 1940?

A. Somewhere along there.

Q. Now, Mr. McCarter, when you were in the Old Age Pension Union there in Everett, did you hold any kind of an office?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What office did you hold?

A. I was the treasurer for nearly three or three and a half years.

Q. Now, as treasurer for three and—three to three and a half years, would that be for three or three and a half years preceding 1940?

A. No.

Q. About what year—

A. That was—I think along about, I'm not positive, but along about 1940 was when I—when they ousted me out of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Then you were treasurer prior to that?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, when you were treasurer of the Old Age Pension Union over there at Everett, did you get acquainted with a fellow by the name of Art Johnson?

A. Absolutely.

Q. And did you get acquainted with a person by the name of—a lady by the name of Rose Parks?

A. That's right.

Q. Was Art Johnson and Rose Parks married at that time?

A. No.

Q. Are they married at this time?

A. Well, as far as I can learn, yes.

Q. All right. Mr. McCarter, I'll ask you to state if you had any difficulty with Art Johnson and Rose Parks over, well, let's say the finances of the Pension Union, while you were the treasurer.

A. I had that several times, as far as that's concerned, and one particular time. I—we had three treasurers. We had the organizing treasurer, we had the Old Age Pension treasurer, and we had also another treasurer, and I was the treasurer of all of them.

Q. You held all three positions?

A. That's right. And in one particular time, they was supposed to go to Darrington to organize an Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Now, pardon me just a minute. Now you used the word "they." Will you speak into the record and say, and tell who you mean?

A. Art Johnson and Rose Parks. And they wanted me to go along, but I wasn't able to go at that particular time, or something turned up I couldn't go. Well, they went up there, and instead of organizing an Old Age Pension Union, they organized a Communist organization or a Communist Party, and came back and wanted me to pay the bill and I refused to pay it.

Q. Now did they come—did they want you to pay the bill as an individual or as an officer in some organization?

A. As—out of the Old Age Pension Union, as treasurer.

Q. Do you remember when this occurred?

A. I don't remember, not thinking of taking any notes or anything of the kind, I don't—I can't just remember the date nor the year.

Q. How long was that before you severed your relationship with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Just a short time. Probably three months.

Q. Do you know whether this matter was later called to the attention, to the president of the Washington Pension Union, Senator Sullivan? James Sullivan, who was the president, and Homer Huson who was the secretary?

A. They were the president and secretary of the Old Age Pension Union at that time.

Q. Well, did you call this matter to their attention—

A. No.

Q. —at the time it happened?

A. No, because right at that time they brought charges against me.

Q. Who brought charges against you?

A. Rose Parks and William Pennock.

Q. Well, why did Rose Parks and William Pennock bring charges against you?

A. Well, because I didn't cater—it seemed to me, now, that because I didn't cater to their way of doing business, and refused to pay bills that would come in to the Union and was ordered by the Union for me to pay them.

Q. Now what bills came in to the Union that they ordered you to pay that you objected to?

A. The bill—when they went up to organize the Old Age Pension Union at Darrington.

Q. Were there any other bills that came in that you refused to pay, or was there any other money spent by the Pension Union over your objection?

A. Oh, there were—there were several times that I refused to pay bills, but they overrode my objection, and they were paid.

Q. When you'd object to the payment of bills, as the usual thing, what were those bills for?

A. Well, there was some for—there was one for the W.C.F., one for Workers Alliance, and then they—they wanted five dollars a month for the Workers Alliance County Council and I refused to pay it, and I made a fuss on that and then is when the real trouble started.

Q. Testimony has been introduced at this hearing, Mr. McCarter, that the Workers Alliance was a—during the years, nineteen, oh '37 and '38 and '39 was dominated by the Communist Party. Did you know that to be a fact at that time?

A. Well, no, I suspected such things, but I wasn't positive.

Q. What was your reason for objecting to the payment of this money over to the Workers Alliance?

A. Well, because the Workers Alliance never did do the Old Age Pension Union any good, or they've never helped the Old Age Pension Union, but they always wanted help from the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. I see.

A. And I thought that we had all we could do at that time of taking care of our own affairs.

Q. Do you remember back about the time that Harry Bridges was being tried for deportation?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you answer into the microphone so that we can—it be recorded.

THE WITNESS: I'll try to.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Answer instead of nodding, because it doesn't record a nod.

Q. Do you remember when Harry Bridges was being tried by the Government for deportation?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was any effort made on behalf of the Pension Union to collect money or send money to his Defense Committee?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said that you got in trouble with these people because you objected to the payment of money over to the Old—over to the Workers Alliance. Were any kind of charges filed against you?

A. They brought charges against me—well, before I go through the charges, they elected new officers and got me out—to get me out of the Old Age Pension Union. And the old people voted me back in, but the Workers Alliance and the outsiders voted me out. Therefore, I resigned, or I claimed I resigned, but they claimed to throw me out. Then they brought charges against me for being a disloyal member of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Now who preferred those charges?

A. Mrs.—Rose Parks and Pennock.

Q. Now you refer to Pennock. Is that the—

A. He's the president of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. The president of the Old Age Pension Union. All right—

A. Or the organizer, I believe it is.

Q. He held some position in the Old Age Pension Union at that time, did he not?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And is that the same William Pennock who is the president of the Old Age Pension Union at the present time?

A. Correct.

Q. Now then, where did they file these charges?

A. Well, they wanted to try me before the Workers Alliance County Council.

Q. Now wait just a minute. You mean that they filed charges against you to throw you out of the Pension Union, but wanted to try you before the Workers Alliance?

A. That's correct.

Q. Go ahead and explain that.

A. Well, I'll explain it this way, that I would not accept to be tried, I told them that I would be tried before Local 25 or before our own local. Now during this time we had—between this time we had organized an Old Age Pension local in East Everett. We sent a dollar for a charter.

Q. Who did you send that to?

A. To the head office in Everett—or, in Seattle here. They've still got our dollar and never sent our charter.

Q. Did they send your dollar back?

A. Never did. And so then Bill Wannick and some other fellows there in town, we got together and we took out a charter of the Old Age Pension Association. So I told them that I'd be tried before the Old Age Pension Association or before the Local 25. Instead of doing that, they wouldn't have it that way, so they switched the local—or switched the trial, the hearing, over here to Seattle before the—before the, oh I forgot now what branch of the Old Age Pension Union that was, and we wouldn't—I wouldn't listen to that.

Bill Wannick wrote them a letter and told them that we would be willing to try it before the Local 25 or our own local.

Q. Pardon me, just a minute. You referred to somebody by the name of Bill someone. What was the last name?

A. Bill Wannick.

Q. Wannick?

A. Wannick.

Q. How do you spell that, do you know?

A. No, I don't know just exactly how that is, he's a lawyer there—used to be a lawyer there.

Q. I see, some attorney. All right.

A. He's dead now.

Q. Well now let's just pause here a minute. If I understand you correctly now, Rose Parks, Bill Pennock, the present president of the Pension Union, wanted to get you out of the Pension Union.

A. That's correct.

Q. And they first wanted to try you before the Workers Alliance—

A. That's right.

Q. —and when you refused to be tried before the Workers Alliance, they then moved the proceedings here to Seattle?

A. That's right.

Q. Well what sort of an organization did they try you before here in Seattle?

A. Well, it was before the State Board.

Q. State Board of what?

A. The Old Age Pension Union. At the same time I belonged to the State Board at that same time.

Q. Now, were you charged with disrupting the activities of the State Board of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. No. I was charged with disloyalty to the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Charged with disloyalty to the Old Age Pension Union.

A. That's right.

Q. Well, then what happened?

A. Then we wouldn't—we wouldn't listen to that, so they went ahead anyhow and had their trial.

Q. Do you mean to tell me that they tried you in absentia? In other words, they tried you without you being there?

A. That's what they claimed, and—claim, and wrote me a letter that I was out of the Old Age Pension Union entirely.

Q. In other words—

A. Off of the Board and all.

Q. In other words, they got you off the State Board and out of the Old Age Pension Union movement, is that right?

A. That's correct.

Q. Now, why did they do that, Mr. McCarter?

A. Well, you've got as much a thought of that as I have.

Q. Mr. McCarter, I can't testify. Now, why did these people throw you out of the Old Age Pension movement?

A. Because I couldn't see and cooperate with the Communist Party, as far as I could see, in my estimation.

Q. Mr. McCarter, obviously during the time you were in the Old Age Pension Union, you attended many meetings.

A. Many of them.

Q. Did you have occasion, as an official of the Old Age Pension Union, to notice the kind of literature that would be distributed there at the meetings by state officials and others that would come?

A. Well, we had the "New Deal," then we had oftentimes literature would come from the head office.

Q. Now you used the expression "New Deal." Are you referring to—

A. The "New Deal" paper.

Q. —the "New Dealer"?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The publication that was put out by the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

A. That's right.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, in your questioning there, you said various state officials. If you will identify them—

Q. Do you remember—who would bring that literature there to your meetings, Mr. McCarter?

A. Well, it generally was sent there by mail.

Q. Oh. Who usually would send it to you?

A. Well,—

Q. What state—

A. —as far as I knew it came through the office of the Old Age Pension Union from Everett here.

Q. You mean—

A. Or from Seattle, I meant to say.

Q. When you refer to it coming from the office from Seattle, are you referring to the State Office?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember any other literature, in particular, that they'd send you?

A. No, not that I remember of.

Q. I think you testified about their raising some money for the Harry Bridges campaign, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. McCarter, based on the three or three and a half years' experience as a former treasurer of the Old Age Pension Union, I'd like to ask you whether or not in your official capacity as a treasurer, or as an individual member of the Pension Union for that matter, whether or not the state officers of the Pension Union were working for the interest of the pensioners at that time.

A. Well, as far as I could see, right at that particular time, I believe in my own mind that they were.

Q. Did you have occasion to change your mind later?

A. Absolutely.

Q. When did you change your mind?

A. Oh, I changed my mind when they was getting up a bill for '41.

Q. What caused you to change your mind then?

A. The reason I changed my mind was this: Our local in Tulalip sent them nine dollars and our local, main local there at Everett sent them twelve dollars, to Mr. Pennock. And the state—the state local or the local of Tulalip got a receipt and thanks for the nine dollars, but we never got any receipt in any way shape nor form that they ever received the twelve dollars from our local.

Then I began to realize, or in my own estimation now, in my own mind, now remember, that there was some crooked work going on somewhere.

Q. Now this twelve dollars that was sent in, was that sent in on behalf of a Pension Union local?

A. That was sent in for to help them on the initiative 141. The Old Age Pension Association gave that to them.

Q. And you never got any receipt back for this?

A. No receipt whatever.

Q. Well, did you get the money back?

A. No, sir.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, Mr. McCarter. That will be all.

(Witness Excused)

M. D. ADAMS, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. You may state your name, please.

A. M. D. Adams.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Adams?

A. Everett.

Q. How long—

A. 1609 Rainier.

Q. How long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. Oh, fifty-five years.

Q. Mr. Adams, have you ever been a member of the—either one of the Everett locals of the Washington Pension Union?

A. Yes, 224.

Q. Now when does Local 224 meet?

A. They meet—well, they meet once a month. Every week on Wednesday. Every week.

Q. Do they meet in the daytime or nighttime?

A. Daytime.

Q. When did you join the Local 224 of the Washington Pension Union?

A. Last March.

Q. Do you mean now, March of 1947?

A. Yes.

Q. After joining the Local 224 of the Pension Union there in Everett, did you have any cause to become dissatisfied or disgusted with the activities of the Washington Pension movement in Everett?

A. Well, not at first. I suppose I didn't know what it was when I did join it. I supposed it was a real pension union, and working for the pensioners instead of being a Communist Party.

Q. Well, did you have occasion to change your mind as to what you thought it was at first?

A. Yes, and it wasn't long until I found out what it was. Of course, I had read about, oh, Costigan, DeLacy and Pennock, and Chart Pitt and all those for seven or eight years, those all known as radicals. And when I saw what was going on in the Pension Union, I knew that Pennock was a Communist. And there's no question about that.

Q. Now you refer to Pennock in the Pension Union, are you referring to his activities in the local there in Everett or his activities as a state official of the Pension Union?

A. As a state official yes.

Q. Well, what activities did you see that caused you to come to that conclusion?

A. Well, for one thing the, you know the "New World," they was always doing something to this money for the "New World."

Q. That's the official publication of the—

A. Yes.

Q. —Pension Union?

A. Every time Pennock come up there he'd have an armful of the "New World" and forcing them, practically speaking, on the members.

Q. Forcing them on the members. Well, what else came to your attention, if anything?

A. Well, I asked the secretary one time what salary Pennock was getting.

Q. Now who was this secretary you asked?

A. A fellow by the name of Boetcher. I call him Molotov.

Q. Now just—would you pronounce—could you spell that first name?

A. Oh gosh, I don't believe I could.

Q. To refresh your recollection, I'll ask you if it was spelled B-o-e-t-h-e-r?

A. I think so.

Q. What was his first name, do you know?

A. I don't.

Q. Would you know his first name if you heard it?

A. No, I don't think I ever heard his first name.

Q. What was he the secretary of?

A. Local 224.

Q. And you asked him if—what salary Pennock was getting?

A. Yes.

Q. All right, what was his answer?

A. He told me he was getting two hundred dollars. And I said, "He is not worth it."

Q. Did you have any reason for saying that?

A. Well, I guess plenty reason.

Q. Well, outside of Pennock's trying to force the "New World" on the pensioners, did he come down there and discuss your pension problems, tell you how that you could—

A. Oh, yes. Yes, he discussed pension problems.

Q. And each time he'd come he'd want to force the "New World" on the persons present.

A. On the pensioners, yes.

Q. Any other publications or any other literature that was presented to your local at any time?

A. Oh yes, there was letters that was read by the secretary, but he talks with his mouth shut and you can't hear what he says.

Q. Well, after you finally became, as you say, either disappointed or disgusted with the—what was going on in the Pension Union, did you do anything about it?

A. Did I do anything about it?

Q. Did you attempt to do anything about it?

A. Well, when I became disgusted altogether was at the so-called State Convention.

Q. When was that?

A. That was last summer. I think it was in July, if I remember right. I was there two days, and there wasn't a single resolution introduced on the floor of the house, there wasn't a single committee report brought on the floor of the house, in all that time. But I had belonged to other organizations before, especially in the State Grange—in the Grange. I attended the session of the—convention of the State Grange many times, and of course I know a good deal about that. And the difference between the conventions—well, this was only a farce. The committee was scattered all over town. And the devil himself couldn't find them. If you did find them, they wouldn't have allowed you in there, and that's what they done to me at Monroe.

Q. What happened to you over in Monroe?

A. Well, there was another thing that occurred before that. I was a delegate to a monthly convention they had there, a monthly meeting there in Everett, and I suppose "Molotov" told Pennock—

Q. Now let's—let's use this man's right name.

A. Well, Boetcher.

Q. Boetcher.

A. I suppose he told Pennock what I said about him, and he refused to recognize me down here at all.

Q. Who refused to recognize you?

A. Pennock.

Q. And you were one of the legal—

A. No, one of the delegates.

Q. —one of the delegates to attend that convention for your local?

A. Yeah.

Q. Well, did you make any effort to get recognized by him?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you do?

A. Well, I rose and asked the—from the floor, then he made an excuse that they name delegates for the next meeting.

Q. I didn't quite get your answer. He made what excuse?

A. He made an excuse that he was going to name delegates for the next meeting. Well, that was all right. Of course, according to parliamentary rules, which I've studied a good deal, I should have been the first one to be recognized after that was over. And he still refused—refused to recognize me. Then I rose on a point of order, and he had to recognize me. But I didn't take up what I intended to take up when I saw the sentiment that prevailed there.

Q. What sentiment did you seem to think prevailed at that convention?

A. Well, they were all Pennock.

Q. They were all what?

A. As far as I could see, they were all for Pennock.

Q. Now I hand you what has been marked for the purpose of identification, as Committee's Exhibit No. 35, and I'll ask you to examine that and state if you know what that is.

A. Yes, I think I do.

Q. Well, what is it? Just—just briefly state what that is.

A. Well, it's a resolution that I drew out and introduced at our local.

Q. You introduced a resolution that you drew up—

A. Yes.

Q. —and was introduced to your local.

A. Yes.

Q. Now what local was that?

A. 224.

Q. At Everett, Washington?

A. Yes, at Everett.

Q. And when did you introduce this local—I mean, this resolution at Everett, Washington?

A. When? Let me see. Well, I couldn't say just exactly when it was.

Q. Well, just to the best of your recollection. What month was it?

A. Let's see, it must be—

Q. Well, was it last year sometime?

A. It must be sometime in August, of last year.

Q. Last year. Do you think it was sometime in August?

A. It must have been sometime about that—

Q. Well anyway, it was in the late summer or early fall of 1947.

A. Yes.

Q. And this is a true copy of that resolution?

A. Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, at this time I would like to introduce this resolution into the record, and read it into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do so.

MR. WHIPPLE: "Resolution. WHEREAS, it is a well-known fact that we are organized as a pension union for the benefit of recipients of old age assistance; and

"WHEREAS, we have seen fit to organize ourselves as a labor union which is entirely in conflict with our purpose; and

"WHEREAS, we also have seen fit to get into partisan politics, which is also detrimental to our cause; and

"WHEREAS, we also allowed subversive elements to take control of our organization, and that they are using it for their aggrandizement;

"Therefore Be It Resolved, That we divorce ourselves from any labor organization, by whatever name they may be called, and that we also refrain from indulging in partisan politics; and

"Be It Further Resolved, That we divorce ourselves from the state organization, and that our local shall be refrained from paying any more money to the state treasury until such a time that we have rid ourselves of the subversive element that is now controlling the state organization; and

"Be It Further Resolved, Upon the adoption of this resolution, that a copy of this resolution be given to the press for publication, that we may regain the prestige and respect of the citizenry of the State of Washington that we have lost through ever allowing ourselves to be infiltrated by subversive elements, namely, Communists."

Q. Now, you say you prepared that resolution?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And attempted to introduce it to your local organization there in Everett?

A. Yes.

Q. Now just state for the purpose of the record, what your effort was in that respect, and what happened.

A. Well, in the first place, he wanted to put that resolution in the hands of a committee, for reading.

Q. Pardon me. Now, we don't know who you mean by "he." Who do you refer to?

A. Well, the chairman.

Q. Well who—

A. Chart Pitt.

Q. Chart Pitt. Go ahead.

A. He wanted to place that resolution in the hands of a committee without reading it. And I insisted on it. But they got into a wrangle there, he got wild, and the secretary got wild, and the secretary started to come off the platform supposedly to put me out.

Q. Now just a minute. Do you mean the secretary started to come off of the platform to put you out because you had introduced a resolution against subversive activities?

A. Yes, and—

Q. Just a minute. Let's—we want to correct the record here now. Who was this secretary?

A. Boetcher.

Q. This Boetcher that you referred to.

A. Yeah.

Q. All right, now then what happened?

A. Well, I insisted on reading the resolution, and I read it, and I made a motion that it be accepted. Then he appointed a committee of his own followers, of course.

Q. Just a minute. You refer to the word "he" again. Who are you talking about?

A. I beg your pardon?

Q. I say, you used the expression, "He appointed a committee." Now who was that?

A. Well, the chairman, Chart Pitt.

Q. Chart Pitt.

A. He appointed a committee, and they took the resolution and went over to the committee room, and I went down there to explain it to them what it was all about, and they wouldn't have me there at all. So they just wrote their name on the resolution and rejected it. And then they wouldn't let me talk on it at all. They put the question before the house to accept the committee's report.

Q. Now, after this committee had been appointed by Chart Pitt, you attempted to go before the committee and explain your purpose in introducing the resolution?

A. Yes. I did.

Q. And you say you were denied that privilege?

A. I was denied that privilege.

Q. And their only report to the rest of the pensioners was that it do not carry, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Then the vote was taken?

A. Then the vote was taken without discussing the question at all.

Q. No discussion on the floor of the convention?

A. Not a bit. They wouldn't allow me to.

Q. Well then what happened?

A. Well, nothing happened.

Q. Well, did they take a vote on it?

A. Yes, they took a vote on it. They turned it down.

Q. They turned it down. Well, what happened to the meeting at this point?

A. Well, I don't know. I didn't stay there any longer.

Q. You didn't stay any longer.

A. No. Later on I got a note from—from Boetcher, that they was going to expel me from—from the union.

Q. Do you mean to say that—well, go ahead.

A. Well, there was nothing that would have pleased me any better, and I was wishing to God they would, for I would have taken them in court to show cause why they was going to expel me. But they didn't do it. They did ask me to come down to the office. I don't know what for. I didn't go.

Q. Come down to what office?

A. The office they keep in Everett.

Q. I understand that the county unit has an office there at Everett.

A. Yeah, they don't need—

Q. They invited you to come down there—

A. To come down to the office. I don't know what for; I wouldn't go. I took it for granted they wouldn't let me talk anyway if I did go.

Q. Now, Mr. Adams, after having had this experience in attempting to introduce a resolution to dissolve the—what you referred to as a subversive element, the Communist Party, in the Pension Union there, is it your testimony that on account of introducing that resolution that they filed these charges against you, or—

A. Oh, sure. Absolutely. That's all the wrong I ever done. And that was murder.

Q. Now, how old are you Mr. Adams?

A. How old I am? Oh, I'm just a young fellow. I'm only eighty-one.

Q. Eighty-one. Now, would you say that the Washington Pension Union over in Everett, at this time, is being used by persons other than ones interested in the real activity of the old age pensioners?

A. Oh, absolutely. Absolutely.

Q. Would you say that condition also exists in the state?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Is there any activity suggested by the officers of the Old Age Pension Union at their meetings that really has to do with the interests of the pensioners? Or—

A. Well, in a way they do. But it's always for raising money. They take a collection up at every meeting.

Q. What do they take a collection up for?

A. Huh, I don't know.

Q. You pay dues, don't you?

A. Yes. Well, I paid my dues for the year, when I joined.

Q. Now then, just going back to these—this resolution that you introduced, did you receive any callers the next day or two after you introduced this resolution?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Tell the committee what—about that circumstance.

A. I beg your pardon?

Q. Tell the committee about the—about that circumstance.

A. Well, there was a couple gentlemen come there to see me, and they praised me for having had the courage to introduce such a resolution among a bunch of Communists. They thought I done a pretty good job of drawing it. They wanted to know who helped me. I told them I didn't need any help. I done it myself. And—well, when they called me from the Monte Cristo Hotel, and I was just getting ready to come downtown when they called me.

Q. What hotel was that?

A. The Monte Cristo.

Q. Monte Cristo.

A. They called me from there, yes, and I was just getting ready to come downtown, and I told them I'd come down there and see them, and I did. And later on they, well it was a few days afterwards, they come down there and took me down there.

Q. Took you down where?

A. Out to his office.

Q. Yeah. Now, going back to this resolution again, were there ever any threats of physical violence or anything of that nature interjected into this affair?

A. Well, no. No.

Q. Did anybody call at your house and—

A. Oh, yes. A couple of days afterwards, after I introduced that resolution, I went up to Bremerton. I have a daughter that lives up there and I go up there quite often and spend a few days. And while I was there, there was three men that come up there one evening. My wife was alone.

Q. And what did—

A. She didn't know who they were. They wanted to know if I was home, and she told them I wasn't.

Q. Do you know what their mission was?

A. No.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mr. Adams. Thank you.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Larson.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do you have time to conclude this witness' testimony?

MR. WHIPPLE: Sir?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: How long will it take for this witness?

MR. WHIPPLE: It will take about fifteen or twenty minutes. I can put him on right after lunch if you want to. We just have—we have three more, on the Everett situation. A total of probably an hour's testimony.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, if you can handle this in, as you say, fifteen minutes, proceed.

MR. WHIPPLE: Well, I'll go at it just as fast as I can.

MR. LOUIS J. LARSON, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. Louis J. Larson.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Larson?

A. At Everett, Washington.

Q. And how long have you been a resident of Everett, Washington?

A. Since 1922.

Q. Have you ever belonged to the Pension Union at Everett?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever held any offices in the Pension Union at Everett, Washington?

A. I held the office of treasurer, following Mr. McCarter.

Q. Is that the Mr. McCarter who testified here a few minutes ago?

A. That's right.

Q. When did you first join the Pension Union at Everett?

A. In April of '38.

Q. How long did you remain a member of the Pension Union in Everett?

A. Well—

Q. Or are you still a member?

A. I haven't paid any dues this year. I was paid up until the last of December of last year, '47.

Q. In other words, you were paid up as a dues-paying member until the last of this last December.

A. That's it.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Pete, P-e-t-e, Ohman, O-h-m-a-n?

A. I do.

Q. Were you ever present at any time when Mr. Ohman attempted to pay his dues as a pensioner?

A. Well, yes.

Q. Will you explain that circumstance, please?

A. He—I was standing off a ways from him, about ten feet, talking with some people, it was at a recess of that certain meeting, and I noticed him walk up to the desk and he pulled out a card, and I heard somebody say, "Well, what is this? I don't want this." "Oh," he says, "That's a mistake," he says, "give me that back." And he produced another card and paid some dues. And after he left and went and sat down, or went somewhere in the room, I got through talking with this party and I was wondering if it was some disturbance or what happened. I walked over to the treasurer who was Mrs. Hough at that time, and—

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Q. Just a minute. That's Mrs. Hough?

A. Hough.

Q. How do you spell that?

A. H-o-u-g-h. And I says, "What was the disturbance here?"

"Oh," she says, "there wasn't any disturbance. He just gave me his Communist card instead of his Pension Union card." And she says, "It was paid up, too."

Q. Now, do you remember when it was that this took place? How long ago?

A. Well, about three months ago, I—

Q. Somewhere along in—

A. Along in October.

Q. Of what year?

A. '47.

Q. And where—where were you when this occurrence took place?

A. At our Local meeting of number 25, in the C.I.O. Hall, upstairs, in the C.I.O. Hall in Everett.

Q. Now, were you—as a member of the Pension Union there in Everett, were you ever requested to attend any Communist Party meetings?

A. Well, at one time in 1940, I'm pretty sure it was, in the fall in 1939 or—
or early winter of '40, there was a man by the name of George, and I can't—
I've been trying to get ahold of his last name and think of it, but I can't think
of it, but he was a school teacher over in Snohomish, and he asked me on two or three occasions if I wouldn't attend Party meetings with him. And I, at one time—I refused several times, and one time it was a very dark stormy night and he asked me again, he says, "We're holding a meeting over there, Party meeting," he says, "would you—wouldn't you like to go over with me?" And I said, "Well, it's a pretty dark stormy night and I have some funds here, Treasurer's funds, and I don't care about packing that around. I'd rather go home."

Q. Now just a minute. Were you at the Pension Union Hall—

A. At the Pension Union Hall—

Q. —at the time?

A. —at the time, on Wetmore. And he says—he suggested that he go down with me, if I wished to come back and go to the meeting with him. Well, I got to thinking it over and, well, maybe that'd be a good idea, so we went down to where I lived on Lombard, and I put my accoutrements away, and the funds, and went back with him, and it was a very stormy night. That's one reason I didn't care about—

Q. All right, now where did you go back to? Did you go with him to attend a Communist Party meeting?

A. To the meeting, to the Communist Party meeting.

Q. Now where was it held?

A. It was held on Rockefeller Avenue. Just above Hewitt.

Q. Do you know—

A. South of Hewitt.

Q. —whose home it was held at?

A. It was held in a hall.

Q. In what hall?

A. Well, I don't know as there was any name on the door.

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Q. Well, did you recognize any—any persons there?

A. Oh yes, I saw—Art Knowles was chairman of the meeting at that time.

Q. Will you spell his last name?

A. Knowles. K-n-o-w-l-e-s. Art Knowles.

Q. Now, just identifying that a little further, you say he was the chairman. Are you referring to this Communist Party meeting?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. All right, who else?

A. Well, I saw Mr. and Mrs. John Matson there. I saw—

Q. How do you spell Matson?

A. M-a-t-s-o-n. That might be two "t's" but I—M-a-t-s-o-n.

Q. All right, who else?

A. Well, I saw a man there by the name of Jack Bobier.

Q. How do you spell Bobier?

A. B-o-b-i-e-r.

Q. And who else?

A. Oh yes, there was several there, but I can't—

Q. Just to refresh your recollection, does the name O'Malley mean anything to you?

A. Yes, he was there.

Q. Now what O'Malley was that?

A. Phil O'Malley.

Q. Was there any literature passed out there at the time?

A. Well, there was some literature laying over on the desk and they said, "Before you go home, why take some of this literature."

Q. Now had any of these persons that you later met at this Communist Party meeting, had any of these people been active in Pension Union affairs there in Everett?

A. All but Art Knowles. I don't think he was ever a Pension Union member.

Q. The rest of them, though, were all active in the Pension Union affairs.

A. Well, some of them were not. Some of them were Workers Alliance people, and I'd seen them at the Workers Alliance meeting.

Q. Well, what about Phil O'Malley?

A. Well, he was a pensioner. He belonged to the Pension Union.

Q. Was he—had he taken an active part over the years, in the Pension Union movement?

A. Oh yes.

Q. What about Mr. Bobier?

A. Well, he had taken an active part also.

Q. How did you know that this was a Communist Party meeting?

A. Well, that night that I did go, I asked the gentleman, I says, "What kind of a meeting is this? You keep calling it a Party meeting." And he says, "Well," he says, "it's a Communist Party."

Q. He said it was the Communist Party.

A. Yes.

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Q. Now, that's this Mr. George somebody whose last name—
 A. Somebody, I can't remember the last name, but he was a teacher over at Snohomish.

Q. Now you are referring to the town or city of Snohomish, or the county?
 A. City of Snohomish.
 Q. Now then, do you know a Mrs. Ellie Hendrickson?

A. Well, I met the lady, yes.
 Q. I'll ask you if you ever overheard a conversation with her and Mrs. Hough, relative to certain card parties?

A. Well—
 Q. Or a card party, as the case might have been.
 A. —in the kitchen of the hall up there where we meet, C.I.O. Hall,—
 Q. Are you referring to the Pension Union meeting?

A. Yes. They asked them if they would come up to the meeting at Mr. Walberg's house.

Q. Now, when you say they asked them, who do you mean by they?
 A. Well, Mrs. Hendrickson.

Q. All right, now who do you mean by them?
 A. Asked Mr. and Mrs. Hough—
 Q. All right, now go ahead.

A. —if they would come up to the card party, and Mr. Hough asked if there was admission charges, and they said, "Well, it would be twenty-five cents." And Mr. Hough asked what the proceeds went to, and she said, "to the Communist Party."

Q. Who said?
 A. Mrs. Hendricks.

Q. Mrs. Hendricks said that the proceeds, this twenty-five cent charge that was made over to the card party went into the Communist Party.

A. Communist Party.
 Q. And that invitation was given there in the—
 A. In the hall.

Q. —in the Washington Pension Union Hall. Now is that—I just want to be right sure of the spelling of that last name. Was that Hendrickson or Henderson?

A. No, Hendrickson.
 Q. That's what I want to get into the record. Could you spell that name for us?

A. Well, I don't know that I could. H-e-n—
 Q. Is it H-e-n-d-r-i-c-k-s-o-n? Hendrickson.
 A. -s-o-n, I believe that—yes, that's it. -s-o-n.

Q. Now, Mr. Larson, you, from your testimony, have been a member of the Pension Union about how many years all together?

A. Since April 1938.
 Q. You have been a member a little less, then, than ten years.
 A. That's right.

Q. And active in the Pension Union affairs there in Everett.
 A. That's right.

Un-American Activities Committee

Q. Did you have occasion to attend any of the state conventions from time to time?

A. I have.
 Q. Based on your activity as a pensioner there at Everett and in your participation in the state convention of the Pension Union, would you state whether or not the Old Age Pension Union movement is controlled by the pensioners themselves, the old people who get pensions, or is it controlled by somebody else?

A. Well, I think it—well, definitely it is controlled by somebody else.
 Q. All right, now who is it controlled by? That's what we're interested in.

A. Well, it's controlled—it seems to me, by a subversive element.
 Q. Well, now, do you refer to any particular persons, or any particular element, or particular group?

A. Well, in my opinion, that up the line, dating back with Atkinson and Pennock and Thomas Rabbitt, I think that that is subversive element.

Q. In other words, you think the activities of N. P. Atkinson, William Pennock and Thomas Rabbitt, that those three men whose names you mentioned, comprise the subversive element that you refer to?

A. I do.
 Q. Now why do you indicate—or why have you indicated that they represent a subversive element?

A. Well, in time gone by and up to the present, that is the last that I heard them talk, they bring it in their speeches; they mention how much or how they have things over in Russia, and that it's better over there, that is, they use the old people better, they use the women folks better over there than they do here, and such—now they don't talk on that right along, but in their talk somewhere they always bring this stuff up.

Q. Was there any comparison—have there ever been any times when Atkinson, and Pennock, and Rabbitt would compare the treatment that the old people got in Russia as compared to what they got in this country?

A. Yes.
 Q. What sort of comparison would they make?
 A. Well, the old people over there, they get better pensions than they do here, at a lower age, a pension age, and the women are taken care of better, when they're due for confinement or anything like that, why they say that they're taken to hospitals and their babies are put into homes, so that they can get back to work, and these homes are very good, that the children are well taken care of, and so on.

Q. Do you mean to tell this committee that that's the picture that they've been painting to these old age pensioners in Everett?

A. That I've heard them mention at different times. Maybe not a dozen times or anything, but three or four times I've heard that kind of talk.

Q. In other words, they've represented to the old age pensioners that they pay better pensions in Russia to their pensioners, at a lower age.

A. At a lower age than they do here.
 CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, I'm a little concerned about a phase of Mr. Larson's testimony regarding hearsay evidence about a card that was shown. Do you intend to show further that—

MR. WHIPPLE: I intend to prove by other witnesses who this person was, what he did, and all about it. The next two witnesses.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: In that case it will be admitted into the record.

Q. One other thing, Mr. Larson, do you know whether or not the Pension Union group were ever called on to give any money to any so-called subversive groups?

A. Well, when I was treasurer we paid two dollars a month to the—to the, oh, W.C.F., Washington—

Q. Commonwealth Federation?

A. —Commonwealth Federation, and we were asked to do that, and at times they got up a collection for Harry Bridges when he was in a jam.

Q. Now what did—what did taking up a collection for Harry Bridges when he was in a jam have to do with old age pensions?

A. Well, I don't know. It seemed like they were working for support for him.

Q. Well—

A. In my estimation.

Q. —did you ever hear of this so-called Northwest Labor School?

A. Yes. I was up in the—at a State Board meeting, I think it was in the early part of '47. Well, it might have been the latter part of '46. At a meeting up there they passed a motion to donate to the Labor School a hundred and fifty dollars.

Q. Well, did they—

A. Out of the Pension—out of the treasurer funds.

Q. Who—who was instrumental in getting that motion passed?

A. Well, William Pennock was the chairman.

Q. Well, now that hundred and fifty dollars that they donated on that occasion to the Northwest Labor School, was that the same school, now, that the Attorney General of this United States has later declared to be a subversive organization?

A. Unless they've changed it without my knowledge since then, and I haven't heard of any such changes. And then I was—I wanted very much to know why this hundred and fifty dollars was going to be paid to this school, and they told me that it was for the purpose of helping get the school started and that we, the Pension Union State Board, could meet there instead of paying out rent where we were meeting, or at places where we had been in the habit of meeting.

Q. Who told you it was for the purpose of helping getting the school started? What person told you that?

A. William Pennock.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mr. Larson. Thank you very much.

(Witness Excused)

(Recess)

1:35 o'clock P. M.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you call your first witness.

IVY DODD, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, will you request the photographers, with this witness now, not to take any pictures. This witness has asked that her picture not be taken.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Oh, all right. Mr. Photographer, if when these films are developed, if you will make a note, we will delete that part from the roll of film.

Q. You may state your name, please.

A. Ivy Dodd.

Q. Mrs. Dodd, for the purpose of the record, your testimony is being transcribed on a machine. And if you will talk into that microphone and will talk loud enough so it will come in clear, we will greatly appreciate it. How do you spell your last name?

A. D-o-d-d.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Dodd?

A. Cascadian Apartments, Everett.

Q. How long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. Since 1933.

Q. Mrs. Dodd, I would like to ask you first, if you've ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. I have.

Q. When did you join the Communist Party?

A. I believe 1937.

Q. Do you remember when in 1937?

A. About September.

Q. Where did you join the Communist Party in 1937? What city?

A. In the City of Seattle.

Q. Do you remember who recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. Ward Coley.

Q. Do you know what business or profession he was in at that time?

A. He was the business agent of the Building Service Local No. 6.

Q. Here in the City of—

A. Seattle.

Q. —Seattle. And at the time that you were recruited into the Communist Party, were you married at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was your husband at that time?

A. Carl Wilson.

Q. Is Carl Wilson alive at this time?

A. No.

Q. Was your husband, Carl Wilson, a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was.

Q. And when did Mr. Wilson pass away?

A. I'm not positive. I don't know.

Q. After being—after joining the Communist Party in September of 1937,

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did you have occasion to attend Communist Party meetings here in the City of Seattle?

A. I did.

Q. Were any of those Communist Party meetings held in your own home?
A. They were.

Q. And do you remember at this time the names of persons who used to attend those Communist Party meetings in your own home?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you give us the names, and if you can, for the purpose of the record, spell the last name of those persons who attended Communist Party meetings in your home?

A. George Bradley, B-r-a-d-l-e-y; Ward Coley, C-o-l-e-y; Martha Imslan, I-m-s-l-a-n; Clifford Imslan.

Q. Can you think of any others? At this time?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, I wonder if the spelling is correct on that Imslan. I—

THE WITNESS: It might not be.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wonder if she didn't unconsciously make a mistake there. Try it again. Just—what is your understanding of the way Martha and Clifford Imsland spell their last name? To refresh your recollection, I'll ask you if it is I-m-s-l-a-n-d?

A. I didn't know there was a "d" to it.

Q. What was that?

A. I'm not sure that there was a "d" on the end of it.

Q. I didn't say—I-m-s-l-a-n-d.

A. I don't recall having a "d" on the end of it.

Q. You are sure that their first name was Martha and Clifford?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was either I-m-s-l-a-n or I-m-s-l-a-n-d?

A. Yes.

Q. Now who was Martha Imsland and who was Clifford Imsland? Who—where were they employed, or identify them some way, if you can.

A. Martha Imsland was an employee of the Building Service Union.

Q. What was her job down there?

A. Oh, cashier.

Q. All right. That was Local 6 here in Seattle?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was Clifford Imsland?

A. That was her husband. I don't know where he was employed.

Q. Now, you mentioned a while ago, the name of George Bradley. What, if any, position at that time did he have?

A. He was the business agent.

Q. For what union?

A. Local 6.

Q. Here in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes, sir.

Un-American Activities Committee

Q. Is that the same George Bradley who later became an International Vice President, and is at this time an International Vice President of the Building Service Union?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you living at the time these Communist Party meetings were being held in your home?

A. On Eighth Avenue, overlooking Lake Union.

Q. In this city?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, just—to the best of your ability, will you give us as near an approximate date as you can as to when those meetings were held? The years?

A. The latter part of '37, and '38.

Q. How many meetings would you say were held in your home during 1937 and '38?

A. I would say all of a dozen.

Q. Now, in addition to the names you have indicated, are there any other persons that you know to be Communists with whom you have sat in Communist Party meetings at let's say other fraction meetings of the Communist Party at other places, besides these four I think you mentioned here.

A. There was Mr. Fessenden.

Q. Do you remember his first name?

A. Clifford.

Q. Mr. Clifford, how do you spell his last name?

A. F-e- double s-e-n-d-e-n.

Q. Fessenden. All right. Can you think of any others? For the purpose of refreshing your recollection, I'll ask you if you ever sat in a Communist Party meeting with a man by the name of Conrad Vinje?

A. Yes.

Q. How do you spell his last name?

A. V-i-n-j-e.

Q. Refreshing your recollection, also I'll ask you if you've ever sat in a closed meeting of the Communist Party with Charles Siefried?

A. Yes.

Q. How do you spell his last name?

A. I'm not sure.

Q. I'll ask you if his name is not spelled C-h-a-r-l-e-s, Charles, Siefried S-i-e-f-r-i-e-d?

A. I believe that's right.

Q. Now this Clifford Fessenden and Conrad Vinje and Charles Siefried, whom you've indicated that you've sat in Communist Party meetings with, was that at your home or at some other place?

A. They were—Vinje was at my home. The others were in downtown meetings.

Q. In downtown meetings of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know at this time where those meetings were held downtown?

A. No, they were in some building, I don't recall just where.

Q. When did you sever your connections, if any, from the Communist Party?

A. The latter part of '38.

Q. The latter part of 1938?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Your present married name is Mrs. Henry Dodd, as I understand it.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now had your husband, Henry Dodd, joined the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. How did it come that you got in the Communist Party in the first place?

A. Mr. Dodd asked me to join, to go with him. He figured there was a meeting going on he knew nothing about, and asked me if I'd go and try and help him.

Q. What later happened to this Mr. Dodd, and—that caused you to get out of the Communist Party?

A. He lost his job at the Building Service.

Q. Do you know why he lost his job?

A. To my knowledge, it was because he wouldn't pull along the line.

Q. To your knowledge, it was because he would not go along the line?

A. The line.

Q. Now what line do you refer to?

A. I don't know, except that it might be the Communist line.

Q. Well, was that the line that you had reference to when you said he would not go along the line?

A. Yes, sir.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mrs. Dodd. Thank you.

(Witness Excused)

RUTH HOUGH, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. You may state your name.

A. Ruth Hough. H-o-u-g-h.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Hough?

A. I live in Everett.

Q. How long have you lived in Everett?

A. Since 1909.

Q. Have you ever belonged to a Pension Union over in Everett?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you first join the Pension Union in Everett?

A. In '43, in 1943.

Q. What local did you join over there?

A. Twenty-five.

Q. Is that the daytime local, or the night local?

A. The night local.

Q. At the time you joined the Pension Union over there, who was the president of the local?

A. Art Johnson.

Q. And who at that time was the secretary-treasurer?

A. Mrs. Johnson.

Q. Is that the Mrs. Johnson who has been referred to here as Rose Parks Johnson?

A. Yes.

Q. And do you know whether or not her name was Rose Parks prior to her marriage to Mr. Johnson?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mrs. Hough, do you know a person by the name of—strike that. Mrs. Hough, when did you become the chairman of the—

A. Treasurer.

Q. —I mean treasurer of the—of that local?

A. May the 6th, 1944.

Q. Did you have any troubles as chairman of that local after—treasurer of that local after May 6, 1944?

A. Well, not until the last year and a half.

Q. Just, without going into a lot of details, principally what was the trouble about?

A. Well, it started out that—money. They wanted to send everything to Seattle?

Q. Who wanted to send everything to Seattle?

A. Why, first one and then the other would make a motion, and they'd say "Yes," and then they'd send it.

Q. Well now, were those persons members of the Everett local?

A. They had to be.

Q. For instance, do you recall at this time any of the reasons they gave for sending this money to Seattle, or who it was supposed to come to here?

A. It was sent to the state office and the "New World" and the W.C.F. when it was invoked.

Q. Was there any explanation given as to why that money was being sent?

A. They must have it, they were going broke.

Q. Well now, who was it that had to have it because it was going broke?

A. The state office, and the "New World." I still get—I got a letter yesterday from the "New World," begging me for money, to go out and solicit.

Q. Well, when you refer to the "New World," just what do you have reference to?

A. The "New World" newspaper.

Q. Is that the publication that Terry Pettus is the head of?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, do you remember a Mrs. Hendrickson?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mrs. Ellie Hendrickson?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is she a member of that local?

A. She is.

Q. That you belong to?

A. She is.

Q. Did you ever overhear any conversations with her about the—you and she and your husband, about the Communist Party?

A. Why yes, she called at our house a great many times at night, on her way from Seattle.

Q. The question is now, did you ever overhear any conversation between she and your husband relative to the Communist Party?

A. Well, he asked her several times if she was a Communist when she stopped in there. We knew that there was something that she was stopping for, and—but she never would own up to it.

Q. You mean that she never would admit that she was a Communist?

A. No.

Q. Did she ever deny that she was a member of the Communist Party?

A. She didn't say anything. That's the way they always do.

Q. Do you know a person by the name of Bill Pennock, William Pennock?

A. I do.

Q. Is that the same William Pennock that's the President of the Washington Pension Union?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did you ever ask him whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I never did.

Q. Did you ever overhear any conversation between this Mrs. Hendrickson and your husband concerning a card party?

A. Well, I happened to be out of the room at that time.

Q. Oh, I see. Pardon me.

A. But the invitation meant me, when she invited him.

Q. Did you hear the conversation?

A. No, I didn't hear it.

Q. You didn't hear it. Well, I don't want to go into that unless you heard it.

Now, concerning the—the activities of persons that were officers of your own local organization, did you ever see any Communist-inspired literature offered for sale, or distributed in your local there?

A. Plenty of it. It was given away, and they'd get you to buy it if you would.

Q. Get you to buy it if you would.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. If you wouldn't buy it, would they give it to you?

A. Give it to you.

Q. Now who seemed to have charge of that?

A. Well, Bobier was the man that used to bring lots of literature there. Jack Bobier.

Q. Is that the same Jack Bobier that was—whose name was mentioned this morning?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, did Jack Bobier ever have occasion to pay his Old Age Pension dues to you?

A. Oh yes, lots of times.

Q. Did a man by the name of Pete Ohman ever pay his Pension dues to you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever have occasion to accept Pete Ohman's Pension dues when he gave you first a card that wasn't a Pension card?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just tell briefly that circumstance.

A. Well, he came up one night to pay his dues and he handed me a nice little green—pale green card. And I said, "Well, Mr. Ohman, what do you think I'm going to do with that card?" "Oh," he said, "that's my Communist card," he says, and then he took out the other card, and he says, "I'm all paid up, too."

Q. He was all paid up, too.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now, going back to this—when did that occur?

A. Well, about last September, somewhere in there.

Q. Now going back to this question of literature, who was the—did you ever see any of the officers of the Pension Union there, of your local, distributing any literature?

A. Nels Walberg, our chairman.

Q. How do you spell that name?

A. N-e-l-s W-a-l-b-e-r-g. He was the president at that time.

Q. He was the president of your Pension Union.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. And was he the president of the Pension Union at the same time you were the treasurer?

A. Well, I was treasurer three years and a half. I had a good many presidents.

Q. Well, I say, was he during the time that you were treasurer?

A. Yes, the last half.

Q. All right.

A. The last six months.

Q. Now I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 13, and just briefly state whether you ever saw that before.

A. I have.

Q. Were you here present last week when this document, "The Secret of Soviet Strength" by Hewlett Johnson, was identified by two different witnesses—

A. I was.

Q. —as being Communist Party literature?

A. I was.

Q. Put out by a controlled Communist press by the name of International Publishers, New York City?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now I'll ask you to state if—whether or not—where you saw this document?

A. Well, Mr. Walberg brought a whole lot of them in one night and laid them right down on my desk. The three officers sat in a row, and he laid them down there on the desk. And he tried to sell those for twenty-five cents apiece, and those that he couldn't sell he give away.

Q. And that's the same Mr. Walberg, now, that is the chairman of your unit of the Old Age Pension Union—

A. In Everett.

Q. —in Everett.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, did you ever hear of a fund referred to in the Old Age Pension affairs, by the Byrd Kelso Memorial Fund?

A. Yes sir, I sent money to it.

Q. Do you know what the so-called Byrd Kelso Memorial Fund was?

A. Yes, it was a memorial for him, after he died.

Q. Byrd Kelso, if I remember correctly, was an old age pensioner that had been active through the years—

A. He was an organizer all over the state.

Q. He was a former organizer. Do you know, or has there ever come to your knowledge any information as to the amount of money that went into that fund?

A. Well, I think at one time we had fifteen hundred dollars.

Q. In the Byrd Kelso—

A. Yes.

Q. —Memorial Fund.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now, was that under the control of the Washington Pension Union?

A. It was. We sent it all into the state office.

Q. To the state office.

A. Yes.

Q. Now, have you learned of your own knowledge what happened to that so-called Byrd Kelso Memorial Fund?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just state into this record what happened to it.

A. Thirteen hundred dollars of it was given to the "New World."

Q. When did that happen?

A. That happened at the last state convention, in Seattle.

Q. Was that the convention they had here last September—

A. Yes.

Q. —in Seattle?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. September 1947?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you mean to say to this committee that they took thirteen hundred dollars of the funds deposited in the Old Age Pension Union and turned it over to the "New World"?

A. They certainly did, and it was earmarked for the memorial, too.

Q. Did you ever see any—any kind of a record, or any copy of any official proceedings of the—from the Old Age Pension Union to that effect?

A. It was in the minutes, and every member that attended the state convention received one of those minutes. There's four sheets in it.

Q. Now, I don't know for sure, but did I ask you this question, whether or not you had ever asked William Pennock whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I never did.

Q. You never did. Thank you. Now as a general thing, Mrs. Hough, who were the speakers that spoke to your Pension Union meetings?

A. Well, there is a good many of them. The last one we had was Jerry O'Connell, was sent up there, that was last September. But, oh, Pennock come up quite often, Tom Rabbitt came up, Dr. Fisher—

Q. Who is this Dr. Fisher?

A. Well, he's the—he belongs to the state office. I don't know what—exactly what rating he has. He's an educator, I guess, or something.

A VOICE: Educational Director.

A. Yeah, I guess that's it. Educational Director.

Q. All right, now were those usually the speakers?

A. Well, Rose Johnson, you know, she's—she's been a great worker in the Old Age Pension movement for a good many years, and she came and spoke quite often.

Q. Now at any time that those speakers would come up to your organization and speak to you, did they talk to you about things other than pension affairs?

A. Well, not often. Of course, once in a while they'd bring in about the Russians. I think the worst—the most that I ever heard spoken about the Russians, was one time down to a state convention where there was some kind of a Russian medicine they was advocating that would cure most anything, and lots of the old people was digging up and buying it.

Q. Let's get a little straight on that. Let me see if I understand you correctly. Do you mean here in the state convention in Seattle—

A. Yes. Yes, that was two years ago.

Q. —they was advocating that you old age pensioners send over to Russia and get some kind of a medicine?

A. No. No, they had it right down there, I guess, from the conversation.

Q. They had the medicine there at the—

A. Yes.

Q. —and wanted you to buy it.

A. It would cure anything. And so they was all buying it.

Q. Well, who threw that pitch out to you old people?

A. I think Mr. Pennock did.

Q. The present president of the—

A. I think so. There was several talked about it.

Q. Was it represented to you that this medicine was made in Russia?

A. Yes, I think it was.

Q. And the sales talk for the medicine was made by Mr. Pennock?

A. Well, there was several others. I can't remember them now. A good many got up and spoke about it. Of course—

Q. How much did they want a bottle for it?

A. I don't know.

Q. But it would cure anything, would it?

A. Yeah, pretty near.

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Q. Now, that is a rather ludicrous illustration of what took place, but did things like that occur from time to time at the state convention, and—

A. No, I never—I never heard them pull anything like that before.

Q. You never heard them—

A. No. No.

Q. Now, I will ask you this question. Based on the—based on the months of experience and activity that you had in the Pension Union—

A. Yes, sir.

Q. —did you become acquainted with the state officers?

A. Yes, I often went down to the meeting.

Q. What state officers did you become acquainted with?

A. Well, I knew Mr. Pennock, and I know Mabel Conrad very well, and Mrs. Atwood, the treasurer, because I sent the money to them every month.

Q. Now let's—you mentioned Mrs.—Mabel Conrad. Now what position did she occupy?

A. She's secretary-treasurer of the state.

Q. The state office. Now what position is Mrs. Atwood in?

A. Well, she's—she's supposed to be a treasurer, but Mabel Conrad does the—

Q. Mrs. Atwood is supposed to be treasurer, but Mrs. Conrad does the work.

A. That's the way I understand it. I never got a receipt signed by her.

Q. Did you ever get a—did you ever get a receipt or a check in your life signed by Mrs. Atwood?

A. No, I never did.

Q. How old is this Mabel Conrad that you refer to?

A. Oh, I haven't any idea. She's forty years, I guess, something like that.

Q. She isn't up to the pension age yet, is she?

A. Oh, no, no.

Q. How old is Bill Pennock?

A. Well, I read in the paper that he was thirty-three.

Q. He certainly isn't of pension age, is he?

A. No.

Q. Now the question I'd like to ask you is, based on the months of experience you've had in the Pension Union there in Everett, and your activities with the state organization, is there any control of the Washington Pension Union within the pensioners themselves, or is the activities of the Washington Pension Union controlled by a number of people that don't have anything to do with the drawing of pensions?

A. Well, I'll tell you, we get letters and bulletins from the state office every month, and they generally lays down what's going on. And of course we have—we have officers, but they're controlled by—pretty much from Seattle.

Q. When you say they are controlled by Seattle, do you refer to the state officials here in Seattle?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I'd like to ask you whether or not, this question at this point, whether or not you have observed any infiltration of Communism into the affairs of the Washington State Pension Union.

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A. Well, I don't know exactly how to express that, but to my knowledge, I think that it's pretty bad.

Q. Well, I'll ask it another way. Were you ever read out of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. I certainly was. The 19th day of November, '47.

Q. The 19th day of last November—

A. November.

Q. —you was read out of the—

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, why were you read out of the Pension Union?

A. Well, they said that I had disrupted the activities, and that I was associating and working with the Canwell company—committee.

Q. Did they say anything about—

A. And I didn't even know this committee at that time.

Q. You never even knew that there was such a thing as—

A. No, sir. November the 1st, I knew nothing about it.

Q. Yet they accused you of that—

A. Yes.

Q. —and got you out of the Pension Union.

A. Yes.

Q. Did they say anything to you about red-baiting?

A. Oh, yes, yes, I talked too much and everything like that, certainly.

Q. They charged you with being a red-baiter.

A. Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: I guess that's all, Mrs. Hough. Thank you very much.

THE WITNESS: All right. Thank you.

MR. WHIPPLE: Oh, pardon me. There just is one other question.

THE WITNESS: All right.

MR. WHIPPLE: Just drop over—be seated here, this might be important.

THE WITNESS: I will.

Q. Sometime within the last few months, did William Pennock have occasion to come to your home?

A. Yes, he did. He came there at two o'clock in the morning. It was pouring rain.

Q. He came to your place at two o'clock in the morning in the pouring rain.

A. Yes.

Q. Now can you fix about, as best you can, when that was?

A. Yes, the 23rd day of November.

Q. Forty—

A. '47.

Q. '47. How long did he stay at your place?

A. Well, he stayed about three hours and a half.

Q. That would make it until about when?

A. Oh, about five o'clock, somewhere along there.

Q. In the morning?

A. Yes.

Q. Now what was the burden of his visit there at your place at—from two o'clock in the morning till five-thirty in the morning?

A. Well, he said his car broke down, but we live on a side road, and how in the world he ever found that place that night, at pitch dark, I don't know. But, he finally come into our place with the car, but he said it was broken down, and he wanted Mr. Hough to help him.

Q. Well, did it take all that three and a half hours to tell you that the car was broke down?

A. No, in the meantime, before that, he said he had been there and he left a note out under my rug, and in that note it said that he wanted me to call him up the next morning by 'phone, and he thought we could fix this little matter up. Well, I didn't know what little matter he was talking about. So finally Mr. Hough asked him, "Well, you might just as well come in and talk it over now." Well, he came in. And we all sit there. And he didn't broach any subject about fixing any matter up. Finally he come right out and he says, "Of course, you all know who Carmichael is, of the Builders Service in Everett." He's head of the A. F. of L. in Everett. And he wanted to know if Mr. Carmichael was working for the Canwell committee.

Q. Did you know that there was such a committee?

A. I didn't know there was such a committee, at that time.

Q. Was the question of this Byrd Kelso Memorial Fund discussed?

A. Yes. Yes, it was. And he brought up something about that, I don't know just what he said, and I said, "Now, I'll tell you, Mr. Pennock, I don't think that you had any business to give all of that thirteen hundred dollars away to the "New World," because there was a man east of the mountains that needed a car to do work, organizing, and they had promised him a car before that.

Q. Now he worked for who?

A. For the Pension Union, organizing the Pension Union, east of the mountains. And I said, "I don't think you had any business." And of course he got awfully mad at that. And then he brought up something about this Mrs. Hendricks.

Q. Now in the excitement and everything, did he go away leaving anything at your place?

A. Yeah, oh yes, he left his hat and his cigarettes. He was very much excited. And he had two people in the car and he wouldn't bring them in.

Q. Now then, shortly after that, if I remember correctly, that—strike that. How soon—how long was it after this visit that you were read out of the Party?

A. Well—

Q. Out of the Pension Union.

A. He went back to Seattle, that night; he left our place about five o'clock. And the next afternoon he came to Everett. We heard that he'd come to Everett, and stayed a short time, and then he went back to Seattle. Well, then they begun to get busy. Then November the 1st, at the meeting, they had a big crowd there, so—

Q. November, or December?

A. November. He was there October the 23rd.

Q. Instead of November 23rd?

A. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Q. You want to change that now, to October the 23rd?

A. Yeah, Uh-huh. I had it written down, but I—

Q. Now when was it then that you were read out of the—

A. The 19th day of November, but in the meantime, when they—when they read this document—you have it there, I believe—a document when they read me out of the union that night, why I immediately resigned, and I wrote it out and give it to the secretary.

Q. That's when you severed your connections?

A. Yes, the 1st day of November.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you very much.

(Witness Excused)

FRANK E. HOUGH, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. Frank Hough, H-o-u-g-h.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Hough?

A. Everett.

Q. How long have you lived in Everett? Or, how long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. Since 1909 I lived in Everett, and I lived here about sixty years.

Q. Did you ever have occasion to join the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, sir. I joined the same time my wife did.

Q. That was when, about?

A. Well, that was in '43, between '43 and '44.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Just a moment. Now would you ask the question again, and let him answer after that truck gets by.

Q. About when did you join the Pension Union movement in Everett?

A. Between '43 and '44.

Q. And you were in the Pension Union—how long?

A. Three and a half years.

Q. Mr. Hough, during that three and a half years, were you active in the pension affairs, did you attend their meetings regularly?

A. Yes, pretty regular. Pretty near every Saturday night.

Q. Pretty near every Saturday night.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I understand your wife held some office in the Pension Union.

A. Yes, she was the treasurer.

Q. And that's the lady who just testified just ahead of you?

A. That's my wife.

Q. And did you become acquainted with the—Mrs. Hendrickson during the time that you were attending these Pension Union meetings?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was this Mrs. Hendrickson?

A. Well, now that's a kind of a hard question. She was a lady.

Transcript of Proceedings of the

Q. Well, let's put at it another way. Was she active in the Washington Pension Union affairs there in Everett, in this local?

A. Well, she belonged to the local that we did.

Q. Now, did she ever invite you to attend any card parties there at the local?

A. Well, one night after the local had adjourned she come to me and she says, "How would you and Mrs. Hough like to go to a card party?" And I said, "Well, I don't know. I might go," I said. So she says—I says, "When is it going to be?" She says, "Next Friday." And now, incidentally, Mr. Walberg was the president at that time. I'll have to stick that in there.

Q. He was president of what?

A. The local. 25.

Q. When was this?

A. Oh, sometime in September.

Q. Of nineteen forty what? Seven?

A. '47.

Q. All right, go ahead.

A. And she says, "It's going to be—" I asked her where the card party was going to be, and she says it was going to be up to Mr. Walberg's. And she says, "It costs twenty-five cents apiece." So I says, "Well," I says, "where does this money go?" She says, "It goes to the Communist Party."

Q. In other words she invited you to attend a card party at the chairman of the Everett local of the Washington Pension Union—

A. That's right.

Q. —and she told you at the time that she invited you, that the money was going into the Communist Party.

A. That's correct.

Q. Now, did you ever see this Walberg interest himself in passing out any literature or disposing of any Communist Party literature of any kind?

A. Well, I see that book there you have in your hand. That's something that he tried to sell, and if he couldn't sell it he give it away.

Q. I hand you what has been marked for purpose of identification as the Committee's Exhibit 13, and ask you to state if you ever saw that book before.

A. Well, I don't know as if I ever saw this one right here, but it was one just like it. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, you gave it to me. I just wondered if you ever saw it before.

A. Sure.

Q. I'll ask you if you furnished me this book?

A. Certainly I did.

Q. Were you here the other day when Mr. Manning Johnson and Mr. Nat Honig identified this book as being Soviet Russia propaganda?

A. I was, yes sir.

Q. Published by the International Publishers, of 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, a Communist publishing company?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did you hear Mr. Johnson's testimony to the effect that they would not publish any literature other than literature that would be Communist propaganda, or literature that would be favorable to the Soviet Union?

A. Yeah, I heard him say that.

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Q. Now then, you say that this chairman of the Pension Union local there, tried to sell those books like that in your local?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, did you ever see him either sell, actually sell or give any of it to anybody?

A. Well, I saw him give one away one time.

Q. Who did he give that to?

A. Mrs. Ricksner.

Q. What?

A. Mrs. Ricksner, or—

Q. Well, where would this literature be placed when it was brought to the Pension Union hall?

A. Well, it was right there on the table, right there where they was sitting, the treasurer and the secretary.

Q. Do you refer to the table that the officers would sit around?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Hough, were you familiar with this Byrd Kelso Memorial Fund?

A. Yes sir, I was.

Q. What—just briefly, what was that fund?

A. Well, that was a fund got up, for a monument for Byrd Kelso.

Q. For a monument for Byrd Kelso. Now Byrd Kelso is deceased, isn't he?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long has he been dead?

A. Well, I don't remember that.

Q. Well, did you folks over there at Everett become active in subscribing to that fund?

A. Why yes, we bought—sent money down there several times.

Q. Well, do you remember how—

A. I don't know just how much.

Q. Do you remember how large that fund finally became?

A. Well, I think it was a little over fifteen hundred dollars.

Q. And is it your testimony that the purpose of that fifteen hundred dollars was to buy a suitable monument for Byrd Kelso?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, did they ever buy a monument for Byrd Kelso?

A. Well, they haven't done it yet.

Q. Do you know what ever—what happened with that money or the major portion of it?

A. Well, thirteen hundred and twenty-four dollars, why they sent to the "New World" or give it to the "New World" rather, and a hundred and fifty dollars of it was to fix up the Labor Temple.

Q. Now what do you mean by the Labor Temple?

A. Well, that was a building over here, I don't know just where it was, but they was fixing up the money there so that—or fixing up the building there and they thought perhaps that by letting them have this money that they could use the hall whenever they had a convention, and it wouldn't cost them so much money.

Q. Now what—

A. When they rented a hall.

Q. Now when you refer to the Labor Temple, are you talking about the Northwest Labor School here in Seattle?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you talking about the same Northwest Labor School that was declared to be a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States just recently? Is that the same school that you have reference to?

A. Well, I think it is. I couldn't say for sure, but it must have been.

Q. Anyway you know it was the Northwest Labor School.

A. Yes. I know that much.

Q. Now just for the purpose of this record, I don't want to—to be repetitious, but of this money that was raised to buy a monument for the deceased Byrd Kelso, it's your testimony that a hundred and fifty dollars of it went to the Northwest Labor School—

A. Yes, sir.

Q. —and that thirteen hundred and fifty-one dollars and some cents went over to the "New World."

A. Thirteen twenty-four.

Q. Thirteen twenty-four. Now what was this "New World" that you referred to?

A. Well, that's the paper put out by Terry Pettus.

Q. Here in the—where does he put it out at?

A. Sir, I don't know that. Sometimes—

Q. Well,—

A. —in Tacoma, I guess, and sometimes in Everett, and sometimes in Marysville, wherever they can get a little bit printed, why they get it together after they get it printed, and then send it around.

Q. Then send it around. Well, had you ever heard of the "New World" before the time they turned this thirteen hundred and twenty-four dollars over to them?

A. Oh yes, because they always sent a lot of them up there to the union.

Q. Did you ever—

A. They sold them there to everybody they could, and if they couldn't sell them they give them away.

Q. Now, do you remember a fellow by the name of Bobier?

A. Yes sir, I do.

Q. Who is he?

A. Well,—

Q. Is that the Jack Bobier your wife—your wife referred to a while ago?

A. It is.

Q. Were you present when that—no, strike that. Who was this Jack Bobier?

A. Well, he was one of our Pension Union members, and he always used to bring the "New World" and the "Daily Worker."

Q. Now what was this "Daily Worker" you say that he'd bring?

A. Well, I understood that it was a Communist paper.

Q. Was it a paper?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know where it was published at?

A. Well, I've heard them tell here it was published in Frisco.

Q. Frisco.

A. At that time I didn't know where it was published. I never paid much attention to it.

Q. Well, were you here the other day when testimony was offered to the effect that the "Daily Worker" was a Communist-published—was a Communist publication down at Frisco?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that, now just—Now—

A. Well, there's a mistake there, ain't there? Wasn't that—was that Frisco where that paper was published? You ought to know, I don't.

Q. Well there was two papers. That's why I want to—I don't want to get you confused. One is the "Daily Worker" published in New York, and the other one is the "People's World" published in San Francisco. Now which—

A. Well, he give us the both of them.

Q. He gave you both of them.

A. That's right. Pretty near every Saturday night he'd have his pockets full of them and pass them out.

Q. Were you present when Mrs.—when Mr. Ohman attempted to pay his dues to your wife, and used the wrong card?

A. Yes, I stood right behind her, right there, when he come up and handed his card to her, and it was one of those little green cards, and so she handed it back and she says, "This is your Communist card." So he says, "Well, I'm all paid up in it anyway," and put it in his pocket and handed out the union card, Pension Union card.

Q. Briefly, Mr. Hough, what speakers usually would be sent from the state office over to Everett to address your local, as a usual thing?

A. Well, Mr. Pennock and Mr. Rabbitt, Mrs. Johnson, sometimes Louis Deschamps would get up and say a few words, and Jerry O'Connell was there once. Incidentally, I asked Mr. O'Connell if he was a Communist, and he said, "No," he says, "I'm an A.D.A." Now, if you know what that is.

Q. No, I don't. Do you?

A. Well, not—what was that?

Q. Well let's not just—unfortunately, Mr. Hough, we can't testify for you, and the committee—well, anyway did you ever ask Bill Pennock whether he was a Communist or not?

A. I never did, no sir.

Q. Or any of those other people up there?

A. Well, I asked Mr. Boetcher a couple of times, and he wouldn't answer me.

Q. Did he deny it or admit it? Either one?

A. I asked—no. He just said nothing.

Q. He just never said anything.

A. You never can get them to own up to that, you know. They won't do it

Q. Well,—

A. And there was Mr. Walberg, he was the chairman of our local. I asked him a couple times, but he denied it.

Q. He denied it.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that's the same Mr. Walberg that—where these card parties were held—

A. Yes, sir, the same old place.

Q. —and the funds were turned over to the Communist Party.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, I don't believe that you introduced that phase of the evidence by this witness. I—maybe I'm in error, but if you have not. I don't believe—

MR. WHIPPLE: I'm just getting to it. It's going to be my next question.

Q. Now this—getting back now, to the question of Mrs. Hendrickson, did you testify a while ago—you testified a while ago, didn't you, that she invited you to the—

A. Card party, and she said—

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that what you have reference to, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, you referred to the same card party where the funds went to the Communist Party, and unless I am in error, this witness has not testified to that phase of it.

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes, I am quite sure you did, didn't you Mr. Hough, or did you?

THE WITNESS: Well, I think I did. Shall I—

MR. WHIPPLE: Well, let's—if you didn't—

THE WITNESS: —tell it over again?

MR. WHIPPLE: —tell it over again. I'm quite sure you did.

THE WITNESS: Okeh. I said that she come to me after the meeting one night and wanted to know if we wanted to go to a card party.

Q. After what meeting?

A. After the Pension Union had adjourned.

Q. All right.

A. And "Well," I said, "I don't know. Where's this card party going to be?" She says, "It's going to be over to Mr. Walberg's." Well then is where I interfered the other time when I testified, I told you that he was the chairman of our local, and she says, "It's going to cost twenty-five cents apiece." And so I looked kind of wise and I says, "Well, where does this money go?" She says, "It goes to the Communist Party."

Q. In other words, the card party was at the home of—was to be at the home of the chairman—

A. Yes, sir.

Q. —of your Pension Union—

A. Absolutely, yes sir.

Q. She invited you and told you at the time—

A. Yes, sir.

Q. —you and your wife, that the money was going to the Communist Party.

A. Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mr. Hough.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before you proceed, I wonder if we could make a little rearrangement in the seating there. It is thought that we would save those first three seats for the photographers and the press, and if we could seat those other two gentlemen somewhere else, I think it would be a little more convenient for the press.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: Will you call Mr. Armstrong please?

H. C. ARMSTRONG, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, as you testify, when you use a name the first time that you will spell the name for us so that the record will be correct, and also that you answer questions "yes" and "no" as "yes" and "no" and not with a nod, because the recording devices can't record nods. I'll ask you to speak as distinctly as you can so that those microphones can pick this up.

Q. Will you please state your name?

A. H. C. Armstrong.

Q. Are you also known as "Army" Armstrong?

A. Yes.

Q. Of what county are you a resident, Mr. Armstrong?

A. King.

Q. Have you been a resident of this county very long?

A. Yes.

Q. How old are you, Mr. Armstrong?

A. Fifty-five.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. I have been.

Q. When did you join the Communist Party?

A. Approximately 1936. The spring or summer thereof.

Q. When did you get out of the Communist Party?

A. Somewhere in the summer of 1940.

Q. Now I will ask you to detail for us the circumstances surrounding your joining the Communist Party.

A. It was in 1932 or '3 when the depression got me and the concern of which I was part owner. I became interested in the dole as put out by the various governmental agencies, the W.E.R.A. and the N.E.R.A., those two agencies being the National Emergency Relief Association, and the Washington Emergency Relief Authority; and going on from those two into the Unemployed Citizens Leagues, further into the Commonwealth Builders, then in the Workers—Project Workers Union, and the Workers Alliance.

In my progress through these various stages I became acquainted with quite a few people of various political beliefs and hates. After the Workers Alliance, or rather the W.P.A. came into existence, I became employed on the W.P.A. and we formed a union on the W.P.A. called a Project Workers Union. This was either in the fall of '35 or the spring of '36, I wouldn't be sure, it was right in there some way. And of this organization I became the

King County Chairman of the Project Workers Union, at that time. I was elected to that position on two or three different occasions.

And then it was in the fall of 1936 that the Project Workers Union, together with several other unemployed organizations for the different portions of this state met here in Seattle and merged into one called the Workers Alliance of America—or, the Workers Alliance of Washington, a subsidiary of the Workers Alliance of America. During the time that I was County Chairman of the Project Workers Union, I discovered that there was wheels—were wheels within wheels of that union, that everything appearing on the surface were not as they might seem, and I soon discovered there was a little clique in the background, that it was directing that Project Workers Union, and being an ambitious young fellow, I wanted to find out what was going on, and I did find out. I find out that there was fraction meetings occurring.

And along about that self-same time, at one of the Comintern sessions, Dimitrov—I can't spell that name, I think you've heard it before—read a report advocating the United Front of the Communist Party, and any other liberals that they might draw into their net.

Their platform program of work was something that I could be very sympathetic with at that time. I took their protestations of the United Front at the face value. I accepted invitations to sit in with the fractions of the Communist Party at that time, which were not closed fraction meetings, because I soon found that there was possibly two or three Communists in the members of the Communist Party in the fraction, and they would draw in maybe four or five others, such as myself, who were sympathetic to the objects and aims as outlined by the Party for the work to be done by the Project Workers Union. And as such, I remained the Chairman of the Project Workers Union and a member of the fraction of the Project Workers Union for some time. There finally came a time when I was invited to join the Party. I refused at first. There was a question as to why, and I told them I just didn't want to join at that time, that I wasn't fully in accord with the objects and aims of the Party, but the heat was put on a little bit more and I was finally issued an ultimatum that did I not join the Party that I could no longer be received into the fraction meetings, I would be deposed as the Chairman of the Project Workers Union and discredited completely before the—the boys that I was intending to lead and give succor to at that time.

Q. Who issued this ultimatum to you, Mr. Armstrong?
A. Bill Dobbins.

Q. William K. Dobbins, who—
A. That's right.

Q. —has presently been connected with the Building Service Employees Union?

A. That's right.

Q. Was anyone else present at the time?

A. I believe that Wallace W. Webb was also present at the time, and possibly one or two others who had faded into the background. It is entirely possible that Harold Brockway might have been there. Now, I wouldn't be sure, but it was at the close of a fraction meeting down in the old Mutual Life Building on the corner of First and Yesler Way, that the ultimatum was finally put out.

Q. And this was in the latter part of 1937?

A. I would say that it was somewhere in the summer of 1936.

Q. Summer of 1936.

A. I fix that time because it was about that time that the unit of the Workers Alliance to which I was a member—of which I was a member, out in Rainier Valley, had selected me to run for the Legislature. And I did want to become a member of the State Legislature, and the campaign was on. And I was afraid that, very frankly, that if I didn't join at the time my chances of becoming a member of the Legislature would be a little bit slim, because they controlled just lots and lots of votes and lots of voters out there.

And adding it all together, I became a member at that time.

Q. Who actually took your application, do you recall?

A. Wallace Webb.

Q. W-e-b-b, is it?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, I'll ask you, Mr. Armstrong, if after you became a member of the Communist Party unit, did you sit in fraction meetings of the Workers Alliance with other Communists?

A. I did.

Q. Can you identify any of the Communists that were on the state board of the Workers Alliance?

A. May I refresh my memory here, I have a—

Q. Just a moment. You have your notes there. Did you compile these notes yourself?

A. I did.

Q. When did you compile these notes?

A. These notes have been in the process of compilation for a matter of, oh, I would say a week or ten days, or two weeks.

Q. Have you—are they the product of your own work entirely?

A. With consultation with friends of mine over the 'phone, and anything of that kind, I mean to refresh my memory with their accounts.

Q. You have had no consultation with the Committee in compiling those notes?

A. No.

Q. The Committee has had no suggestions or has not discussed any of those names with you during the course of this compilation?

A. No.

Q. All right. Now go ahead. The Workers Alliance State Board.

A. In mentioning these names, I don't attempt to bring out a complete roster of the State Board, because my memory doesn't go back that far. I might even have missed comrades from this list. These are the ones that I can remember, and remember definitely without a shadow of a doubt.

Q. All right. Each one of these, to your own knowledge, were members of the Communist Party, and you have sat with them in Communist closed fraction meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. All right. Now will you read the list?

A. Harold—

Q. And identify each one.

A. Harold Brockway was the Executive Secretary of the Workers Alliance; William K. Dobbins was a board member; Wallace W. Webb was a board member; Jim Haggan, H-a-g-g-i-n of Spokane was the Vice—State Vice President of the Workers Alliance and also a board member; Art Furnish, from Spokane, also, F-u-r-n-i-s-h Furnish, from Spokane, was also a board member; Harvey Jackins, J-a-c-k-i-n-s, was also a board member.

Q. Is that the Harvey Jackins who subsequently was expelled from the Boeing Aeronautical Employees Union?

A. That I can't tell you, because I am not acquainted with that particular case of Boeing Aeronautical—

Q. Is that the Harvey Jackins that until recently was connected with the Building Service Employees Union?

A. It is my understanding that this is the same person. Byrd Kelso was also a member of the State Board; Hazel Leo Wolfe, I will refer to her probably more as Leo Wolfe than I will Hazel because of the fact that that was the nickname by which we knew her, by Leo Wolfe, W-o-l-f-e; Victor Hicks came to us from the Teachers Union, and he also was a member of the State Board; Louis Holm, H-o-l-m was a member of the State Board; and another lady who I can identify no more than a Mrs. Reardon. I don't know as I ever heard Mrs. Reardon's first name. A gentleman by the name of Gallagher, G-a-l-l-a-g-h-e-r, a member of the State Board from Shelton. Another chap by the name of Smith, a State Board member from Everett. A Mrs. Gould, a State Board member from Yakima. We also had another chap by the name of Clancy. A Harry Spickler, a one-armed gentleman, also a State Board member, and the chairman of the Rainier Valley local of the Workers Alliance. A Mrs. Martin, who I can identify no further than the name Martin, because that's what we always called her, was just the plain Martin, was also a member. Mrs. Brockway's mother, I can't recall her name at present. I tried in every way to refresh my memory and can't. She was a member of the State Board from Tacoma. A young chap by the name of Einar Wahl, E-i-n-a-r W-a-h-l was a member. A chap by the name of Jackson, J-a-c-k-s-o-n was a member from Renton. Another member was a man by the name of Canelli, he was just an ordinary board member. And Jim Riley, R-i-l-e-y, the husband of, I believe it was Harriet Riley who testified here a day or two ago, was the Executive Secretary of the King County Unit of the Workers Alliance and also a member of the State Board.

I believe those are all of the names that I can at present, at the present time, there may have been more, in fact I am positive there were more, but I don't wish to state now positively names that I can't identify definitely.

Q. Now you can testify of your own personal knowledge as a member of the Communist Party, at this time that each of these were Communists at that time, and that you have sat in closed Party meetings with them.

A. I can.

Q. Now I will ask you, can you further identify this Mr. Clancy—no, I'll withdraw that question. Did anything unusual ever happen to this Mr. Clancy in the way of being kidnapped?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you relate the circumstances of that?

A. One evening, I believe as I recall it was a Saturday evening. I went down to the Workers Alliance headquarters in the Mutual Life Building on

First and Yesler Way, to attend a fraction meeting. There was present, as I recall at that time, Bill Dobbins, Harold Brockway, Byrd Kelso, and myself, sitting in a room on the second floor facing First Avenue, or facing Pioneer Square. We were waiting for this man Clancy.

Q. Why were you waiting for Mr. Clancy?

A. Mr. Clancy was to come up there and meet with us about certain things, and it was control time and Clancy was one of those that was supposed to bring the books of the so-called Skid Road local of the Party, up there—

Q. He was bringing Communist Party books to this meeting, for you, is that right?

A. Yes. And he was a little bit late. I believe it was Harold Brockway looked out the window and he said, "Here he comes around the corner now." A startled look comes over his face and he says, "Jesus Christ, someone kidnapped him." And we all rushed to the window and I didn't see the actual kidnapping, but we discussed it later and some couple people had grabbed this Mr. Clancy and shoved him in an automobile and Mr. Clancy thenceforth disappeared for several days, possibly weeks.

Q. What did you do, or what did any of the group do?

A. Well, we held a hurried consultation. We tried to find out the—the license number of the car, but we couldn't do it, I believe successfully, that is the license number that was obtained for us was issued to somebody that we couldn't trace, but from other witnesses we deducted the fact that the person who was kidnapped was—or rather, the kidnappers were Federal agents of some kind or another.

So after further huddling up in his office, he got ahold of John Caughlan—

Q. John Caughlan?

A. John Caughlan, the lawyer—

Q. Well, who was John Caughlan?

A. John Caughlan was a lawyer, very highly thought of by the Party. And we went out to his house on Queen Anne Hill, the western slope of Queen Anne Hill, in my car and picked up Mr. Caughlan. We huddled around there and tried in every possible way to find what became of Mr. Clancy, but our efforts were unavailable.

Q. Did you go to any Federal agency and accuse them of kidnapping Mr. Clancy?

A. We went down to the Immigration authorities, and—the building down there on Airport Way, and we were thrown out of there with the admonition to get the hell out and stay out.

Q. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, do you testify that the Workers Alliance was controlled by the Communist Party?

A. It was, very very definitely.

Q. Now, do you know an organization known as the League Against War and Fascism?

A. There was an organization of that type, by that name. Whether it's still in existence or not, I don't know.

Q. And were you interested in this organization?

A. I was.

Q. I'll ask you if you became a member of this organization.

A. I did.

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Q. Were any Communists operating within this organization?

A. They were.

Q. Can you name any of them?

A. Harold Dunleavy, D-u-n-l-e-a-v-y; Carl Brooks, B-r- double o-k-s; Revels Caton, R-e-v-e-l-s C-a-

Q. Now, just a moment, Mister—

A. -t-o-n.

Q. We had a demonstration here the other day by a colored man who was identified as Carl Brooks. Was this Carl Brooks you refer to here, a colored man?

A. Yes. George Hurley.

Q. Now, which George Hurley is that?

A. George Hurley is the gentleman that is the ex-member of the State Legislature.

Q. Was George Hurley a member of the Communist Party?

A. To my best belief, he was, yes. Joe Stack—or, Walter Stack, rather, S-t-a-c-k; and Irene Browsowski, now how do you spell that one?

Q. Is it B-r-o-w-s-o-w-s-k-i?

A. I would say so, something like that.

Q. Now were each of these members of the Communist Party?

A. To the best of my knowledge and belief, yes.

Q. And you have sat in top fraction meetings with them?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, were you given a card in the Communist Party?

A. I had—a card was made out to me; I saw the card, but I never carried it.

Q. It was retained by the Party functionaries?

A. It was.

Q. And that was because you were a—an important man, and it would have been quite some embarrassment to the Party if you had been identified as a member, is that right?

A. So I was told, yes.

Q. From your experience in the Party, is that common that important people do not carry their cards?

A. Very common.

Q. Did you pay dues into the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, were you assigned a unit in which you would attend meetings?

A. I had been assigned to—at various times in the—in my history in the Party, I had been assigned to two or three, or—or at least three different units.

Q. Now, do you recall any of those units?

A. The first unit that I was assigned to, when I first joined the Party—I'll put it this way, when I first joined the Party, I was assigned to no unit. Ordinarily Party members are either assigned to a unit immediately or assigned to a school. The debate went on for some little time whether I was to go to school or be assigned to a unit immediately, and it was finally decided that I was not to go to school, because there was too many people going to that school, the Communist School, that possibly would talk out of turn, and let my position become known.

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And so, I was assigned to a clandestine or a professional unit, if you wish to call it, either one or the other.

Q. Now when was this, Mr. Armstrong?

A. This was in the fall of 1936.

Q. Now do you recall any others that met with you in this clandestine or professional unit?

A. Yes. There was two sisters by the name of Hill, H-i-l-l, one of them's name is Glennette, the other one's name is Gretchen; Hugh DeLacy—

Q. That is the former ex-Congressman DeLacy?

A. That's right. A chap by the name of Gundlach, G-u-n-d-l-a-c-h.

Q. Can you identify this Mr. Gundlach for us?

A. He is a professor, I believe, at the University of Washington.

Q. Would you know his first name?

A. I would know it if I would hear it, but I can't recall it offhand.

Q. Is it Ralph Gundlach?

A. Yes, Ralph Gundlach is right. Joe Butterworth.

Q. Now will you identify Mr. Butterworth?

A. Also a professor at the University of Washington. His wife, Dorothy. A chap by the name of Duz Stratton, S-t-r-a-t-t-o-n, I believe, is the name. He was a school teacher from Everett. Again this Hal Dunleavy, D-u-n-l-e-a-v-y. And Victor Hicks. Are those that I can remember and can point out right now. I might also mention that this clandestine unit was a unit where they was ordinarily pretty careful to address each other and introduce each other by their Party names, instead of the—their real name. As a consequence, I met many people there at that unit, professional men, doctors, and lawyers, at least I was introduced to them as such, by Party names that I knew very well was not their own name. And I also in this particular unit was known as and addressed as Mr. Bush.

Q. Now these that you have identified, you positively know that they—that these are the correct names that you are now giving?

A. Yes.

Q. And you have sat in unit meetings of the Communist Party with each of these names you have just mentioned?

A. Yes.

Q. On more than one occasion?

A. Several occasions.

Q. Now were you subsequently transferred to another unit within the Communist Party?

A. I was.

Q. And what unit was this?

A. That was the unit that was formed from the Communist members that worked for Tom Smith, the Thirty-Third County Commissioner's District.

Q. Now do you recall anyone that met in this unit?

A. I have the list of names here that I could read off to you. Again, crops up the name of William K. Dobbins; a chap by the name of McNew, M-c-N-e-w, I can't at the moment recall his first name, but most of the meetings were held at his home out at Ballard; Bert Collins, deceased; Al Barnes, B-a-r-n-e-s—

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Q. Is this the Al Barnes that until recently was connected with the Building Service Employees Union?

A. That's right. And Sam Dorman, from over east of the lake; another chap that was known as Chuck Malone, M-a-l-o-n-e, I believe his name was Charles; another man by the name of Louis Laguire, L-o-u-i-s L-a-g-u-i-r-e; Merwin Cole; Charles Legg—

Q. Is that the Charles Legg that has been very active in the Machinists Union Local 79?

A. I don't know as him being in 79. I know he was in 289.

Q. In 289, yes. Hope Lodge.

A. No, the Auto Mechanics.

Q. The auto what?

A. The Auto Mechanics.

Q. The Auto Mechanics.

A. Yes. And he was expelled from there, I believe.

Q. Is that the same Charles Legg that participated in the demonstration at the Plymouth Church here several years ago?

A. It is my belief that it is. And George Bradley.

Q. Now were you—now in each—with each of these men you sat in this Communist Party meetings?

A. This one here very definitely, I sat in a very—in a Communist Party meeting because I was the secretary there, the dues secretary.

Q. As the dues secretary?

A. Yes.

Q. And you know that each of these were a member of that unit?

A. I either collected dues from them or attempted to.

Q. Now were you subsequently transferred to another unit in the Communist Party, Mr. Armstrong?

A. I was.

Q. And what unit was this?

A. This was the Thirty-Third District Unit, out in the district in which I lived.

Q. Now do you recall anyone that you sat in unit meetings there?

A. John Laurie, as I recall was the chairman; a Bob Smith; Anne Gunther—

Q. Isn't that G-u-n-t-h-e-r?

A. That is. And I might add that it is not—it is not a relation of the professor at the University of Washington. It is a different Anne Gunther. And a different family of Gunthers also. Celeste Brooks; another comrade who we know only as Mr. Barber because that was his profession and also was his Party name; and Mr. and Mrs. Kingsbury; H. A. McEcheran, M-c-E-c-h-e-r-a-n; Mrs. Al Bristol, B-r-i-s-t-o-l; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Spickler; George Luckman, L-u-c-k-m-a-n—this latter chap, by the way, ran for Precinct Committeeman out there in the last election in the Democratic Party, and came darn near being elected, except that he wasn't a citizen; Anton Lautenslager, L-a-u-t-e-n-s-l-a-g-e-r; Carl Brooks, this is the self-same Carl Brooks that we've mentioned before; Sam Bonevie, B-o-n-e-v-i-e; Melba Brahan, M-e-l-b-a B-r-a-h-a-n; Dan Melatti or Nelatti, I'm not just exactly sure how to spell his name; and Emerson Daggett, D-a-g-g-e-t-t.

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Q. Can you describe this man Melatti for us?

A. He's a—or, rather a slight chap, of Italian extraction I believe, an industrious hard-working chap.

Q. Will you stand and see if you see this gentleman you refer to in the audience at the present time?

A. I can't make him out right now. He may be back there, but I don't see him.

Q. That's fine. Thank you very much. Now with each of these names that you have mentioned, you sat in closed unit meetings of the Communist Party?

A. I have.

Q. And each of them, to your knowledge, are members, or were members of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Now did you ever sit in any meetings with the King County Central Committee of the Communist Party?

A. I have.

Q. Who composed this committee, Mr. Armstrong?

A. I can't give you a complete roster of the committee, because again time intervenes, this was seven or eight years ago, a good many of the people that met there I knew simply by their first name or a nickname, but I'll read off to you those that I know and can actually identify.

Harold Brockway at that time was the chairman; Al Bristol, B-r-i-s-t-o-l; this Mrs. Reardon that we've mentioned before; John Laurie, L-a-u-r-i-e; Harvey Jackins; Carl Brooks; a man by the name of Baxter, B-a-x-t-e-r, who we called "Whitie"; and his wife Reva, R-e-v-a. There was several others, I believe, that I can't positively identify by name because I know them either by a nickname or just a first name, or something of that type.

Q. Now when was this that you sat in these Central Committee meetings for King County with these, Mr. Armstrong?

A. I would say 1937 and 1938, along in there somewhere.

Q. In 1937 and 1938 each of these, along with some others, were members of the King County—

A. Yes.

Q. —Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

A. That was the time when the King County—or, rather, the Communist Headquarters was out there in about the twenty-four hundred block, I think it was, on Second Avenue. It was way out there in one of those shop fronts.

Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, did you ever know of an organization known as the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

A. I helped to organize it, I should know it.

Q. Will you describe for us, briefly, the history of this organization?

A. I'll have to drop back in my history a little bit prior to the formation of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, to describe briefly another organization called the Commonwealth Builders. That organization sprung up in Washington here, sometime in 1934. It became very active in the 1934 campaign, about the same time that Upton Sinclair was promoting his epic movement in California. The epic as you know, taking its name from "End Poverty in California."

We trailed along with them and had another organization that we dubbed the Commonwealth Builders and our slogan was "End Poverty in Washington." We at that time had a very nice organization, that had some very well meaning and some very thorough going liberals, in my estimation; but we found that in promoting this organization we could not broaden it out sufficiently to take in other groups of people that we wanted to amalgamate into a large body of people with similar aims and objects and so forth.

And so in working around, discovering what we'd like to do, and so forth, we went up to Canada at one time. The people that went to Canada on that particular trip were Cyrus Woodworth,—Woodward, W-o-o-d-w-a-r-d, who was later the president of the Commonwealth Federation; Howard Costigan, who was on the stand this morning; a man by the name of Murray, from Everett, whose front name escapes me; another man by the name of Riordan, R-i-o-r-d-a-n, whose is not to be confused with this Mrs. Reardon, whose name has been mentioned before; and myself; the five of us, and we drove in Mr. Murray's car to Vancouver at one time. I believe this was in either the fall of '35 or the spring of '36. And we spent several days up there examining the structure of the Cooperative Commonwealth of Canada, a federation of Canada.

We come back and set up a similar structure here and issued calls for a convention. Preparatory to that convention, we had acquired a sound truck, a nice little Model A Ford panel truck with sound apparatus in it. Another person by the name of Floyd Hyde and myself—I might say at this time neither Floyd Hyde nor myself, were members of the Communist Party, and also Floyd Hyde I don't believe ever was one. We toured this state, we was gone for six weeks drumming up this convention, and the convention was finally held in Tacoma in October of 1935.

I might say, at that time the Communist Party was distinctly cold on this federation, because in my opinion it was their opinion that they couldn't control it properly, because we were setting up this Commonwealth Federation on too broad a base. We was inviting into the Commonwealth Federation, units of the Grange, of organized labor of every possible stamp that we could get, C.I.O. and A. F of L., the United Producers of Whatcom County, the Farmers Union, several units of the various cooperative ventures around over the state. And the Party at that time thought that was a little too big a bite to take. But in the meantime, after that first convention for this Commonwealth Federation was organized, came along the Project Workers Union and the Workers Alliance, and a little later on the Old Age Pension Union. And the comrades at that time could begin to—were beginning to see the light. And with that, we in the Project Workers Union and the Workers Alliance and kindred organizations, were instructed to set up as many organizations as we could possibly set up. If we could find ten names, which was a minimum for any organization to belong to the Commonwealth Federation, or ten or fifteen of them, I wouldn't be sure which but would be some small amount like that, that we was to get those ten names, obtain a charter and send delegates to the convention that was going to be held then up at Everett.

At that time, the "powers that be" in the Federation objected to, particularly the Project Workers Union infiltrating into the Federation. They rejected our application for membership credentials, because it was Communist-controlled. We threatened to throw a picket line around their meeting

hall up in Everett, and finally they succumbed and we went up there, and when we went up there, brother we took it over.

Q. And then the control—

A. And from then on the control of the Commonwealth Federation begin to get redder and redder. Legitimate labor organizations, such as this organization that I belonged to at the time I went into the Public Action Group. As an estimate, I will dare say that ninety per cent of the organizations—organized labor, that is, the A. F. of L.—there is quite a few C.I.O. unions still hang—cling to the structure, but the majority of the A. F. of L. unions dropped out. And as the Pension Union came on, the interlocking directorate with the Pension Union, the Washington Commonwealth Federation and the Workers Alliance became so powerful that there was times that we'd slip down to the Pension Union and they'd give us the Workers Alliance and they'd give us the workers in the Commonwealth Federation and when they'd call the roll they'd be practically the same, there'd be very little difference, except the person in the chair.

Q. Now when was this convention in Everett, Mr. Armstrong?

A. I would place that as 1936, in the fall.

Q. 1936.

A. Now, I may be wrong in that, it may not have been until the spring of—well, it must have been 1936.

Q. And at that convention, did the control of the Washington Commonwealth Federation pass to the Communist Party?

A. Very definitely. I'll show you just exactly how it worked. Cyrus Woodward was re-elected as the president at that time, and he was bitterly opposed to Communism, and tried in every way to prevent the infiltration. We still wanted to keep the—our respectability that surrounded Mr. Woodward in the president's chair for some little time yet, but finally we got tired of it. He was continually threatening to resign. So the way was finally paved at a fraction meeting one night, in about these words, "We'll just goad 'Woody' tonight to the extent of his resigning, and then in a helluva hurry we'll accept his resignation, and he's out." And that's just exactly what happened.

Q. That was planned in a Communist Party caucus?

A. It was, at a fraction meeting.

Q. Did you subsequently become a member of the State Board of the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

A. Me?

Q. Yes.

A. I was a member of the State Board of the Washington Commonwealth Federation from the time of its inception.

Q. Now did you hold Communist Party fraction meetings, as such?

A. We did, with the State Board members.

Q. Can you identify any of the members of the State Board who were members of the Communist Party?

A. Hugh DeLacy—

Q. You have sat in Communist Party fraction meetings of the State Board, with Hugh DeLacy.

A. I have.

Q. And it was openly known among the members that it was the Communist Party fraction of the Commonwealth Federation.

A. Correct. Howard Costigan, Harold Eby—

Q. Can you identify this Harold Eby?

A. A professor at the University of Washington. William K. Dobbins, a Jim Cour, C-o-u-r, I believe.

Q. Now who was Mr. Cour?

A. At that time, Mr. Cour was the editor of the then "Commonwealth Builder," the newspaper. Kathryn Fogg, Merwin Cole, Jess Fletcher, Margaret Haugland, H-a-u-g-l-a-n-d.

Q. Was this the Margaret Haugland that lives in West Seattle?

A. The Margaret Haugland that I referred to, lives in, or did live at that time, live in West Seattle. Eugene Dennett.

Q. Now, who was Eugene Dennett?

A. Well, beyond being a member of the State Board of the Commonwealth Federation and a member of the Communist Party, I can't identify him very much further. It was my opinion, although I can't—I have nothing to bear it out, that he was a paid official of the Communist Party, but I have no way of verifying that. I've never known Mr. Dennett to be of any use for labor. William Ziegner, Z-i-e-g-n-e-r.

Q. Is that the William Ziegner who recently connected with the Building Service Employees Union?

A. Do you mean connected or disconnected?

Q. Both.

A. That's him. Homer Huson, H-u-s-o-n, who I believe was on the stand here; Senator N. P. Atkinson; Emma Taylor Harmon; Bert Collins; Victor Hicks; Reva Baxter; Bill Pennock—

Q. Is that the William Pennock that is president of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. I don't know just what his title is, but he's the one. And Tom Rabbitt—

Q. Is that the ex-Senator Tom Rabbitt?

A. Yes. And Celeste and Carl Brooks, sometimes one and sometimes the other, Celeste Brooks being Carl Brooks' wife.

Q. Now this group was sufficiently organized, and as being members of the Communist Party, controlled the policies of the Washington Commonwealth Federation completely, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. And you would from time to time have these caucuses of the Communist Party members and agree upon an action which subsequently was carried out in the Federation.

A. Fraction meeting is the correct word.

Q. Fraction meeting. Was Morris Rapport ever in attendance at any of these meetings?

A. Yes, Morris Rapport—I've sat with Morris Rapport on several different occasions where—not the, this entire group you understand, that I've just read, would never at any time assemble as a fraction, I mean the entire group. There would possibly be five or six of us get together, and on many different occasions Morris Rapport was amongst us.

Q. Would Morris Rapport call meetings?

A. No. No, Morris Rapport, to my knowledge, has never called a meeting. The call for a meeting has always come from Costigan, DeLacy, Dobbins, or Dennett.

Q. DeLacy has called meetings of this group, then.

A. He has.

Q. And these others you have named.

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, I wonder if this would not be a convenient time to take about a ten-minute recess.

MR. HOUSTON: That's agreeable with me, if it is with the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be at ease for ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you proceed, Mr. Houston?

Q. Mr. Armstrong, I'll ask you if you ever heard of an organization as the Old Age Pension Union?

A. I have.

Q. Will you explain your knowledge of the organization, its organization and its history, as you know it?

A. The Old Age Pension Union was organized, frankly, over my objections, as the president of the Workers Alliance of Washington, because the Workers Alliance within its structure had a division that could take on the work of the, even under the Old Age Pension Union. But it seemed to the powers that be—or that were, rather, that a separate organization entirely should be fostered, the Old Age Pension Union. I believe that was the brain-child of Mr. Costigan. And that union was hastily organized and proved to be at one time very popular. Its objects and aims as publicly enunciated, in my mind, were good, that is, to promote pensions for the elderly or the senior citizens, and I think that in many ways the Old Age Pension Union has done a pretty fair job. As long as it did do a good job, as long as it confined itself to the needs of the old people, that is, to their immediate needs, and not so much to the needs of the nebulous future, as concerned the—well, what was going to happen to them if and when Russia was overthrown, or something of the kind.

Now units were set up everywhere, and it was rather a popular thing for the more prominent of the legislators and the leaders of various organizations to affiliate with the Old Age Pension Union because they was always receiving a little bit more publicity than could be obtained in the Workers Alliance, they was having larger bodies—larger meetings, larger bodies of people at their meetings, and their membership was growing much faster than the Workers Alliance, and the reason for that was the Old Age Pension Union at that time, at the inception, charged no dues and no initiation fees, and the Workers Alliance did.

So it was very easy to become a member of a free organization as against the membership of the Workers Alliance where initiation fees and dues were collected.

The structure of the officials of the Old Age Pension Union followed very closely the pattern of the officials and the board of either the Washington Commonwealth Federation or the Workers Alliance. Many of the members of—many of the individuals were members of all three boards, such as myself.

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I was a member, I was one of the incorporators, I believe, of the Old Age Pension Union, and yet to my knowledge I don't believe that I ever attended an Old Age Pension board meeting, nor a convention, except I did go to their conventions carrying the greetings of the Workers Alliance there, would appear briefly on the platform and say my little piece and scram, and—well, that's about all there really is to it. It was just a—it sprung up in a hurry.

Q. Well, very shortly after it sprung up did not the Communist Party get control of this organization?

A. Almost immediately.

Q. Almost immediately.

A. It was, in my opinion, a Communist-inspired organization.

Q. Now, did they have control as long as you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. More or less, do the same officers control it today that controlled it then?

A. To a great degree, there have been a few ousted and so forth, but the general make-up is about the same.

Q. Now I will ask you if you know a publication known as the "Washington New Dealer"?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that an unofficial organ of the Communist Party?

A. I would say that it was, yes, from my knowledge of the interlocking directorate, seeing as how I'm one of the stockholders in it.

Q. Did that paper follow the line of the Communist Party?

A. As well as it could. There was times when it floundered around a little bit not knowing what to do.

Q. That's when it didn't know just what the line was, eh?

A. When they couldn't read between the lines, they couldn't follow it.

Q. Did that same thing happen to members of the Communist Party?

A. Very, very definitely.

Q. Well, does the Communist Party compel adherence to its line?

A. The best that it could, yes. It demanded that the line be followed completely, and those who bucked it all were disciplined or expelled.

Q. Was the Communist Party and its organizations that it dominated, democratic?

A. No.

Q. Orders came from the top down, not from the bottom up?

A. That's right. On many, many occasions a fraction meeting would be held, and theoretically this fraction meeting was to outline or to make a policy for an organization, whether it be the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the Workers Alliance, or the Old Age Pension Union, and we of the brain trust or the fraction would sit there and listen to directives that was to be handed to us, and we'd chalk the way and go out and do our stuff.

Q. There was no policy formulated at these fraction meetings that you know of, but it was merely to devise methods of carrying out policy that was handed down.

A. Right. The same pertains to the units of the Communist Party. I have spoken that I belonged to three or four different units, the Thirty-Third District

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Unit, and the Third Commissioners Unit and so forth, and invariably the procedures were the same, that long directives would be handed down to us, that is, read off, they would be discussed thoroughly and assignments would be given to Tom, Dick, Harry, Mary or who it was. All we'd have to do is go out and do it. We couldn't decide ourselves what was going to happen.

Q. Was there some confusion and embarrassment at the time of the Molotov-Hitler Pact?

A. I would say that confusion was rife, I believe is the word. No one knew what was going to happen next because for some unknown reason the Party line wasn't transmitted to us for a matter of weeks, or ten days or something, I forget just how long it was. In the meantime we was floundering around in the fog.

Q. Now, was it somewhat embarrassing when Russia invaded Finland?

A. It was even worse than that, Mr. Houston.

Q. Now, were you one of the seven legislators that sent a telegram to Roosevelt and published it in the "P.I." commending him for his condemnation of Russia as an aggressor nation?

A. I was.

Q. When was this?

A. In June of 1940.

Q. How did the Communist Party accept this act on your part?

A. They wasn't very happy about it. In fact they reacted very violently.

Q. What did they do?

A. Well, the first thing they did, they called me to accounting. I was notified by, I believe it was Mr. Brockway, the—

Q. That is Harold Brockway?

A. Yeah, Harold Brockway. —that I was to be interviewed by the powers that be on a certain date at a certain time. We went out to the west slope of Magnolia Bluff out there on the hills above the railroad tracks to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Legg.

Q. Is that the Charles Legg you have previously referred to?

A. Yes. And at that meeting, by the way, they used my car to get out there with. Harold Brockway, Byrd Kelso, Mrs. Reardon, another person who I can't place right now, there was five of us rode out in my car, and myself, and there we found Mr. Rapport and either Lou Sass or Al Bristol. Now I wouldn't be sure, but it was one or the other of those. Mr. Murphy from Portland.

Q. That is—was the Murphy that was the district organizer—

A. Of Oregon district down there, yes.

Q. —at Portland.

A. And two or three other people in the, high in the annals of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party were there.

Q. Was Mr. DeLacy there?

A. I don't believe Mr. DeLacy was.

Q. Well now, what time did you get out at this home?

A. We arrived there, roughly, about one o'clock.

Q. And this meeting also occurred in June shortly after you—

A. Well, I wouldn't say that it was in June, but it was almost immediately after this telegram, it occurred.

Q. Now would you proceed and describe that meeting for us?

A. Well, it was opened up—I don't know whether anyone has ever described to you or not, how a meeting of that kind is conducted. The comrades all get in and sit around and the highest official there, which in this case was Mr. Rapport, calls the meeting to order and we all take seats around the room. And then the person on the right of the chairman, he'll say, "You may open, comrade so and so," and comrade so and so has his say or her say, and then it goes to—along the rest of the way around the room.

This meeting opened up by Mr. Rapport looking at me and raising an eyebrow, or possibly both of them, and he says, "So you're here, are you? I didn't think you'd have the guts to come." And I told him that, which was my opinion, that I wouldn't have missed that meeting for practically anything, because I knew what was going to occur out there and I just wanted to see how they'd go about it.

And I sat there for five long hours, from one o'clock in the afternoon to six o'clock at night, and I took the most tremendous verbal beating I ever took in my life.

Q. Did all present engage in this verbal beating on you?

A. Each and every one of them, had their little say. Mr. Rapport, he became actually almost insane there toward the end of the meeting when he couldn't get me to recant. One of the most—it shows you how asinine people like that can get under—in a condition of that kind. He finally plead with me to recant, to—"I've lost—you've lost the confidence of the people. Alls you've got to do to regain the confidence of the people is to say—is to recant, and come along with us." And I innocently inquired, "Well, I was just to recant and come along with you, even though I didn't feel that way, would I regain the confidence of the people?" "Oh, yes, yes, you will." And I said, "I don't want the confidence of the people, then." And that made him madder.

Q. Did they read the charges against you and then answer for you, or did they let you answer?

A. Well, Rapport, as was his custom, would hurl questions at me as to why I did this, why I did that, why I did the other thing, and then before I had an opportunity to answer he'd turn around and say, "Comrades, he did it for this, he did it for that, he did it for the other thing. I'll tell you why he did it. He won't answer." And I never had an opportunity to open my mouth.

Q. Was that the last Communist Party meeting you ever attended?

A. That was.

Q. Now previous to this meeting, you had been paying dues in the Communist Party, had you not?

A. Yes.

Q. And would they come and collect these dues from you?

A. They would.

Q. Did they give you the privilege of paying no more dues in the Party?

A. I guess that is what you would describe it as. They simply didn't come around and collect any more dues.

Q. You never got a chance to refuse any—

A. No. Another thing that Rapport said this day, was when he opened the meeting, he called me Mr. Armstrong, I believe. "Well," he says, "you'll notice, Mr. Armstrong, that I am not calling you comrade today."

Q. Was it customary in fraction meetings and Communist Party meetings to call each other comrade?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Was that the general custom?

A. Just as you do in a lodge, call them Brother Houston, and so forth.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Moose Lodge, I presume.

THE WITNESS: I'm a Moose, too.

Q. Now, I will ask you Brother Armstrong, did you ever reaffiliate with the Communist Party?

A. No. Although I have been invited to.

Q. Who invited you to reaffiliate?

A. Oh, Mr. Brockway.

Q. When was this?

A. Oh, it was a matter of possibly a year or so later when they had tried their best to discredit me in every possible way, and failing to do that they decided to love me to death.

Q. Well, will you explain that a little bit more?

A. Well, at the time of this meeting out there, in 1940, in June or thereabouts, there was an election coming up that fall in which I—in which I was going to be a candidate, and they tried in every possible conceivable way to defeat my re-election to the State Legislature. In fact, that self-same fall they did attack several others of those people who had signed this thing, and did defeat them. Amongst others was Kathryn Fogg and Ellsworth Wills. They defeated those two. They—I believe they was instrumental in defeating Mike Smith, who was the candidate for County Commissioner of the south district.

I don't recall whether Ed Henry was a candidate that fall or not, but I'm under the impression that he was. Now I may be wrong on that, but anyhow the next time that Ed run, he was defeated. In fact, Ed hasn't made the Legislature since. And they tried in every possible conceivable way to defeat me, even to the extent of the Reds red-baiting, if you know what I mean. They went out and whispered to the people out there that I was a Communist.

Q. This was after you had completely broken with the Communists.

A. This was after I had completely broken with the Party, with them.

Q. Did they ever whisper to anyone that you was a Communist while you were a member of the Party?

A. No, no.

Q. Well, did they continue their opposition to you?

A. They continued through that election period; nevertheless, upon me being elected, I was again approached. That's when they decided they couldn't destroy me by, shall we say forced violence, by ruthless methods, that they possibly might be able to, as I say, love me to death. So they began to surround me and draw me back into the fold again, and talk soft and sweet, and in fact I was told it was quite sure that they—I would be welcomed back to the Party, if I would only care to come and acknowledge that I had possibly made mistakes previously.

Q. And you never did go back?

A. No, but I acknowledged to myself that I had made a mistake before then, or two of them.

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Q. Not the mistake in getting out of the Party?

A. No, but in getting in.

Q. Did they continue in successive elections to run candidates against you?

A. Yes, in the 1940 election they run a nice little lawyer out in that district, Oliver Henderson.

Q. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not to my knowledge. I may have my suspicions, but I can't say that he was.

Q. But you know that the Communists ran him because of all of them supporting him—

A. Yes.

Q. —is that the basis of your statement?

A. And since that time Claude Smith has run twice.

Q. Now was Claude Smith a member of the Communist Party?

A. To the best of my knowledge, I believe he is, yes.

Q. And has that continued to the present?

A. Up to the last election.

Q. Now did they ever attempt to smear you?

A. Yes, they used about everything that they could possibly use in trying to smear me, my morals, my honesty, and everything else.

Q. Well, do you have any examples of that? How about this moral business, how did they attempt to smear you—

A. Well, I presume for the rest of them I should tell what you know, Bill. At the time that—in about, I would say 1940 or a little bit earlier than that, I took a Civil Service examination for the United States Government that required certain qualifications of which I was at that time peculiarly fitted, and as far as I could find out I passed that examination with rather a decent mark. And after passing the examination, then the investigation came on as to my fitness and as to the truthfulness of my answers in the examination. And the examination not only of myself, that is not only did they examine me but they also went around to the people that were my neighbors, my friends, my personal friends around my home, my political friends, and also I find my political enemies, who at that time very definitely was the Communist Party.

And they produced before the Civil Service Board of the United States here in the City of Seattle, who testified as I understand it, under oath, a lady, a blonde lady who I was supposed to have lived with in the City of Olympia during the 1939 session of the Legislature. The utter dishonesty and ruthlessness of that is borne out by the fact they was not only trying to discredit me and prevent me from obtaining that job, but if they could have substantiated their charges of my living with that woman at that time, my home of some twenty-five or twenty-six years standing at that time would have been broken.

They also testified before that self-same board down there that I was carried off the floor of the House of Representatives frequently in a stupid condition because of drink, and at the two hotels in the City of Olympia, the Governor and the Olympian, forbade me to enter there because I couldn't conduct myself as a gentleman.

That was just some of the things that they did.

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Q. Now, was that a general program of the Communist Party to smear people?

A. It certainly was.

Q. Have you ever heard people chastised in Communist Party meetings?

A. I heard them talk to them, not only myself—I enjoyed the verbal beating I got—but I have heard other people get a verbal beating that my—actually wrung my heart.

Q. Will you recite the exact circumstance?

A. I will cite one instance in particular, that after the Communist Party had decided to give me the gate and successfully had done so, not only—well, I'm getting a little bit ahead of my story. A faction within a fraction—they had a faction within a fraction at one time—decided to upset the leadership of the Workers Alliance, and so in the last convention they ganged up on me and deposed me as president. Heretofore, prior to all of those conventions we held fraction meetings. For some unknown reason this time, the fraction meeting was denied, although I jumped up and down and screamed and I knew something was going to break because this happened, and I was afraid of the effect that it was going to have on the workers themselves.

But a fraction meeting was denied me—denied us, and so as a consequence the Workers Alliance had an entire new set-up, and in other words it was destroyed. The local—we—at that time we had some fairly nice offices up town, on the corner of Third and Marion, we—in that Trader's Building—we had some nice offices up there. And at that time the state apparatus of the Workers Alliance was moved up to Everett and the county apparatus was moved down on the skid road, something that we had been very definitely trying to avoid for a number of years.

And after the State Board was over—or, after the State Convention was over, Rapport heard of these things and he was very concerned about what was going to happen to the Workers Alliance, and so he called a meeting. Now I say he called one, I don't mean by that that he approached me first and said, "Let's meet," Brockway says that "Rap" wants to meet with us out at such and such an address, at a house out there in the—near the Providence Hospital. And he said, "We will meet there at such and such a time," so at such and such a time we met out there at that address.

There was present, besides Rapport and myself, Brockway, Kelso, Mrs. Reardon, oh, four or five other people of the old Workers—

Q. Was Mrs. Hazel Wolfe present?

A. Oh yes, Mrs. Hazel Leo Wolfe was there. She's—I'm glad you brought that up, because she's the one that I've been telling this story about.

Again we had that session where the chair opened it and then everyone had their little say, and it showed quite a bit of confusion. There was another case of confusion in the Communist Party ranks. There was no one's story who dove-tailed in exactly correctly, and it finally got around to this Hazel Wolfe telling her story, and during her story she criticized Harold Brockway. And when she criticized Harold—I won't go into the detail on what she criticized him, I—Morris Rapport leaned forward and said, "Do you mean to say that you—why didn't you—why didn't you prefer charges against Mr. Brockway before the Communist Central Committee if you felt these things about him?" Hazel Wolfe says, "Well, I was thinking of doing that." And Rapport exploded. "You've been thinking about that," and he stuttered around there, and, "The

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meeting's over right now." And he gave the most damnable exhibition of temper that I've ever seen in all my life, calling poor little Hazel Wolfe down there, calling her a bitch, and a slut, and a whore, and all those kind of things. And he put the finger right on Harold Brockway and on Mrs. Reardon and on Kelso and he says, "If this bitch belongs to your unit down there, I'm charging you right today of taking her down there and expel her. I won't have her, sit in a meeting with her again."

And the meeting broke up, and there was never another meeting of that kind held, as far as I know.

Q. Did he say anything about Mr. Brockway being a fine gentleman—

A. Oh yes, he said that—

Q. —having been in seventeen jails?

A. He said—he says, "I wouldn't ever sit in a meeting with a thing like you again by daring to think that thing about Harold Brockway, who's been out here in jail in fighting the working class' troubles for years."

Q. Did Mrs. Wolfe subsequently rejoin the Communist Party?

A. I can't tell you.

Q. You can't tell me. Now were charges ever preferred against her, to your knowledge, do you know whether—

A. Not to my knowledge. It was shortly after that that I got the beating.

Q. Is that typical of a meeting that Mr. Rapport would run?

A. I would say that Mr. Rapport was one of the foulest-mouthed persons that I ever sat in a meeting with. He was always using profanity of all different kinds, regardless of whether who was there, or who he alluded to.

Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, at one time you were State President of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, were you not?

A. Not of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, but the Workers Alliance of Washington.

Q. The Workers Alliance. Did you have your picture published in "The Saturday Evening Post" and a write-up about you?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall when that was?

A. It was somewhere in 1938, I would say. In September, I think. I wouldn't be sure.

Q. Of what organization were you the president then?

A. The Workers Alliance of Washington.

Q. And this article alluded to that?

A. Yes.

Q. It appeared in—did you see a notice in last night's press that you were going to appear here as a witness today?

A. Yes.

Q. I'll ask you, Mr. Armstrong, have you had any threatening telephone calls or any attempt to influence you in your testimony?

A. I have.

Q. When was the call made?

A. About eleven-fifteen last night.

Q. Who made the call?

A. Bill Pennock.

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Q. Do you know Bill Pennock well?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you recognize his voice on the telephone?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you relate for us, as near as possible, the conversation that took place?

A. Bill Pennock called up and said he was very surprised to—in picking up the last night's edition of the paper, that is, the last night's edition of the morning paper, to see that I was going to testify out here today, and wanted to know if that was voluntary or if I was subpoenaed. He went on to explain to me that even if I was subpoenaed that I didn't have to pay any attention to it because the committee was—not constitutional, it was illegal, didn't I read Meakim's decision, and he rattled on like that. I assured him that I was going to attend the meeting regardless of anything that I knew of at the time, that I was going to be here and was going to testify.

Well, he went on to state that the regard—high regard which had existed between us in times past would certainly color or soften my testimony, and I brought up to him the fact that the blonde—he didn't soften that blonde up any when he brought—produced her.

With that the conversation languished and we both hung up.

Q. Now I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, how long have you been a member of the Legislature?

A. I am entering my twelfth year. That's—

Q. Of continuous service?

A. Continuous service. That's six sessions—that is seven sessions. Six regular and one special session.

Q. Were any other members of the Legislature members of the Communist Party while you were a member?

A. There were.

Q. Do you recall who any of them are—were?

A. Ellsworth Wills, Kathryn Fogg, and Sexton P. Nortenberg, N-o-r-t-e-n-b-e-r-g, Ernest T. Olson—

Q. Is that the Ernest T. Olson from Tacoma, who is now in the Senate?

A. Yes. N. P. Atkinson, Tom Rabbitt, Bill Pennock, Bert Collins.

Q. Now I'll ask you if any meetings were held among you, as Communist meetings, while you were a member of the Legislature.

A. Yes.

Q. Who would call these meetings?

A. Mike Smith, mostly.

Q. Was Mike Smith a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not to my knowledge. I can't place Mike Smith in the Communist Party.

Q. Did you ever solicit Mike Smith for membership in the Communist Party?

A. I did.

Q. What was his response?

A. He signed the application, but like most applications, it has to be accompanied by a little of the green stuff, you know, with the engraving of the Presidents on it. He failed to respond to that portion of it.

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Q. In other words, Mike Smith signed an application to join the Communist Party, but never paid any money to go with it.

A. That's right. So far as I was concerned, I heard later that he did elsewhere, but to my own knowledge, I don't know. Except in this manner, when some of these meetings that we held down there, Rapport was present, and in opening, or in talking in the meetings, Rapport would introduce Mike to other people that were there, and as Comrade Smith, and Mike never denied it.

Q. Now, did anyone else call these meetings besides Mike Smith?

A. No, it was—it was generally more or less of a—we more or less generally left it up to Mike.

Q. I'll ask you if that was what was meant when from time to time there would be an announcement that there would be a committee meeting of the ditches—Dykes, Drains and Ditches?

A. That was somewhat of a password of ours, yes.

Q. And all of you members of the Party knew what that meant.

A. That's right.

Q. Now where were these meetings in the Legislature, while you were in the Legislature, held Mr. Armstrong?

A. We didn't hold meetings at any great length, in the Legislative building itself. We generally congregated in a room—committeeroom thirteen on the House side, then we generally adjourned either to Mike Smith's home, which was on the east side of Olympia there, or to one of the cafes downtown where we would have a private room.

Q. What room was this Committeeroom Thirteen?

A. Well, it was just one of those ordinary committeerooms up there, behind the balcony, for the Legislature, it was in the Legislative Building, it was a room with a round table in it, chairs around it, desks, typewriters and so forth.

Q. And in that room you would conduct Communist Party fraction meetings.

A. We have conducted them there, yes.

Q. Now who would be present at those meetings?

A. Well, Wills, Fogg, Nortenberg, Olson, myself, Mike Smith, and sometimes N. P. Atkinson would come over from the Senate.

Q. Now where—

A. Let me explain a little bit more on this particular fraction meeting. The fraction meetings of a purely Communist nature down there, while they were Communist-inspired and Communist-conducted, was also conducted under the spirit of the Dimitrov Report or the United Front. In other words, we in the Party would hold a very short meeting and decide what should be done, that is, the strategy for tomorrow or the next day. And we generally had that over with very quickly before the rest of the invited guests would arrive. There were many good and sincere people in the Legislature down there at that time, who would come down there from other portions of the state, who were sent there primarily by organized labor or the railroad brotherhood, or people of that kind, that would sit in with us on these so-called caucuses. And as soon as our fraction meeting was over, which was very rapid, then we'd have a regular so-called left-wing caucus, and sometimes we'd have as high as twenty-five or thirty of these legislators in there that would be pretty well swayed by our little fraction for a while.

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Q. By the organized minority.

A. By the organized minority.

Q. Did George Hurley ever attend any of these meetings?

A. Not with me, no, because at the time that George Hurley was in the Legislature down there, I was an outcast.

Q. You were out of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Emma Taylor Harmon?

A. Yes.

Q. She did attend these meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. Is Emma Taylor Harmon a member of the Communist Party?

A. In my opinion she is, yes.

Q. Well, was she admitted to these—

A. She was admitted to these closed fraction meetings for discussion purposes.

Q. Do you know Conrad Vinje?

A. I know Conrad Vinje, yes.

Q. Was he a member of the Legislature at this time?

A. He was.

Q. Did he attend any of these meetings?

A. I can't—I can't place Conrad actually in these meetings. My memory don't serve me that well. I couldn't do it. It is my opinion that he did, but I wouldn't want to put—

Q. Now would you have any members of the Communist Party present at these meetings who were not legislators?

A. Not in the State House itself. We did at several times out at Mike Smith's home.

Q. Well now, who would these people be?

A. Well, Rapport himself was there, Jesse Epstein—

Q. Is that the Jesse Epstein, Jesse Epstein who was Director of the Federal Public Housing Administration in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes.

Q. And you sat in closed Communist Party meetings with him?

A. Meetings that were described by Mr. Rapport as being just for the comrades.

Q. Had you sat anyplace else with Mr. Epstein, ever in unit meetings?

A. No.

Q. And Mr. Rapport described these as a closed Communist Party meeting.

A. Yes, he—

Q. Jesse Epstein was present.

A. —very definitely, when Rapport opened the meeting, very definitely said that there was no one but the comrades here and introduced—at that time I had never met Mr. Epstein. Rapport introduced Comrade Armstrong to Comrade Epstein.

Q. Did Mr. Epstein protest at the term "comrade"?

A. No.

Q. All right, now was Mr. Dobbins ever present?

A. He was.

Q. Anyone else you think of?

A. Oh, I could mention scores of them as far as that goes, but they were mostly there as spectators. I mean, at none of these closed meetings—Jesse Epstein's position down there was rather peculiar. That year he was very definitely trying to ditch the sales tax. Jesse Epstein was down there on what was explained to me as a functionary of the Party trying to guide us along on what was tax structure. And from time to time as the other people come down there—I know that we had several banquets down there, in the Crane Cafe down there where other people were there that I knew of to be comrades, but they weren't down there attending any of these meetings.

Q. Those that had business with the Legislature were the ones—that were members of the Communist Party attended these meetings, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. Now at these meetings would you plan strategy and how you would work in the Legislature?

A. That's right.

Q. Morris Rapport was present at the meetings, but not the ones under—

A. He wasn't—don't misunderstand me. Rapport was only down there possibly twice or three times, at the very most, during that session of 1939. Dobbins was his spokesman as was also Jimmie Cour. Jimmie Cour at that time was sitting pretty high in the Party structure, and he was the boy that came down there mostly.

Q. Was there ever attempt made to keep the fact that you members of the Legislature were members of the Communist Party a secret?

A. I didn't quite understand that question.

Q. There was every attempt made to keep your membership in the Communist Party a secret?

A. Oh, very definitely. Very definitely.

Q. Now, this was in the 1939 session that you referred to these meetings? Is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Who would announce that there would be a committee meeting of the Dykes, Drains, and Ditches?

A. Mike.

Q. Mike—

A. Mike Smith.

Q. Mike Smith. When he did, you'd know immediately what he meant. There was no such committee in the Legislature was there?

A. Yes, there is—frankly, at that time there was a committee called the Dykes, Drains, and Ditches. And it was—it also so happens that we of the left—the left-wingers was in the "dog house" with the people who run the Legislature down there, and we got all the tag end and bob tails of committees, and this Dykes, Drains, and Ditches was just about as low as they could stick Mike, so they gave it to him. That was a joke.

Q. And there was no one present on this committee of the Dykes, Drains, and Ditches that was not a member of the Party?

A. That's right. Oh no, I'll take that back, there sometimes were legitimate meetings of this committee, not very often, but ordinarily it got to be a joke down there.

Q. Now, you have referred to a time in 1941 when you and I had a little interview down there, and a party produced this blonde. Do you recall our discussion about a Communist Party meeting where Earl Browder was in attendance?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us about that meeting?

A. Well, should I tell them how—explain how astounded I was when she—

Q. Well, we want just the testimony about the meeting, now.

A. Well, the meeting—

Q. Tell us what you think.

A. The meeting, in my opinion, was one of the most secret and hush-hush meetings that I have ever attended. I received instructions—I first was asked by Comrade Rapport whether I wished to meet Mr. Browder. I did want to meet Mr. Browder, because Mr. Browder to me, and still is, a man with a great deal amount of intelligence.

Q. When was this meeting?

A. It was just prior to the election of 1940, as I recall, or sometime in there, when Browder and Ford was running for president, I can't place it exactly, but it was somewhere in there. And so a little bit later I received a telephone call, I don't know who the telephone call was from. He said he was talking to "Rap" about something yesterday, and that thing has been arranged. This was on a Saturday that I got this telephone call. Now this voice on the other end of the wire said, "Tomorrow morning at ten o'clock you take your car and you go to such and such a spot and you pick up Mike Smith and you go someplace else and you pick up somebody else." I forget who this other person was. And he said, "Then you're to go to such and such address," which was out in the University district, "and you park your car there, then you three people get out of that car and you stroll, just stroll casually now, stroll north a block, and then east a block, and then west a block, and then, so forth and so forth, pretty soon you'll come to a certain house." And he didn't give us the address of the house, as I recall, they described it to us. "And you go into that house—"

Q. Did he say anything about a rose in the window?

A. Oh something like that, it may have been something of that kind, some kind of identifying mark, but the thing that sticks most in my memory is the two blocks east, and so forth. It was a round-about way of getting there, but we finally got there, and we found that we was in Joe Butterworth's house. And pretty soon—

Q. Is that the Professor Joe Butterworth that you previously referred to?

A. It is. And pretty soon there was other people. They'd come in through the basement, and they'd come in through the back door, and they'd come in through the alley door. And so there was quite a little gathering there. And after we was all there and checked off the list by Mr. Rapport, then the discussion begin and we had a very nice hour or so's discussion with Mr. Browder.

Q. Was there anyone there except members of the Communist Party and Mike Smith?

A. Not to my knowledge. That's another thing that convinces me that Mike some way or other did get into the Party later on, is the fact that that, as I say, was a very hush-hush meeting.

And then a little bit later, after the conference was over, we departed in the same way. A group of one or two at a time, and through the alley and through the basement, through the back door, and through the front door. And first, Mr. Browder left, and the rest of us had to sit there until fifteen or twenty minutes, or half an hour or something after he'd gone, to assure secrecy. And the only people who knew anything about it was the F.B.I. and the Civil Service Commission.

Q. Was it somewhat disconcerting when I asked you about that meeting?

A. I think the word is "flabbergasterating."

Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, will you care, while we're on this subject, to mention the officials of the Communist Party that you've met with from time to time?

A. Well, I think the—it's without pamper. Of course, I've met in the meantime with a good many secretaries and chairmen of units. The first official that I ever had contact with, to my knowledge, was Allen Macks.

Q. Who is Allen Macks? Will you explain who he is?

A. At that time Allen Macks was the District Organizer of the Communist Party, with headquarters at that time, in the Colonist Building on the corner of Second and Yesler Way.

Q. And that's prior to the time that Mr. Rapport was—

A. That was prior to that time, as I recall. And then, of course, Mr. Rapport, who was the District Organizer, and Louis Sass, S-a-s-s, Sass, L-o-u-i-s Louis, and Al Bristol, Lowell Wakefield, and Harry Jackson, and Joe Stack, and Harold Johnson—

Q. Which Harold Johnson is this, now?

A. This Harold Johnson at that time, I have him here and I should have had him on—also on the King County Central Committee, and also he was a member, if my memory goes back correctly, and I believe it does, of the Thirty-Third District club, or unit. He at that time, and I presume still is, a member of the Hope Lodge Machinists Union No. 79.

Q. Is he an official of that lodge?

A. I can't tell you. I don't know. I also met with Ford, the Vice Presidential candidate with Earl Browder, and with "Whitey" Baxter, who was the Educational Director of this area here for a long time; Ernie Fox, who was the Director of the Labor Union structure, I don't recall just what that—his official name was. It was the labor trade union fraction or structure, whatever it was, that had the charge of organizing and infiltrating into organized labor, both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O.

Q. Did he have a connection with another labor union in town?

A. As I understand it, he was connected with some other Maritime Federation, whether it was in that local union or something else, but I know that he was primarily sprung for the waterfront, whether it was the Maritime—whether it was some actual local of the Seamen's Union or Sailor's Union, or whether it was the Longshoremen, I'm not clear on that. But he did spring from the waterfront.

Barbara Hartle, who is now one of the big bugs here in King County, this section of the woods, at that time she was the area secretary, I believe, in Spokane. Jim Haggan, who at that time and has since disassociated himself with the Party, was the regional Communist head over there. Al Germain, G-e-r-m-a-i-n, who since is dead, was Jim Haggan's assistant. I've met Henry Huff, the present head here, and I might say that Henry smiled at me sweetly and intimated that any advances that I might be—might make toward him would not be rebuffed. Revels Caton—

Q. That was before today, of course.

A. That was before today. Revels Caton, R-e-v-e-l-s C-a-t-o-n, a Negro who at that time was the head of the—that division of the Communist Party who was interested in misleading the Negroes. And then, of course, Mr. Murphy, the organizational director of Portland.

Q. Did you ever meet with George Bradley?

A. Yes. George Bradley, I believe, if I were to go back here to—

Q. Yes, you've already named him previously.

A. Yes, he was in the—he worked with Tom Smith out there and was in that unit, and I also have him again here in the Trade Union fraction or organization, whatever it is, at that time was headed by Ernie Fox.

Q. Is that the same George Bradley who is now a Vice—International Vice President of the Building Service Employees Union?

A. I believe that it is.

Q. Was he connected with the Building Service Employees Union at any time while you knew him?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, it's—our little conversation of several years ago, Mr. Armstrong, when I was with the Civil Service Commission, we didn't get into the record who all were present at this hush-hush meeting. Can you recall some of the people that were there?

A. Yes, there was Elsworth Wills, and Rappaport, Mike Smith, Kathryn Fogg, myself, I believe Al Bristol, Mrs. Reardon was also there of the Workers Alliance, Dorothy Butterworth and Joe Butterworth. There may have been others, but I just can't bring to mind right—Harold Brockway.

Q. Do you know a Richard, Dick, Murphy?

A. I do.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mr. Murphy was ever a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Not to your knowledge. Did he serve in the Legislature at the same time you did?

A. He did.

Q. And while you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. No. He was not a legislator then—

A. No.

Q. —at the time you were in the Communist Party.

A. No.

Q. Then you wouldn't know of any activities of his in the Legislature, then?

A. I heard nothing of Communist activities, no.

Q. Now, did you meet ever with the Trade Union fraction of the Communist Party?

A. Well, I met with several of them, you might—I might put it this way, the Trade Union fraction or the Trade Union steering committee, or whatever you want to call it, I met with them on several different occasions; and as usual in meetings of this kind, there was times when there'd only be four or five of us present and the next time there'd be a little, few more of a different—different people and so forth.

Q. Well, all of them, at all times were members of the Communist Party and you were meeting as such.

A. Yes.

Q. Who—would you care to name some of them?

A. The head of the outfit at that time, as I told you before, was this Ernie Fox. If my memory goes back, some of those present at those meetings, and I might say that some of the meetings took place in the Communist headquarters up in—in the 2400 block on Second Avenue and later some of them were held down in the Smith Tower when we had a—quite a swanky office down there at one time. And these people that I will mention were there at one time or another, possibly never all at the same time. In fact I'm quite positive that at this fraction, all these people who I will mention were not all there at the same time.

Starting off with Ernie Fox, you have Bob Stevens, S-t-e-v-e-n-s.

Q. Who was this Mr. Stevens?

A. He is a member—or at that time was a member of Hope Lodge Machinists No. 79. We have, I believe his first name was Bob Camozzi, C-a-m-o-z-z-i. At that time Camozzi was a—some official, I believe, of the Radio Telegraphers Maritime Union, or whatever it was. In other words, the wireless operators on the ships. Hugo Lundquist, L-u-n-d-q-u-i-s-t. He at that time, as I recall, was the—one of the higher officers, I don't recall offhand whether it was the business agent or the president. I think it was the president, but I wouldn't be sure, of the Aeronautical Mechanics Union. Nelson, I think his first name was Burt, he come from the Longshoremen's. Carl Brooks—

Q. Is that Burt spelled B-u-r-t?

A. Yes. He's the—it was listed—but that's his name, that's the way it was spelled. Carl Brooks, of the Scalers Union. Victor Hicks, H-i-c-k-s of the Teachers. Bill Ziegner, he had a rather dual roll there, as I recall, he belonged both to the Hod Carriers Union and to the County Employees Union. Glenn Kinney, K-i-n-n-e-y, I believe his name was spelled, he belonged to the Machinists Union, Hope Lodge No. 79. Bert Collins, a member of the same union that I belonged to, the Auto Machinists No. 289. Bill Dobbins, at that time a member of the Hod Carriers and leader of the Building Service Union. George Bradley, he come in I believe at that time from the Municipal—County, Municipal and State Employees Union, from the north county district out here, and later from the Building Service Employees Union, and he was looked upon, in my estimation, as being a sub-leader of that group under Ernie Fox. Jess Fletcher, also attended. And Ward Coley, another Building Service representative. Claude Smith, from the Newspaper Guild. Charles Legg, I'm not sure

whether he was representing the Municipal, County and State Employees Union out here, or the Boilermakers, or both. Wallace Webb, Wallace W. Webb, of the Shingleweavers at that time. Earl Gunther, since deceased, come in and as I again explain that he is no—not connected with the families of Gunther from the University of Washington, he come in from one of the theatrical units—unions. Whether it was the Stage Employees or not, I don't know, but I think it was. And Harold Johnson, of the Machinists again, as I mentioned before and also of the Thirty-Third District Unit of the Party.

Those are the only names that I have present in the time I have been—might have recollection of a few more, but I don't recall them just now.

Q. Now with every one of these you have met in closed Communist Party fraction meetings, at the call of the Communist Party, and to further the Communist Party program.

A. That's right.

Q. I'll ask you, Mr. Armstrong, while you were a member of the Communist Party, did you notice any evidence of atheistic teaching?

A. Well, yes, the—all the literature—I won't say all the literature, but at every unit meeting where they—a formal unit meeting, such as the Thirty-Third District meeting, or the Thirty-Fourth District meeting, or any of those unit meetings, they always had what they call a literature secretary, or agent. And that secretary was supposed to get there before the meeting would open and spread out the Party literature on the benches, or someplace where it could be readily observed and offered for sale. There was always something in there about atheism, that is books on atheism, and anti-Christ. And one of the slogans was, as everybody knows, is "Religion is the Opium of the People."

Q. Do you believe that Communism is a threat to the United States of America today?

A. I very definitely do, yes. If the—if the people that I know of, who are still and have been in the Party, their actions, their utter lack of integrity, their total disregard for any human decency, in any respect, to achieve their own ends is a criterion of what we could expect from Russia or from the Communist Doctrines as a whole, I don't want any of it. I think it's very detrimental, very definitely detrimental to American ideals and liberty.

Q. Do you think the Communist Party is a Fifth Column, owing allegiance to Russia?

A. In my mind there is definitely no doubt of that.

Q. Their first allegiance is to Russia?

A. Absolutely. That is, if one goes back and studies history, that one can see the sudden switch of the Party line from this, that or the other thing. At the time when President Roosevelt was so desperately trying to build up the Armed Forces of the United States to detract—or, to counteract Hitler, we know what we suffered then from the Communist Party calling him a warmonger. I, and the rest of us who were attempting to achieve a little security through Roosevelt's program were also warmongers.

And yet in a very few short days, or weeks after that, we find that what occurs, that Hitler stabs Russia in the back and so forth, why Roosevelt is one of the God's creation. Even today we find the Party crying, "Let's go back to Roosevelt policy." They don't even know what Roosevelt stands for. They're trying to convince us that they do. They're trying to convince us that they're for Roosevelt policy; but they're not for Roosevelt policy; they're

for Communist Party policy as laid down by the Comintern. And Roosevelt never had anything to do with that, he never subscribed to any of it that I know of.

Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, you testified earlier that when at a Party meeting the cards were stolen and it appeared you were in trouble, you telephoned Rapport and he told you to get—to go see Caughlan, did he not? John Caughlan?

A. I don't know—I don't recall now, Mr. Houston, who all we telephoned. I know that we ended up Brockway, Kelso, Dobbins and myself, ended up out at John Caughlan's house somewhere on Queen Anne Hill.

Q. Did Caughlan seem to be sympathetic with your problem?

A. Very much so.

Q. As a member of the Communist Party who knew the program and to observe the actions of Communists, would it be your opinion that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. It would be.

Q. And you testify then, as a Communist at the time and knowing what the actions of the Communists were?

A. That's right.

Q. He followed the Communist Party line?

A. Invariably.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask for just a five-minute recess now, just a very short recess. I think I've concluded with the—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do you have other witnesses to produce at this time?

MR. HOUSTON: I may have, I want to—I want to confer.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Armstrong may be excused, and we will be at ease for about five minutes.

(Witness Excused)

(Recess)

MRS. KATHRYN FOGG, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. You are the Mrs. Kathryn Fogg who testified here the other day?

A. Yes sir, I am.

Q. Mrs. Fogg, did you hear the testimony of Mr. H. C. Armstrong?

A. I did, sir.

Q. At all places in this testimony where he mentioned your name and placed you in meetings, was that true and correct?

A. Yes sir, it was. He failed to remember I was in his car with Mike and he, was the only thing.

Q. You recall that now.

A. Yes.

Q. And none of Mr. Armstrong's testimony wherein he placed you in a meeting was incorrect, then?

A. It was all correct, every time.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you very much, Mrs. Fogg.

(Witness excused)

JESS FLETCHER, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. You are the Jess Fletcher who testified before this committee last week?
A. I am.

Q. Mr. Fletcher you have heard—have you heard the testimony of Mr. Armstrong?

A. I did.

Q. At all places where Mr. Armstrong placed you in Communist Party meetings, were you there?

A. I was, although he missed some of them.

Q. Was all of the testimony of Mr. Armstrong pertaining to meetings where you were present, correct?

A. Absolutely correct.

Q. Now I will ask you, Mr. Fletcher, have you ever sat in closed Communist Party meetings with Florence Bean James?

A. Well, yes. She was always raising money and she asked my union for money, and I refused to give it to her, and then she brought Mr. Rapport and Mr. DeLacy to my office and said, "This is a comrade and we expect you to support him."

Q. You refer to Mrs. Florence Bean James as a comrade and deserving of the support of your union.

A. That's right. I'd refused to sign the check until they had identified her as a comrade, and then I signed the check.

Q. They put pressure on you.

A. That's right.

Q. Have you ever addressed her as comrade?

A. Oh, yes, I said, "Here you are, comrade," when I give her the check.

Q. Did she remonstrate?

A. No, no. No.

Q. Did she address you as Comrade Fletcher?

A. She said, "Thank you, comrade."

Q. And you have, in addition to that, sat in fraction meetings with her?

A. In meetings where DeLacy and Rapport and Huff and all the other leaders that's been mentioned here, of all Communists, and discussed policy and political campaigns, the policy of the Party that was handed down from New York. Well, we took the policy as handed down by Rapport or Huff.

Q. Was there anyone present at these meetings except members of the Communist Party?

A. There was not.

Q. Your testimony is then, as a Communist she sat in Communist Party meetings with you.

A. That's right.

Q. Now what were the checks for that she wanted checks?

A. Well, they—she wanted to sell a night at the Repertory Playhouse. She'd try to sell them to organizations, and she come down to sell one night, all the seats, to our local union.

Q. And you declined to take them?

A. Until she was identified as a Communist, I did.

Q. And she went out and got Rapport and came back with him then, is that correct?

A. That's right. That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all, Mr. Fletcher, thank you.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, that concludes our witnesses for today.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in recess until nine-thirty tomorrow morning.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 9:30 o'clock a. m., February 3, 1948.)

(February 3, 1948, 9:35 a. m. o'clock)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: This hearing is in session.

JOSEPH KORNFEDER, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you as you testify if you will bear in mind that we are recording the proceedings of this testimony, so try to speak so that one of those two "mikes" will pick up your voice.

Also when you say "yes" or "no" don't do it with a shake of the head, because the recording devices so far have been unable to record motions.

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.

Q. Please state your name.

A. Joseph Kornfeder. K-o-r-n-f-e-d-e-r.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. Detroit, Michigan.

Q. Are you a citizen of this country, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you served in the Armed Forces of the United States of America?

A. I did.

Q. And received an honorable discharge?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever been known by any names other than Kornfeder?

A. Yes, I was known by the name of Zack, Z-a-c-k, my mother's maiden name.

Q. That was your—with withdraw that.

Q. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that your name within the Party?

A. That's the name I used within the Party.

Q. Is that quite common custom for Party members to take the maiden name of their mother or some near relative?

A. That's very common in the Party to use a name of mother or relative, or even just an assumed name.

Q. Now, when did you first affiliate with the Communist Party?

A. I became a member of the Party in 1919 as a result of the split in the Socialist Party. I went with that wing of the Socialist Party which broke away and formed the Communist Party.

Q. In other words, then, you are a charter member of the Communist Party in the United States of America, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Now where did you join the Communist Party?

A. New York City.

Q. Now will you detail for me very briefly, your activities after you joined the Party?

A. Well, I first became a unit organizer in Yorkville, New York City, and then I became a section organizer which took in all the units of the Communist Party in Yorkville and Harlem, New York City, and then I became a district organizer in New York District, and my next position was with the National Labor Union activities director of the Communist Party. After the Party was—went underground in 1920, I became one of several members of the then Secret Central Committee of the Communist Party, and I remained a member through 1920, '21 and '22 up to '23. Meanwhile the Party had come out from underground and owned itself as an open party.

Q. Now, Mr. Kornfeder, you testified that when the Party was underground from 1900 to nineteen—from 1920 to 1923, that you were a member of the Secret National Committee.

A. Yes.

Q. Was that committee also called the Political Committee, the Politbureau?

A. That was then the Politbureau of the Party.

Q. And how many members were on that Politbureau?

A. Seven.

Q. Can you name some of them at this time?

A. Yes. There was C. E. Ruthenberg, who died since then.

Q. Now, can you spell that for us?

A. R-u-t-h-e-n-b-e-r-g.

Q. Uh-hum.

A. Then there was William Wienstone, Jay Lovestone, Alexander Bittleman—

Q. Is that the Bittleman that's still connected with the Party?

A. That's right. —James Canon, Alfred Vagsnik, Edward Lindgreen, deceased—I think that's about all I recall.

Q. Now, during the period of time that this Party was underground and its operation was illegal, it continued to function through the secret apparatus of the Party, is that correct?

A. Correct.

Q. Now in 1923, when the Party came out in the open, what position did you—were you then given by the Party?

A. Well, I was on the first National Committee elected by the Party which

then called itself the Workers Party of America. And I became the labor union activities director in the east, for New York State, New Jersey, Connecticut, and so on.

Q. You were the only member of the committee that had had practical experience within the union movement previous to that, were you not?

A. At that time I was the only one that was a member of a union on the whole top committee.

Q. And as such, you were given charge then of the—that segment of the organizational work.

A. That's right.

Q. Uh-hum. Now how long did you occupy that position?

A. Up till 1927.

Q. 1927. Now, will you describe just very briefly for us what were your duties, were you propagandizing? Were you advising your members in the union? or what—what were your duties?

A. Well, the duties were to get those members of the Communist Party that belonged to a particular local union into a group and make them function as a group inside of that labor union, for the purpose of distributing their literature, propaganda, of the Communist Party, and as these groups developed the chief idea became to have them active in the politics of the particular local union and to attract to the group sympathetic elements in order to enlarge it, and then have that group seek office in that local union by putting up a slate of officers, either for all offices in the local union or for some of the offices in the local union.

Q. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Kornfeder, do you know a man by the name of William Z. Foster.

A. I do, indeed.

Q. Did he become a member of the Communist Party along about this time?

A. Foster became a member of the Communist Party in 1921.

Q. Was Mr. Foster also assigned to this trade union work?

A. Yes, he succeeded me as the National Labor Union Director of the Communist Party.

Q. Now, in nineteen hundred and—where were we, up to '25, you say? Or '27?

A. Well, this holds good for the whole period.

Q. For the whole period.

A. From '22 to '27.

Q. Now what happened in 1927?

A. 1927, I and several others were sent to Moscow to a high political school called the Lenin School, also referred to as Lenin Institute.

Q. Was your passage paid by the Communist Party?

A. Yes, my passage was paid by the Communist Party.

Q. Did you travel on an American passport?

A. Yes.

Q. In other words, you were transferred to Moscow just as though you would be transferred to Seattle or anywhere in the United States, is that right?

A. Yes, I was transferred to Russia, in this case, and became a member of the Russian Communist Party while I was in Russia.

Q. Now will you testify—will you tell us just what you did after you went to Russia?

A. Well, I attended the studies of that political university I referred to, and also became a member of several subcommittees of the Communist International.

Q. Did—

A. Specifically, it was what they call a national—I don't know how to translate that into good English—nationality secretariat perhaps would be the best term—

Q. Were you—

A. Of the Comintern, they called it the Anglo-American Secretariat.

Q. You were employed by the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Comintern?

A. Yes.

Q. Now the Comintern, was that the governing body for the Communist parties of the world?

A. Yes, the Comintern was the central body which governed all the Communist parties in every country.

Q. Did they take their orders directly from the presidium of the Soviet Government?

A. Well, the facts are that the Comintern in all its major decisions—was governed by the decisions of the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party, but the application of those decisions were effected by or through the presidium of the Communist International.

Q. How many members were on that presidium?

A. The presidium were, at that time, five members.

Q. Do you recall any of them that were on the presidium at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall the names of any of them?

A. Yes. There was Molotov—

Q. Is that the present Molotov that we hear so much about—

A. That's right.

Q. —here in foreign affairs? Uh-hum.

A. And Manuelsky, who is at the present time Russian United Nations delegate representing Ukraine, and to my knowledge, he's not a Ukrainian, and then there was Kuusinen—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Pardon me, will you have him spell these names so that both our recording device and the press will get them?

MR. HOUSTON: Why, I thought the first few were so well known, but I beg your pardon.

Q. Will you go back and spell those names, Mister—

A. Kuusinen is K- double u-s-i-n-e-n.

Q. How about Manuelsky? I tried to duck that one too.

A. Manuelsky. You know my Russian is so old, it's a bit rusty. M-a-n-u-e-l-s-k-y.

Q. Is that the man Manuelsky that is presently so high in the councils of the Soviet Government?

A. That's right. The same one.

Q. Now did you know these men personally?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you know Mr. Molotov personally?

A. I did.

Q. Did you ever hear Joe Stalin describe Molotov, his reference to his ability as a filing clerk?

A. No, it's Lenin himself—

Q. Oh, it was Lenin?

A. Yeah. Lenin himself described Molotov as the most perfect filing clerk in the Soviet Union.

Q. Now, how long did you continue to function there with the Comintern?

A. Up till 1930.

Q. Now what happened in 1930?

A. In 1930 I was sent as a delegate of the Comintern to South America, and I knew Spanish, and I was active in organizing the Communist Parties in Colombia and Venezuela.

Q. You were the representative of the International Comintern, then, to these two South American countries?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were the highest official of the Communist Party in those two South American countries—

A. That's right.

Q. —is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. While you were occupying such position did you receive orders from Moscow?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you receive monies from Moscow?

A. Yes.

Q. Would it be your testimony here that the Comintern located in Moscow, controlled those South American Parties?

A. Oh, yes. Very definitely so.

Q. You were responsible for all your acts and decisions to Moscow—

A. That's right.

Q. —is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Now just run along briefly, we'll come back and pick up portions of this —what happened there in South America? Did you get in trouble?

A. Oh, yes. I, of course, was operating there entirely behind the scenes. Formally, I was a salesman for an office equipment firm.

Q. Do you mean that Communists practice duplicity?

A. Oh, of course. It couldn't be any different. I—then when I went to Venezuela, which was a country under a dictatorship with no civil liberties of any kind, after I was there about two months the secret police got wind of something stirring and one nice day a group of us were arrested, and the result of which I spent about five months or more in one of the most notorious jails in South America.

Q. Well, did you immediately go to your bosses, the Russian Comintern and say, "Get me out of jail. I've been your servant, now take care of me"?

A. No, well no. No, they—they did that in a better fashion. They used the United States Government to do it for them.

Q. At that time you then became an American citizen and proud of your American citizenship, did you say, "You can't do that to me, an American"?

A. That's right.

Q. And did the American Consul intervene for you?

A. He did.

Q. Did the American Consul get you out of jail?

A. Yes.

Q. I see. What did you do after the American Consul got you out of this Venezuelan jail?

A. Oh, I came back to the United States.

Q. And did you report to the Communist headquarters in New York?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you then given an assignment?

A. Yes, I—I assumed the activities I had before, in the east. In charge of labor union activities.

Q. And they immediately picked you up in the National Committee of the American Communist Party then, and put you in charge of trade union activities.

A. That's right.

Q. How long—you were operating in New York at that time, is that correct?

A. That's right.

Q. Now how long did you operate in that capacity in New York?

A. Till 19—oh, till the end of 1932.

Q. All right, what happened in 1932?

A. I was transferred to Ohio.

Q. What—pardon me.

A. In the same type of activity.

Q. Why were you transferred to Ohio?

A. The main reason was, the strategic one, that the Communist Party at that time was beginning to concentrate some of its able forces into the Middle West for the purpose of organizing the basic industries there, like steel, rubber, automobiles, and so forth.

Q. Will you—without too much effort, will you speak just a little louder? We have people here that have come quite some distance to hear your testimony, Mr. Zack.

A. Yes.

Q. Your testimony is that at that time the Communist Party decided to concentrate on the basic industries of the Middle West and they transferred some of their most ablest trade union organizers into that area, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. And you were not the only capable man that was transferred into the Middle West at that time.

A. That's right.

Q. Now where did you say your headquarters were?

A. Cleveland, Ohio.

Q. Now how many members of the Communist Party would you estimate that you had in the basic industries in your district when you took charge in 1932?

A. About three thousand.

Q. About three thousand. How many—how long did you continue in that position there in Cleveland?

A. Till 1934.

Q. 1934. Roughly two years.

A. That's right.

Q. And how many people did you have in the Communist Party in the Trade Union Movement in these basic industries in your district when you left the position in 1934?

A. There were about, slightly over six thousand organized in independent unions, and about sixteen hundred organized in infiltration groups inside of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Q. In other words, you had doubled in two years, the number of Communists operating in the Trade Union Movement in the basic industries.

A. Well, these were not—these were not Communists. They were just workers that wanted to organize in those various fields, for the most part, and the infiltration groups in—with the American Federation of Labor were to a large proportion Communists, but most of them were also just sympathizers and others that thought that the technique of the Communist Party was very efficient from the point of view of getting into office, in the local union.

Q. Let's go back to my first question there. How many actual Communists did you have in the Trade Union Movement in your district when you first assumed that position?

A. Sixty-four.

Q. What?

A. Sixty-four.

Q. Sixty-four. Then that was incorrect when you testified you had three thousand.

A. These were Communist Party members in the whole district, most of whom were not members of any union whatsoever.

Q. That was sixty-four Communists you had in the Trade Union Movement in your district when you took the position in 1932.

A. That's right.

Q. And when you left in 1934, you had sixteen hundred, is that right?

A. Sixteen hundred inside of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Q. And the Railroad Brotherhoods.

A. That includes sympathizers.

Q. Now will you detail just briefly for us, your activities, how did you—

A. Well,—

Q. —occupy your day, under this position you had? I have no conception of how—how you worked.

A. Well, it was a very—this activity was a very strenuous, because for the most part concerned groups operating in large plants, which were secret groups, and any blunders that were made, well they were usually costly to

someone, and the groups inside of the American Federation of Labor were also secret to an extent, namely, that in most cases it would have been bad policy to admit that these individuals were Communists. The result of this complexity is that the one in charge had usually more to do than he could usually bear. So my day was filled, in the evenings, with one meeting after the other, usually to one or two o'clock at night, and in the morning with activities in preparation of these meetings, and preparing leaflets, pamphlets, statements, outlines of policy and tactics that would be followed, and preparatory planning ahead of time and so on and so forth.

Q. Would the trade union members of the Communist Party call you for instructions?

A. Oh yes, I had several telephones, and they were always busy. Any new tactical move, like the Party is so centralized that the authority and strategy and tactics is concentrated in the individual that's in charge, so as a rule—as a habit, they would not make any move of any consequence without getting an okeh first.

Q. That's within the Trade Union Movement?

A. That's right.

Q. Would they even call you while union meetings were in progress, would they call you for instructions?

A. If anything unusual happened in their local union, one of the members would make his way to a telephone, and call me. And if I couldn't answer right away, because I had to have a little time to think over the subject, I would usually tell them to call back in five minutes.

Q. And you would then issue them instructions.

A. That's right.

Q. And would they carry them out undeviatingly?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Now is that a sample of the pattern of the operation of the Communist Party within the Trade Union Movement? Was that true over other parts of the country?

A. Oh yes, that's the general pattern, yes.

Q. Now what happened in 1934, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. In 1934 the Party made one of its numerous switches of policy, and it is easier to make switches of policy with just Party members that do not operate inside of any labor organization than it is in a labor union. So I refused to go along with the new switch—of course, that was not the only reason the—but that was the immediate reason of me defying the Party. The more basic reason was that ever since I had been in Russia, I was, as it were, mentally nervous over the whole Communist movement. So when this particular switch of policy occurred, I thought this was a good occasion for me to quit the whole thing. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons why I remained even longer, was that I wanted to get my wife and kid out of Russia, which I hadn't succeeded to do before that.

Q. Was your wife an American citizen?

A. Yes.

Q. Was your child born in the United States of America?

A. Yes, it was born in New York City.

Q. Had you taken them to Russia with you when you went there in 1927?

A. Yes, they followed me a few months after.

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Q. Now did they remain in Russia when you were assigned to South America?

A. Yes, they remained there with the idea of coming back to the United States when I would return from South America.

Q. You were told you couldn't take them to South America.

A. That's right.

Q. Now, did you make an attempt to get your wife and child after you returned to the United States from South America?

A. Oh yes, I made several attempts through Earl Browder, who was then the secretary of the Party.

Q. Did Earl Browder tell you he would get your child--your wife and child out of Russia for you?

A. Yeah, he definitely promised in return for a favor, a rather unusual favor, that I did him.

Q. Well, tell us, what favor did you do Earl Browder?

A. Well, while I was in South America, some of the money to finance the activities of the Communist Parties there were supposed to come from Moscow through the hands of Browder. And, well the money didn't come through always, and in many instances was short of the figure allowed for the purpose. And I never received an explanation until I came back to the United States. Then one day Browder, before going to Moscow on his periodical trips for instruction, he handed me a batch of receipts to sign, amounting to about fifteen hundred dollars, and I said, "Well, I won't sign those, as I didn't get the money." So he says, "Well, we've been friends for such a long time"—

Q. Can you raise your voice a little, Mr. Zack?

A. Yes, excuse me. So Browder said, "We've been friends for such a long time, you're not going to break with me on account of that," and so on. Well, so, I says, "Well, okeh, provided you do one thing for me. You arrange for an exit visa for my wife and kid out of Russia, and bring them along on your return from Russia here." So he promised to do that. Of course, he never fulfilled the promise. He came back without them.

Q. Well now, just a moment. Did you sign the receipts?

A. I signed the receipts, yeah.

Q. That whitewashed him.

A. That whitewashed him. That's what I—

Q. And admitted receiving—and admitted receiving money to finance the Communist Party activities in Colombia and Venezuela which you had never received.

A. That's right.

Q. Which Earl Browder had withheld.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in turn for your signing the receipts and clearing Earl Browder's skirts, he was to get your wife and child out of Russia.

A. That's right.

Q. Did he fulfill his part of the bargain?

A. No.

Q. That wasn't smart on your part, was it?

A. No. No, it wasn't. I wasn't yet sufficiently wise to the tricks inside of the Communist Party. I would be very much suspicious of all the alleged

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enemies outside of the movement, but inside of the movement I thought there were, at least between comrades, some ethics, so I signed the receipts before he delivered his promise.

Q. And Earl Browder didn't keep that promise.

A. No.

Q. Is that a pattern used by the Communist Party to withhold relatives and others as hostages to keep people in line?

A. Yeah, that's since Stalin became the boss of the Communist Party in Russia, that became the general practice.

Q. Even among trusted Communist Party members.

A. Yes, if a Communist Party member is suspected and arrested in Russia, as a rule all his relatives are also arrested.

Q. Even though they have nothing to do with the occasion for which he is suspected, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. Is that a common practice in Russia to this day?

A. Oh, certainly.

Q. Well, did you ever get your wife and child out of Russia?

A. No.

Q. Did you subsequently go to anybody besides Browder?

A. Oh yes, I made a complaint to the United States State Department, and after some time they instructed the American Ambassador in Moscow to inquire of the Russian Government on the subject, and the reply given by the Commissariat of the Foreign Affairs was that they do not know the whereabouts of the persons complained about, which had been a stock answer on cases of this type prior, and since.

Q. Well, did the State Department advise you to this effect?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, did you do anything further after the State Department gave it up. You were a Communist and you knew how they did things. Did you have any tricks in your bag?

A. Oh, I wasn't any more in the Party then, but I—I did something that only a Communist could think of. I sent a letter to her address in southern Russia, which I knew the political police would read because they read every piece of mail that comes from outside of Russia. And in that letter I threatened to ask the United States Government to look into this here matter and take action to liberate my wife and kid from the clutches of the Soviet Government, and just as I expected—they must have read that letter, because later on I received a reply to it in the handwriting of my wife, but the letter did not come from the locality where she was living. Apparently she, like was the custom, had been arrested after they found out that I had quit the Party. And the letter must have been sent from one of those—the concentration camps because there was no postmark on it. All letters sent from concentration camps in Russia carry no postmark of the location. So that the location of the concentration camp remains a secret to the relatives.

That letter said that she don't want to have anything for to do with me, I had betrayed the Party, and so on and so forth. And the letter inside did not bear, also, the customary location from which it is sent. And the cancellation postmark on the envelope was partly obliterated so that you could not identify

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the neighboring town of the concentration camp where it may have been mailed from.

Q. Did you send that letter, then, to the State Department and say, "Here, they have located her. Can you find out where she is now?"

A. That's right. I sent that letter to the State Department after having made a photostat myself, and—well, I did not hear any further about it, so about a year later I insisted on the return of this letter as a souvenir, because that was the last letter I had from my wife. So they returned it to me, but the remaining part of the cancellation postmark had meanwhile been obliterated from the envelope, apparently by the group of the Party that operates inside of the State Department.

Q. In other words, they had further obliterated this postmark which was originally half obliterated from Russia, is that right?

A. That's right. And I made a complaint about that, pointing out to the State Department, in my opinion, it was very unusual that somebody can get at the files and obliterate evidence and return it back into the file with the evidence eliminated.

Q. Was there a cell of Communists operating within the State Department at that time?

A. The Party had a group operating in Washington, to my knowledge, as early as 1930, and they were all, of course, in various government departments. How large, I don't know, I never had anything direct to do with that group, but I know it existed.

Q. Now, I don't want to go too deep into this. Did you subsequently hear of your wife from other sources?

A. Yes.

Q. And what did you hear?

A. I did not hear directly of her, but some of the visitors that went there as tourists and with whom I was friends, they found out that she had been arrested in 1936, as a result of me quitting the Party in the United States.

Q. Had she been writing to you all this time?

A. I received, oh, about two letters, one of them from somebody that went to Russia, and this other one that I just referred to before.

Q. Yes, but did you receive information from any source that she was regularly writing to you?

A. Yes. That was the same person that took that letter from her to the United States, said that she was writing to me regularly, and she was very frantic that she did not receive any reply, and I was equally frantic because I was writing her all the time and I did not receive her mail.

Q. You were writing her and she wasn't getting your letters, and she was writing you and you weren't getting your letters.

A. That's right. Of course, I can only account for that in one way, and that is that all mail written in Russia to outside of Russia, or coming from outside of Russia into Russia, goes to a special section of the post office, which section is the political police assigned to the post office department in Russia, and very often it simply gets lost there, or sometimes not transmitted deliberately. Probably in this case, whoever the individual was in the political police in the post office department decided not to allow our mail to reach either way, see? Why, I don't know.

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Q. And you have never since seen or heard of your wife or child.
A. That's right.

Q. Is this a general pattern of the system that the Communists use throughout the world to keep a good close rein on their workers?

A. Oh yes, it certainly is, and much worse. I think I was still on the easy side of it.

Q. It is much worse than that even, eh? Now, Mr. Zack, when we contacted you in December, we asked you certain questions pertaining to the organization, objects and purposes, and the machinery of the Comintern. Are you prepared at this time to ask—answer the questions we submitted to you?

A. Yes, I prepared what I consider a rather careful analysis of the Communist International set-up as it operates from Moscow, and with the indulgence of the committee I would rather prefer to read it. However, if questions are asked as I read it—

Q. I'll ask you one question first, Mr. Zack. I do want to get this in. When you joined the Communist Party were you required to subscribe to an oath?

A. When I joined there were no oaths.

Q. Did they subsequently have to subscribe to an oath upon joining the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes. Yes.

Q. Do you know what that oath is?

A. Yeah, generally.

Q. Is this the oath that every Communist has to subscribe to: "I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Communi—of the party, the only line that insures triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

Is that the oath?

A. Oh, yes. That's the position that every Communist has to pledge himself to, in order to become a Party member. Oh yes, very distinctly so.

Q. Now, just one or two questions before we come back to the prepared questions I gave you. In the event of war between the United States and the Soviet Union, whom did you pledge to support?

A. Soviet Russia.

Q. And it's your testimony here, as a high functionary of the Communist Party, that there is no doubt or misunderstanding about that, that a Communist is pledged loyalty to the Soviet Union in the event of war?

A. The loyalty of a Communist Party member is first, last, in case of war between his country and the Soviet Union, is to the Soviet Union.

Q. The Communist Party, then, is a definite Fifth Column in the United States, is that your testimony?

A. It will operate in the interests of the Soviet Union in case of a war, yes.

Q. Now we had a committee of Congress of the United States of America here, made a unanimous report in which they declared that the Communist Party of the United States of America is the agency of a foreign power. Can you testify of your own knowledge as to whether that is a correct statement or not?

A. It's absolutely correct. No doubt about it.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Chairman, do you wish to recess now, or start with the prepared statement which is considerable in length in response to definite questions that we asked Mr. Zack.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, let's recess for about five minutes then.

(Recess)

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, just before we start with your answers to the questions I submitted to you, there are one or two questions I do want to ask you. Do you know a gentleman by the name, or have you heard in Party circles of a gentleman by the name of Harry Bridges?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Uh-hum.

A. Yes.

Q. While you were a member of the Party, did you have any discussion with the high officials of the Communist Party concerning Mr. Bridges?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. With whom was this discussion held?

A. With Earl Browder who was then the General Secretary of the Party.

Q. Where was this discussion held?

A. It was in Cleveland. He was then on his way back from San Francisco to New York, about the time when the general strike took place in Frisco.

Q. What was this discussion, Mr. Kornfeder.

A. Well, being active in the labor union field, I was of course very much interested about the details and organization of that general strike in San Francisco. And Browder told me that he had been out there for three weeks on matters of policy connected with that general strike, and that he had met recently with Harry Bridges, so I wanted to know what Bridges' status is with the Party here. And Browder told me that—that Bridges is a bit rambunctious, not very disciplined yet, but that he's the most valuable comrade that the Party has in that area at that time.

Q. Now at the time Mr. Browder made this statement, he was the leading open functionary of the Communist Party in the United States?

A. Yeah, he was the General Secretary.

Q. And at that time, you were a high Communist dignitary in charge of the Trade Union activities in the Cleveland area.

A. Yes.

Q. And the communication came between you two as Communist functionaries.

A. Yes. Well, I saw him personally.

Q. You saw Mr. Browder personally.

A. Yes, that's how we got into conversation on the subject.

Q. Just one or two further questions. Some names have come up about some people in New York. You've testified that you were in charge of trade union activities in New York, is that correct?

A. That's right.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Jay Rubin?

A. Oh, yes. I do.

Q. Who is Mr. Jay Rubin?

A. Jay Rubin was one of my lieutenants in the labor union activities, in

fact I pulled him out of the Party in the Bronx, and assigned him to the Food Workers.

Q. You assigned him to the Food Workers.

A. Yes.

Q. And he was a member of the Party at that time.

A. He was a member of the Party at that time. He was originally an upholsterer by trade. He never was a Food Worker.

Q. He never was a Food Worker.

A. No.

Q. But you put him in this Food Workers Union?

A. I put him in the Food Workers Union because I thought he was a—capable fellow.

Q. And he's gone quite high in that union.

A. That's right.

Q. He followed the Communist Party line all the time?

A. Oh, yes. Yes.

Q. And at the time of your leaving the Party, you can testify of your own knowledge he was a member of the Party.

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Steubin?

A. Yes, I know Steubin. That's his Party name, Steubin.

Q. What is his real name?

A. His real name is Rijak, R-i-j-a-k.

Q. That is his real name, but he's known as Steubin.

A. That's right.

Q. Well now, who's Mr. Steubin?

A. Well Steubin was at the time I was in charge of the labor union activities of the Party in the east, he was one of my assistants. He was supposed to pay special attention to the youth element in the labor union field. He was with me in the same office.

Q. In the same office with you. Do you know with what union he is now connected?

A. Well, I only recently heard that he was in the Building Service Employees.

Q. Building Service Employees Union. Now I will ask you to consider the questions concerning the Comintern that we asked you in December. Are you prepared now at this time to—

A. Yes sir.

Q. —to answer those questions. I think the first question we asked you was to explain the Marxist-Leninist-Anglo-Stalin line.

A. Well, that's—that's quite a chop suey.

Q. Well, I've looked at it all together. Suppose you just go ahead, the questions we asked you, which you have prepared here in your statement.

A. What should I—just that one, or—

Q. No, that's all-inclusive, I think, in your answer here. Suppose you just read it now, which is really about the Comintern.

A. Nickolai Lenin differed from other European Socialists of his day as to the methods to be used and character of the organization necessary to achieve

the Socialist revolution. This historical split in the Social Democratic Party of Russia, in exile, occurred in 1903 in London when thirty-six Russian exiles and refugees held a conference after being driven out of Brussels by the police. The great theoretical leaders of the Russian Party, Plekhanov and Martov—

Q. Now can you spell those names, for the record?

A. Yes. P-l-e-k-h-a-n-o-v and M-a-r-t-o-v. Plekhanov and Martov were present. Lenin and his wife succeeded in winning over a majority of the assembled revolutionaries, 24 to 12, defeating Martov and Plekhanov on a bit of theoretical hair-splitting over who should be considered a member of the Party. Lenin and his faction strenuously argued for a small, highly disciplined "trained revolutionary" type of membership. Martov and Plekhanov insisted on a more liberal definition in order not to exclude conscientious and devoted working-class elements who could not qualify for the semi-military, disciplined revolutionary category. Lenin won and triumphantly called his faction of twenty-four the "Bolshoi" or majority, from whence originates the appellation of Bolshevik.

By 1915 he had worked out in his mind a rudimentary idea of the necessity of forming a world international of all social revolutionaries as a result of the famous Zimmerwald Conference that summer in Switzerland.

Q. How do you spell Zimmerwald?

A. Z-i- double m-e-r-w-a-l-d.

The Communist International was formed four years later in Moscow as soon as the pressing problems of the civil war resulting from the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917 had subsided somewhat. Ample histories exist covering the founding and subsequent history of the Comintern. It will therefore be noted that Lenin's concept of the Comintern was born out of his bitter and unrelenting opposition to the slightest democratic tendencies in his own Social Democratic party of Russia. He regarded all these tendencies as soft, and a betrayal of the revolution. He had himself been hardened and steeled in his revolutionary fanaticism by the hanging of his older brother in the '80's for an attempted assassination of the Czar. It will be noted that all true Bolsheviks adopted hard names in the Party, to emphasize that they were men of steel—ruthless, inflexible. Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili—

Q. I'm sure going to ask you to spell that one.

A. —adopted the Party name of Steel—Stalin. The real name of Stalin is Josef Vissarionovich Djugashvili. Do you want me to spell that?

Q. I think that would be good to spell it into the record.

A. All right.

Q. I could never spell it.

A. V-i- double s-a-r-i-o-n-o-v-i-t-c-h Djugashvili, D-j-u-g-a-s-h-v-i-l-i. Molotov which is the Russian name for hammer, etc. Even American Communists followed this classic Bolshevik pattern. Dale Zysman became Jack Hardy, Spiro became Marlen—first three letters of Marx and Lenin—etc.

The Comintern outside of Russia now claims sixteen million members scattered literally over the globe with only Eskimos, Patagonians, and a few primitive African and Asiatic tribes free of infiltration. The Comintern, as such, has naturally become the world's greatest and most far-flung espionage network. Where there are five Communists, it is safe to assume that at least one, if not more, is a Soviet spy. The Comintern therefore enjoys surveillance over every phase and aspect of life in practically every civilized and semi-

civilized land on the globe. A British member of Parliament, a Chilean miner, a Hindu merchant, an American labor leader, a Chinese peasant, or a South American artisan, if a Communist, open or secret, may be a member or cooperate with the Soviet Intelligence network as was so dramatically demonstrated in the Canadian spy disclosures three years ago.

This special arm of the Soviet dictatorship, whose growth, techniques and inner workings I shall now explain, is the most remarkable Fifth Column ever possessed by any great power in all history. When this great power is admittedly embarked on a program of world conquest the true implications of the Comintern become alarmingly apparent.

Q. I don't want to inconvenience you, but if you can, will you keep your voice as high as you can?

A. The Comintern's System of Training Personnel: The cohesion and considerable effectiveness of the international Communist machine under Stalin could hardly be understood without taking into account the network of training centers through which thousands of Communists from foreign countries are turned out yearly. The expenses of these training centers, food, clothing, salaries for staffs, salaries for all the thousands of students during their stay in Russia, and the traveling expenses of to and from Russia, are paid by the Soviet treasury, either directly or in some cases through the intermediary of the Comintern. As an illustration of what is taught in these schools, we will elaborate on the curriculum of the Lenin School.

Q. Now this is the school that you attended.

A. That's right. The Lenin School takes in about from two hundred to five hundred persons. The curriculum includes:

Economics: The economics taught are those of Marxian variety, and also includes dissertations on the economics like Ricardo, Smith, and others, analyzed from a Marxian point of view.

Philosophy: Again from a Marxian point of view, including such philosophers as Malthus, Hegel, Kant, Mill and others.

Organization: This includes the various forms of political organization necessary amongst the laboring classes, peasants, farmers, middle-classes, and the bourgeoisie—capitalists. The emphasis is, of course, on the organization amongst the laboring classes.

Politics: This includes the study of various political systems from the time of barbarian forms of state organization based on tribes, down to feudalism; then the capitalistic form of social organization, both the pure capitalistic form and the mixed forms like those existing in countries like China, up to the Soviet form, which is considered the latest and most superior form of political organization.

Trade and Industrial Forms of Organization: This includes all the various forms of labor union organization from the time of the guild system, the craft union based on skilled crafts, up to the modern form of industrial organization applicable to modern mass production industries like steel, mining, automobiles, etc.

Party Organization: This includes the organization of the Communist Party as a government party, running through control of government, all phases of social and economic life and production, and the Communist Party as an opposition organization in capitalistic or semi-capitalistic countries, where the task is to do away with existing government and social relations and establish the Communist Party in power.

Agrarian Problem: A special study is made of the various forms of agriculture from the feudal and semi-feudal type to the modern capitalistic type as exists in the United States, and the difference in organizational approach towards this type of population.

Military Organization: A course is given of about three months' duration by Red Army officers on the problems of military organization, beginning with the problem of organizing small combat groups, to the organization of a Red Guard, and from there to the problem of transforming local Red Guard organizations into regular army formations. The course includes the problems involved in the capture of strategic government buildings, communications centers, and the destruction of select units upon which the government to be attacked could rely. It also includes the problems of forming, after capture, regular army formations, the organizational composition of this type of army formation, to other allied problems of ballistics, military topography, etc. Part of the course is practical training in the handling of rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, small artillery, and military transport. A course is given in the handling, also, of railway engines for the purposes of wrecking railway communications.

After termination of the school semester, the students are required to write a treatise on a subject selected by them, to show how well they absorbed the training. The teaching staff is composed of exiled Communists, residing in Russia, who had teaching experience in the various subjects like economics, philosophy, labor history, etc. In the Lenin School there were German professors, Hungarians, Italians, and some Russians.

A course was also given in the History and Organization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Bolshevik Union. This included a thorough study of the policies, programs, methods, and organization technique of the Russian Communist Party from the time of the Czars through the period of Russian revolution and to its present date.

The purpose of the Lenin School and other political schools is to train leaders for the Communist Parties in the more advanced countries like Germany, France, England, Italy, the United States, etc. These students, upon completion of their training in Moscow, return to their home countries and are assigned to executive and other positions such as editors of Party papers, regional directors of Party organizations, propaganda specialists, and other positions that the Party may deem fit to use them for.

All the schools herein mentioned are political training schools. Ninety per cent of the students are supplied by the Parties outside of Russia, and ten per cent by the Russian Communist Party. The Russians thus trained are later assigned for work outside of Russia, usually in directive position, or are used for the headquarters staff of the Comintern in Moscow or at the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, etc. They are obliged to learn at least one language in addition to their own.

Some of the major schools, in addition to the Lenin School are:

The Academy of Red Professors: This school turns out about two hundred high politicos a year, comparable in Stalin's scheme of foreign politics to high staff officers in an army corps. The course is of seven years' duration. Each of the major parties, in some instances even the lesser ones, have a few assigned to them.

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, this is so ably put together that I hate to interrupt you, and I'll come back over, and hold my questions as much as I can, but there is

one that did occur to me. Each of the major parties—by that just what do you mean?

A. A major party may be one who is either numerically strong, or which operates in a major country.

Q. You're referring to—

A. And therefore is of political importance to the Soviet regime.

Q. In other words, you're referring at all times to the Communist Party, and this is divisions of them in the different countries.

A. That's right. That's right.

Q. Thank you, and I'll try not to interrupt you until you conclude now.

A. Oh, I don't mind interruptions. They're all right. The Academy of Red Professors: This school turns out about—oh, I read that. I beg your pardon.

Q. The Eastern University.

A. The Eastern University: This school has expanded and grown considerably in the course of years and turns out from sixteen hundred to three thousand students each year, recruited from China, Mongolia, and Manchuria, as well as from Korea. The training is similar to that of the Lenin School, with emphasis on the peculiar agrarian and other problems existing in those areas, and a more thorough training in military matters than is given at the Lenin School. Much of the trained personnel of the Chinese and Mongolian Communist Parties was trained at the Eastern University. The students thus trained, after returning to their respective countries, in turn teach what they have learned to local groups.

The Western University: This school takes in Communist students from Baltic countries, Poland, and the Balkans. The number trained yearly varies from eight hundred to fifteen hundred. The curriculum is similar to that of the Lenin School, with emphasis upon the agrarian problems of the countries above referred to. The military training in this school is also more substantial than that in the Lenin School.

Leningrad: Leningrad has a political school specializing in the training of personnel for the Secret Service in foreign countries. The representation of Russian students in this school is at times as high as thirty per cent. The political training is similar to that of the Lenin School, with emphasis on the problems of the Russian Secret Service, particularly military and economic espionage, and sabotage. The training in military arts is also of a higher caliber. The number of men turned out there is estimated to be from eight to twelve hundred per year.

Tiflis, in southern Russia: Tiflis has a school of a character similar to the one in Leningrad, with emphasis on the political and Secret Service problems in the Near East.

Vladivostok: Vladivostok has a school similar to the one at Tiflis, which trains personnel for Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Siam, and other countries in the Far East.

The training system for activities in foreign countries has been constantly in a process of expansion, and there undoubtedly are by this time additional schools. The former facilities have very probably been greatly expanded both in Russia and its satellites. The total number of trained personnel turned out in these schools over a period of twenty years, conservatively estimated, must be not less than fifty thousand.

These students, when they return, are usually placed in directive positions

as above indicated, and form the real core of the whole international Communist organization.

Q. They go back to the country from which they came, after they graduate.
A. That's right.

The Communist International, also known as the Comintern: The Communist International, hereafter referred to as the Comintern, is a world combination of all the Communist Parties of the five continents. Periodically these Communist Parties used to meet in a world congress to which all of them sent delegates and which was always held in Moscow. These congresses would elect the Executive Committee of the Communist International, generally known as the ECCI. The Executive Committee ran the whole business of the Communist International between the world congresses. The principal Parties affiliated with the Comintern were the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the German, Chinese, and French Communist Parties. The Communist Party of the United States has only assumed a rank of major importance in recent years. The official languages of the Comintern were Russian, German, French, English, Spanish and Chinese. The program of the Communist International, which called for the destruction of all capitalistic or semi-capitalistic governments and forms of economy, was adopted in Lenin's time, 1921-23. The constitution and by-laws were adopted five years later. This, officially was the structure of the Comintern:

Considering, however, that the official structure gives very little insight into the actual operations of the Comintern, it is necessary to speak mainly of the unofficial facts behind the formal set-up. According to the formal constitution, which is very little known and much less practiced, the income of the Comintern is supposed to be derived from the dues payments of the various affiliated Parties. Actually, no dues are paid by the affiliated Parties of the Comintern, with the exception of the Russian Communist Party. Not only are no dues paid, but the Parties outside of Russia are heavily subsidized by the Comintern, which derives its funds from the Russian Government.

The practical functioning of the Comintern's headquarters in Moscow is entirely in the hands of the Russian Communist Party, which is in complete control of the Soviet Government. This control is not to be confused with Party control in democratic countries. In Russia, the control of the Communist Party over the Government is such that the term "Government" is in fact a fig leaf for the Communist Party, which is in every sense the actual and permanent government. Even the 1936 constitution, which some people assume has democratic features, does not recognize and in fact prohibits the candidacy of anyone except members of the Communist Party for public office.

The Russian Party, known officially as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) supplies all the main and also most of the technical personnel at the Comintern headquarters. The Comintern headquarters building is about the size of the building of the State Department in Washington. The rest of the personnel is supplied by the foreign Communist Parties. Said parties send permanent representatives, who become employees of the Comintern for the duration of their stay in Russia, and also the technical personnel in the form of translators, typists, stenographers, and editors for the non-Russian language publications issued by the Comintern. The Comintern's activities are divided into a number of main departments:

Organization Department: This department not only devises new organization methods and tactics for all the affiliated Communist Parties, but super-

vises also the appointment of the main personnel of the various Communist Parties. Thus a Party member in the United States who is appointed, let us say, as district organizer for the Chicago Area, would have to have the okeh of the organization department in Moscow even if previously approved by the Comintern delegate resident in the United States.

Agitation and Propaganda Department, commonly called Agit-Prop: This department devises all the agitation and publicity methods for the various affiliated Communist Parties, and supervises also the publication of books and pamphlets for those Parties, and has practical control over the entire Communist Party press in foreign countries. This department also has considerable authority over the appointment of the heads of the Agitation-Propaganda departments of the various Communist Parties and their editors. The Agit-Prop department also supervises and controls the various training schools for foreign Communists in Moscow and the foreign countries.

Trade Union Department: After the abolition of the Red Trades Union International, then known as the Profintern, this department took over direction of all the trade and industrial union activities formerly exercised by the Profintern, including the decision as to what industries are to be considered concentration points in foreign countries, recommendations as to subsidies to carry on the concentration of these activities, and the selection of leading personnel for such activities in foreign countries. The reader will notice that only the foreign parties are spoken of. The reason for this is that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, although part and chief backer and financier of the Comintern, was at no time under the control or direction of the Comintern. None of its problems or affairs ever comes up for decision at Comintern headquarters. On the contrary, as will be seen later, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the one that decides behind the scenes the affairs of the Comintern and controls it completely.

In addition to these main departments at Comintern headquarters, there are what are known as Regional Secretariats on a global scale. Such secretariats exist for: (a) coordination of activities in Spain and Latin America; (b) coordination of activities in all parts of the British Empire, with emphasis upon India; (c) coordination of activities in the United States, Canada, and Japan; (d) coordination of activities in Central Europe, principally Germany, Austria and Switzerland; (e) Far-Eastern Secretariat for China, Mongolia, Indonesia, Siam, etc. This does not give a complete list of all the Secretariats, but may serve the purpose of illustrating the division of labor.

These Secretariats usually are located outside of Russia; thus, the Secretariat for Central Europe used to be located in Berlin, the one connecting a certain type of activities in the United States and Japan had been transferred within the last few years to San Francisco. The one handling Far Eastern affairs was at one time in Shanghai; the one coordinating the activities in France and the French Empire was in Paris, etc.

The OMSK: The activities of the Comintern and its affiliated Parties are of a dual character. On the one hand there are the activities displayed in public in those countries where Communist Parties are allowed to operate legally, and on the other hand there are the conspirative or secret activities which form a part of all Parties and which are coordinated through the secret department of the Comintern called the OMSK.

The secret department connecting with the Soviet Government's foreign intelligence services and coordinating the Communist Parties with it. This department takes care of the short-wave radio system for secret communica-

tions of the Comintern and the affiliated Parties, the smuggling of propaganda materials into foreign countries where such cannot be legally imported, the smuggling of equipment for turning out propaganda in those countries, such as mimeographs, rotographs, miniature printing presses, and also armaments in those countries where such is considered timely and necessary. The existence of this department is, of course, not known, except to the narrow circle that comes in direct contact with it. OMSK also handles the comings and goings of all Comintern agents or delegates of foreign Parties, to and from Russia, and the financial arrangements connected therewith.

Stalin's Relations with the Comintern: The first attempt of Stalin in international politics dates back to 1926. Before that time he was known only in Russian circles. In Lenin's time his assignments even when on military matters during the Revolution were almost always of an organizational character. Very often his assignments were of the tough variety. In the days of the Czarist regime, Stalin was the leader of the expropriation squad—they have a nice name for bank robbery. They call it expropriation squad, because the expropriation squad had the job of getting extra funds for the Communist Party of Russia by assaulting convoys and making assaults of isolated branches of the banking systems. Stalin was the leader of that.

Stalin was the leader of the expropriation squad whose duty it was to procure funds for the Bolshevik Party by assaults on bank convoys and other places where money or other valuables could be obtained. Even when Lenin made him Secretary of the Central Committee in the early years of Bolshevik power, that position was then considered a technical administrative job of subordinate character.

After Lenin's death Stalin, as Secretary of the Central Committee, found himself in a position where he could really utilize his own peculiar talents. A fight soon developed between the major intellectuals of the Bolshevik Party, like Bucharin, Trotsky, Rykoff, Rakowsky, Smirnoff, Zinovieff, and others of which he took advantage by first siding with the Bucharin faction against the Trotsky group, and later liquidating the Bucharin faction in turn. In the course of this fight, Stalin received his first international assignment, which was to handle the Comintern's politics in China.

This assignment was due to the then nascent Nationalist movement in China under Sun Yat-Sen, and the Nationalist Party then known as Kuo Min Tang. Stalin felt more confident in Asiatic politics than in European affairs. The big intellectuals, who then still were the guiding stars of the Bolshevik Party, agreed to this assignment for Stalin, because they thought that this would finish Stalin as a meddler in international affairs. You see, Stalin was not an intellectual; he was considered as a—in matters of theory and broad policy, sort of an idiocracy, so they thought he would break his neck on politics in China.

Since that time China has become and has remained Stalin's personal political interest. The affairs of the Chinese Communist Party have disappeared from the agenda of the Comintern since the early part of 1928, because Stalin personally is in charge of it. The only reason for their appearance on the agenda then, 1928, was that the Bucharin Faction, which still had considerable strength in the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party forced it on the agenda with the purposes of discrediting Stalin and eliminating him not only from the international polities but also in the Councils of the Russian Communist Party.

One of the intellectuals, Luminadsy, who was Stalin's personal plenipotentiary in China and upon whom Stalin succeeded in unloading much of his own blame for the then current débâcle of Communist affairs in China, committed suicide as a result of it. Stalin came very near an eclipse in his career as a result of being outwitted by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and his associates at that time. He survived the crisis by a narrow margin. This struggle confirmed him in his antagonisms towards the big intellectuals of the Bolshevik Old Guard, whom he since has liquidated. Stalin continued to be personally in charge of Chinese affairs and has a long standing score to settle with Chiang Kai-Chek. Since 1928 Stalin has done a lot to maneuver the Communists of China into a strong position again, and it would undoubtedly be one of his greatest personal satisfactions to polish off Chiang Kai-Shek and his circle in an endeavor to obtain control over China.

After 1928 Stalin began, step by step, to take over the affairs of the Comintern, and by 1929 he had the intellectuals around the Bucharin group eliminated, not only from the affairs of the Russian Communist Party, but even from the affairs of the Comintern. In 1929 he took over personal control of the German Communist Party, and that Party's affairs disappeared from the Comintern agenda. About that year he also began to take a deep interest in the affairs of the Communist Party of the United States. The direct handling of these affairs in the United States, however, was given to Molotov. Molotov's experience in international affairs dates from that assignment.

So when our Secretary of State meets Molotov, the foreign diplomat, he meets the same gentleman that is manipulating all the subversive activities in the United States. Of course, he doesn't know it. Maybe he does. I don't know.

The Comintern originally was not the huge, well-organized machine that it is today, with functioning departments, bureaus, coordinated public and secret activities, etc. It became such gradually, as a result of experience and the creation of trained personnel. Even Stalin, when he got into the international phase of Bolshevik politics, started it as a side occupation to his main labors in Russia. However, in proportion as the big intellectuals of the Old Guard were eliminated, political authority became centered in the person of Stalin not only in Russia, but also in international affairs. Stalin developed around him a mechanism which later was to supplant the Comintern itself.

This was in the form of appointing personal secretaries directly responsible to him alone, who were to keep him informed and advise him on affairs of the major Communist Parties. Thus, he would have a secretary who would preoccupy himself entirely with German affairs and who would see to it that Stalin's wishes, organizationally and practically, were carried out in the German Communist Party. He would have a Secretary on Chinese Affairs who would perform the same functions, etc. These secretaries, in turn, could have their own assistants. Through them he was also able to coordinate the activities of the Communist Parties with the activities of the Soviet Government's intelligence services, trading apparatus, and diplomatic services. This personal apparatus of Stalin's for international affairs and its role were never mentioned in Comintern circles and were known only to those who were personally involved or directly affected by its activities. This apparatus of Stalin's is the mechanism that now substitutes for the old Comintern, and it has most likely been considerably extended.

The Secret Apparatus of the Comintern: Although we frequently speak here of the Comintern which has recently been dissolved by Stalin and still

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more recently reappeared as the Cominform Bureau, we do so only because in fact the Comintern's dissolution was only a pretense. The only thing that has been dissolved is the autonomous or semi-autonomous set-up which now has ceased to function as the Comintern, and whose labors have been absorbed by Stalin's secret personal machinery above referred to.

Some more about the OMSK.

Q. That's the O.M.S.K.

A. That's the O.M.S.K. The secret apparatus of the Comintern interlinks, of course, with that of the Soviet Government. At the same time, there is a differentiation in their functions. There is, for instance, the conspiratorial activity of the Communist Party amongst the armed forces. This activity is treated with considerable attention in countries that have large conscript armies as was the case in France. The activities of the French Communist Party in the French Army, both along the lines of clandestine agitation and organization inside the regiments, was very extensive and was used as a model for similar activities in other countries. The activities inside the army formed a separate branch of the party, headed by a secret military committee of the Party.

We have one in the American Communist Party since 1932.

Side by side with that, there was in France the Soviet Government's military intelligence, also secret of course, which connected with the Party's secret activities in the army through the head of the military committee of the Party.

In countries like the United States that are non-militarist and where the army didn't amount to much, Stalin did not have the same interest in military affairs, at that time, as was the case with France or Germany, and Russia's military intelligence in the United States was not important. On the other hand, the Soviet's technical espionage and information service is very highly developed in the United States. In such cases the Communist Party takes a tremendous interest in organizing technicians, chemists, draftsmen, etc., if possible, into an open organization. The Soviet's secret intelligence apparatus, operating in this case to obtain the secret formulas and technical designs and devices of American industry, makes contact with such a union of technicians and secretly obtains much of its personnel and information through it.

The conspiratorial activities of the various Communist Parties are, of course, not merely a matter of convenience to the intelligence services of Stalin's Government. Beyond these services is the disintegration and demoralization work within the armed forces of those countries which may be considered potential enemies of the Soviet Government. Still beyond this lies the main object, which is to create a combat force for the purpose of overthrowing said foreign Government if and when the proper time and need for it arises.

One of the most important parts of the Comintern's conspiratorial activities is the work with maritime personnel. An enormous investment has been made in organizing and penetrating said personnel with the ostensible purpose of improving their working conditions and standards of living.

The idea behind that, however, is primarily directed against the maritime powers, those with big navies and merchant marines. Much of that activity was originally concentrated against the British and French Empires, and later much effort was also made to organize the maritime personnel in the United States. That organization is utilized, not only to obtain intelligence on the naval forces, but to contact the agents of the Comintern and Stalin's secret service in difficult places, and foster strife whenever such may serve

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the purpose of timely stopping or interfering with maritime transportation.

These are just a few illustrations of the secret apparatus of the Parties in relation to Stalin's Government, their interlinking, and methods of operation. Similar methods are used to interlink the secret service with Communist-controlled unions in strategic industries outside the maritime field. Of course, not all strikes stimulated by the Communists in these industries are for the purpose of serving Stalin's foreign policy. Many of them are merely to extend the Communists' influence over the workers by sponsoring the enforcement of their demands. There are many cases in this and other countries where strikes ostensibly for urgent demands of the workers have been incited in order to benefit the foreign policy of Stalin's Government. This type of strike is one of the latest methods of utilizing the masses themselves for indirect sabotage of production or war efforts.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I believe we have reached a place where we can recess for lunch now, if you wish. Is that agreeable with you Mister—

THE WITNESS: Fine. Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: We will change to a different subject—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: What time will be—

MR. HOUSTON: —of the Comintern.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: What time will be most convenient? The usual one-thirty—

MR. HOUSTON: It will be very convenient.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in recess until one-thirty o'clock.

(Noon Recess)

1:35 o'clock p. m.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we proceed, Mr. Houston?

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Mr. Kornfeder, there is just one or two little things I wish to clear up about your testimony this morning. You testified as to a conversation between you and Earl Browder concerning Harry Bridges. Your testimony was that this occurred in Cleveland when Earl Browder was chairman of the Communist Party, while you were a high official of the Party, being the organizer in that district. Can you locate the year that that occurred in?

A. Well, I believe it was the early part of 1934.

Q. Now, this document, for the benefit of those who have come but were not here this morning, is a document which you have prepared which answers specific questions the committee subjected to you, and that you have come down to, where you are ready to discuss every Communist Party.

A. Yes.

Q. Will you continue, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. All right. Every Communist Party, even if operating in the open as to its public agitation, carries on the conspiratorial activities above-referred to and is constantly preparing to continue operation as a totally conspirative organization in case it is outlawed. For this purpose, it maintains a secret apparatus throughout the various districts, and maintains a secret headquarters with secret communications, etc., in preparation for the day when it may have to go underground.

In many countries it has been underground all along, as was the case before in Japan, and in other countries, South America, etc., its stay in the open

has been temporary, off and on. In those countries where the Party is underground, the whole organization is, of course, part of the huge conspirative apparatus of the Comintern.

With the years, the conspirative part of the Comintern's machine, both in countries where they are legal and in those where they are illegal, has been growing to such an extent that the conspirative part has come to dominate completely the one on the surface. The foreign intelligence services of Stalin's Government have been particularly well developed and extended during Stalin's regime, as have the conspirative activities of the various Communist Parties interlinked with it. So much so that the formal dissolution of the headquarters staff in Moscow, the Comintern, has not created even a hitch in the total functioning of the machine. All Communist Parties, from China to Chile, still follow the same line and are controlled by the same master and his subordinates.

The coordination of all the activities of the Communist Party in any of the major countries and the various agencies and services of the Soviet Government, including the trading agencies and the diplomatic service, is done, as a rule, either through the resident agent of the OGPU, now known as M.V.D., the Soviet Ambassador, or through the Comintern delegate, if he has plenipotentiary powers. This may be the case, if he is a high-ranking Russian Communist or has the absolute confidence of Stalin, and sufficient training and ability for such a job.

The Financial Methods of the Comintern: We shall not speak here of the known methods of raising funds, like the dues system of the Communist Party or the funds assigned by Stalin's Government to defray the expenses of the Soviet's foreign services, official and unofficial. These are obvious. As already mentioned elsewhere, the Comintern, which in this case should be taken as a pseudonym for the Soviet Government, subsidizes the activities of the Communist Parties in relation to their importance to the immediate objectives of said Government. Thus the activities of the Chinese Communists may be subsidized during any particular year to the extent of fifty million dollars or more a year, whereas another year the subsidy may go down to ten million dollars and less. The same—the same may be said for the German, French, and other Communist Parties, which the Soviet Government, by reason of its foreign policy, may consider of greater or lesser importance at the moment.

The amount of subsidy used to be decided by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and as Stalin's power became preponderant, Stalin himself became the person who made such decisions. After the lump sum is decided upon for a particular country, either on a yearly or semi-yearly basis, then a subcommission may work out the details of assigning specific amounts of that sum to be spent for selected activities. Thus for purposes of illustration, let us say that five million dollars has been assigned as subsidy for the United States for a particular year. A certain amount of that would regularly go to maintain the deficit on the Party press, which has never been self-sustaining. Another amount may go more or less regularly to pay the deficit on the party's headquarters set-up, which as a rule operates beyond its domestic income and covers its regular deficit in this manner.

An organization like the Maritime Union has been subsidized regularly, with greater or lesser amounts, for the last twenty years. Beyond these

subsidies which are customary and which are repeated year after year, there are strategic subsidies which may change from year to year.

Thus the Comintern may decide to establish a book-publishing house and heavily subsidize it until it builds up its own trade. Or, it may decide to publish a certain number of periodicals not directly related to the Communist Party. These periodicals may be daily papers, weekly tabloids, or deluxe journals intended for the upper circles.

Special sums may be assigned to organize strategic industries, potential producers of war materials like steel, oil, automobiles, etc.

The role played by the subsidies is not the paying of the main routine expenses for the activities of the Communist Parties.

In countries like the United States, the bulk of funds is raised through various methods of collection, direct and indirect, by the Communists themselves. The importance of the subsidies is rather in the direction of the role of strategic funds, funds that make it possible to give the Communist Party a great deal of latitude and initiative in whatever direction Moscow sees fit.

If the Party were to be confined to its own income, it would hardly be possible for it to have great amounts available for concentrated activities in any big industry or any other particular field. Moscow's subsidies make that possible.

The subsidies also play the role of making the leadership of the Party largely independent of its rank and file following.

Thus, if we take, for instance, the headquarters staff and its expenses, Moscow may only supply thirty to forty per cent in the form of subsidies, but without that thirty or forty per cent its activities might go down a great deal, or be bankrupt to a large extent and made dependent upon the enthusiasm of its following.

With that much of a subsidy from Moscow, the leadership may play a strong hand. This is one of the secrets that explains the hold Moscow has in the top set-up in the Communist Parties.

The Comintern is very much interested in raising all possible funds through the activities of the local Communists. Their technique in this respect has been greatly developed in the last ten years, and they are given a vast amount of latitude as to methods and are well advised on the subject by the experts in Moscow. A vast increase in their revenue has resulted from the technique of creating front organizations, of which we shall speak again in what will follow.

A very little-known method in this respect is that of the funds raised through semi-official fronts which I shall illustrate with a method like the Russian-American Relief Committee. This Committee was sponsored by a galaxy of very respectable citizens prominent in the economic and political life of the United States. They would, of course, not think of contributing a dollar to advance the activities of the Communist Party.

Their money, nevertheless, goes to the Comintern. I know of all manner of precautions having been taken that the funds thus raised go directly for buying articles or products for the relief of the Russian people, and every effort is made to see to it that these articles reach Russia and are distributed. The articles are properly receipted and there is ample proof to satisfy any critic that the funds were used for that purpose and the goods received in Russia.

What they do not know is that the amounts thus collected are credited sub-rosa by the Soviet Government to the activities of the Comintern and

generally used for such activities in the country or region where they were raised. Thus twenty-five million marks collected by similar committees in Germany may be used in Central Europe, or ten million dollars similarly collected in the United States and Canada may be used in North and South America.

The Technique of Front Organizations: In the earlier years of the Comintern, its activities were entirely confined to revolutionary doctrinaire propaganda, for the purpose of crystallizing a following out of the radical circles of the working class and the intelligentsia. The aim was to obtain members for the Communist Party from the Socialists and Anarcho Syndicalists, split them, and have them affiliate with the Comintern. The strategists in Moscow, however, soon realized that doctrinaire propaganda would not give them a following amongst the masses at large. Hence they started after the trade unions. The activities in that sphere are discussed elsewhere.

Trade unions of any consequence existed, however, only in the more advanced countries. The Moscow strategists wanted to penetrate heavily also, the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In order to do that, they soon conceived the necessity of going way beyond the working class. They also were confronted with the fact that in some of the advanced countries like the United States, class ideology was either absent or existed in a very nebulous state and in relatively narrow circles. The European variety of class ideology was practically absent, also in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Far and Near East, in South America, etc. It took them years to free their minds of the Marxian-European one-class concept of strategy in order to enable them to reach out to the agrarian population in the backward countries, and to the middle classes, as well as the intelligentsia at large. It is out of this necessity that the design of front organizations developed.

Over a period of years, front organizations were created and then dissolved as not being sufficiently effective. There was the Peasants' International, known as the Krestintern, organized in Moscow in 1926 and liquidated a few years later. Its methods, based on the Marxian concept, proved to be ineffective. The problem of proselytizing masses of petty property owners appeared to be insurmountable. The whole Marxian concept ran against it. Later, another front organization was created by the strategists in Moscow, designed primarily for the colonial and semi-colonial countries, called the Anti-Imperialist League. The idea behind that was to disrupt the French and British Empires and counteract the influence of the United States in South America. This front organization, by utilizing the nationalist movements in the backward countries, was more successful; but finally it too was abandoned after an existence of about ten years. Even today, Stalin's strategists in foreign politics are still experimenting with the subject of front organizations.

The central thought behind the front organization strategy is to use it as a bridge over which to organize the petty property element and the intelligentsia at large and to attract workers who cannot be attracted by doctrinaire class-propaganda as such. The United States has proven to be the Comintern's greatest laboratory, as an advanced country, in the technique of front organizations, and they are primary factors in the relatively great strength of Stalin's party in the United States.

The United States proved one of the hardest nuts to crack for Moscow's strategists, because for many years, no matter what they did along the lines of European strategy, as far as the United States was concerned it did not

take. Only when Stalin's party machine had shifted from the working class to the new technical and political bureaucracy of Russia's state-owned industry and government, was it possible, under Stalin's leadership, to give up many of the old concepts and strike out along new lines.

Thus the greatest success of the front organization technique only came to light around 1934, and later.

The method used in creating front organizations is to decide upon a relatively popular issue like peace or war, an issue capable of great emotional appeal and in which people irrespective of their economic status could be interested, and getting them involved into activity. The League Against War and Fascism, later changed into the League for Peace and Democracy during the Nazi-Soviet Pact, had that idea behind it. Another idea, in this case designed to reach a more limited group, would be the National Lawyer's Guild, the International Juridical Association, Civil Liberties Federation, etc.

In branching out into politics, they started with the Labor Party slogan, later sponsored non-partisan leagues. In the West they could be found sponsoring organizations that have a following amongst the farmers, like the Commonwealth Federation. And more recently, in the metropolitan areas of the Middle West they could be found sponsoring political action committees in the local unions and federating these committees into—on a regional scale, through which they threw their weight, in the name of organized labor, in favor of a candidate of their choosing, either within or outside the major parties.

Thus far they have not made much headway amongst the farmer element, but they have been making a number of attempts to organize the poorer sections of it, like the sharecroppers in the South and even more well-to-do farmers in the Northwest, through the Farmers' Federation, Farmers' Union, etc.

Another important phase of their activity is to take over weak organizations established by non-Communists and then build them up as major fronts, like the Methodist Federation of Social Service, and others. Which was the case with the late Youth Congress and now being attempted with the NAACP, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, originally started by a group of liberals, whites and Negroes, and now being infiltrated and taken over in various parts of the United States by the Communist Party machine.

The same process goes on on a local scale by the Communists taking over small neighborhood or regional organizations which were initiated by plain folks. The advantage of the technique of taking over something started by others is fairly obvious; it gives them the benefit of additional camouflage and makes it easier to approach and inveigle innocents into it.

Another type of front organization designed to bring a limited group under the Communist Party's influence was the late Negro Labor Congress which, being limited to Negro labor in its appeal, was later abandoned. Of late, a new type of front organization along distinctly nationalist lines has been created in the form of the Slav Congress, which is designed to exploit the present European situation and has proven to be among the most successful ventures. The trade unions under Party influence or control are also very often used as political fronts for the purposes of the Party. A front particularly designed to attract an important section of the intelligentsia is the so-called American Writers' Congress. One of the front organizations which in the course of about fifteen years became quite successful and was designed

to serve certain needs is the International Workers' Order, an insurance association having a membership of about a hundred and fifty thousand.

Thus, if we take the Communist Party proper, together with the Young Communists' League, now known as the American Youth for Democracy, their membership altogether may not exceed eighty thousand members throughout the United States. But, if we take all the following organized through the numerous front organizations and include all Communist-controlled trade and industrial unions, we will find a network of two million or more in this United States. This vast network of front organizations is, of course, a tremendous mechanism also for the purpose of collecting funds and has served to a very large extent to cut the need for large subsidies from Moscow.

That is, they make us save for our own destruction.

The front organizations are not revolutionary. Most of their members and followers do not know what they are being used for. Most of the members of these organizations think that they are crusading for a limited object close to their hearts, but with this technique of front organizations still in process of evolution, Moscow has found the method through which to reach masses not imbued with class ideology and who would not respond to a direct appeal to join or follow the Communist Party as such.

This does not mean, of course, that the Party does not intend to gradually work these masses over into accepting the ideology of the Party as well, step by step; on the contrary, this is the Party's chief purpose.

The Trade Union Apparatus of the Comintern: The Comintern's activities in trade unions were handled until a few years ago through the Red International of Labor Unions, also known as the Profintern. The Profintern's top set-up was formally constituted in a manner similar to the Comintern, that is, the various trade union federations under the influence of the Profintern, sent delegates to Moscow. These delegates convened in a congress which elected a governing body called the Executive Council of the Red Trade Union International, of which Losovsky was the general secretary. The Russian trade unions which were a part of the Profintern were the backbone of the set-up.

The policy of the Profintern, which is still being followed, was:

To organize new labor federations in countries like China, the South American countries, etc., where no labor federations of any importance existed;

To organize rival federations where those already existing were weak and where the Communists could not get control of these federations, with the idea of disintegrating them and substituting new ones in their place, through outside pressure and inside activity. This was the case in the Balkans, in countries like France, and in some South American countries.

In countries where there—where there were strong labor federations and the setting up of a rival federation was considered impractical, they would concentrate on boring from within the old unions to get a hold on them locally, and to organize new unions in the trades and industries where the old federation had no influence or had insufficient influence.

These types of countries were countries like England, Germany, and the United States. The general object was to get control of these federations or work up sufficient influence inside them so that if they could not obtain control to gradually split them on a sufficiently large scale to establish a new labor federation under Communist control.

The latter tactic was most successful in France and later worked out quite successfully in the United States by the establishment of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The C.I.O. is not as ideal a set-up as the Unitarian Confederation of Labor was in France, because the Communists do not sufficiently control the top set-up of the C.I.O.—lately they are losing out there—but it is the best thing from their point of view under the circumstances prevailing in the United States.

Such formations as the Pan-American Federation of Labor under Toledano are unusual set-ups on a semi-continental scale. The reason for that is that the individual federations in South America are in most cases too weak, and a confederation of them on a continental scale facilitates the organization work in each single country and helps to consolidate the Communist influence over each of them.

At the Congress of the Profintern, non-Communist labor leaders that have shown a disposition to work with the Communists were, of course, invited and admitted. Some of them at times were even elected to the Executive Council, and that same policy towards non-Communists has been followed in the various countries down to the local unions. The main reason for that was to attract new elements into the Communist orbit and to make the Communist-controlled unions and labor federations appear as non-partisan.

In reality, the Profintern and all of its subdivisions were controlled by the Comintern and its affiliated parties. If, here and there, there were some instances where that condition did not prevail, it was a temporary unity with the idea of giving the Communists time to establish full control.

The Communist Party machine, Comintern, inside of the Profintern or Communist-controlled unions, worked in the following manner:

The financing was done entirely by the money supplied by the Russian trade unions. Every member of the Russian trade unions was levied with a certain amount which became a part of the dues system. Occasionally there were additional assessments. In addition to that, the Comintern, which obtained its funds from the Soviet Government and through assessments upon the Russian Communist Party, made appropriations for the Profintern to subsidize more heavily the activities in certain foreign countries and in the strategic industries thereof. At the world congresses of the Profintern, the expenses of the delegates to go from their countries to Russia and back were financed entirely by the Profintern from these funds.

The control of the Profintern was exercised through the Russian Communist Party fraction which operated the headquarters of the Profintern and applied most of the key—and supplied most of the key personnel. The personnel not supplied by the Russian Communist Party was supplied by the Foreign Communist Parties.

The Comintern exercised control over the Communist fraction operating the Profintern by a Trade Union Commission of which Losovsky, Piatnitsky, and a member of the Russian Communist Party's Political Bureau were members. Foreign Communist trade union leaders occasionally attended the meetings of this Commission. The existence of this Comintern Trade Union Commission to operate the Profintern was, of course, unofficial and was known only to a few.

The Profintern did its work through a dual apparatus. There were the official operators of the Profintern who spoke in the Profintern's name to all the unions and groups affiliated with it and used for the purpose of their activities their own official channels. Then there was the Comintern machin-

ery and its affiliated parties, which carried out the directives inside these unions through Party connections and Party channels.

The backbone of the whole structure was, of course, the Communist groups inside the local unions of the various countries who were tied together through the Communist Party, nationally in each industry, and supervised in each country through the headquarters of the Communist Party, which in turn were directed by the Comintern. In addition to this basic network, the Profintern, after 1928, had a system of special representatives assigned to the major countries and to the various central bureaus outside of Russia. These special representatives used to receive their instructions through the confidential channels of the Comintern.

In the course of time, the apparatus of the Comintern became so thoroughly established inside the network of the Profintern unions that the Profintern could be entirely abolished without in any way damaging the influence or control that the Communists exercised over the unions in their respective countries.

Thus when the Profintern was formally abolished several years ago, it could be done without any noise or dislocation of any kind, and the whole thing was hardly noticed as far as the workings in the various countries were concerned. As a matter of fact, it benefited the activities of the Communists, because the Profintern had become a central target of the Socialists and even of many of the liberals, and its abolition helped to camouflage the Communists' local activities more effectively.

To illustrate the workings of this apparatus, however, I will give a few examples of how it works from the bottom up, to supplement what has been said of the workings from the top down.

If we take a local union, let us say of five thousand members, the Communists in that local union will organize themselves into a group which in the Party is called a fraction. This fraction will then seek out allies among the discontented or office-seeking element, commonly known as fellow-travelers. Combining with these fellow-travelers, they will call themselves a progressive group or a rank and file group. This combination, then having become a fraction within the union, will carry on a continuous fraction fight to discredit and succeed the current leadership. Very often the Communists lack the required number of able individuals to succeed the current leadership, or for other reasons may consider it not expedient to run a full Communist slate for local union office, and hence will include the fellow-travelers on their slate.

Originally these Communist Party fractions and their fellow-traveler groups were run on a rather democratic basis, that is, all the Party members would discuss what to do in their local unions in a group meeting under the supervision of a Party representative. In the last years, however, this has been supplanted by the introduction of the leader principle. Now, as a general rule, such meetings are not held. Now the practice is for one of the Communists in the union to be designated from the top as the Fuehrer, and he appoints assistants from amongst the other Party members and trustworthy fellow-travelers, who, under him, act as a steering committee. Whatever he does, unless countermanded by a higher Party representative, all others have to follow.

The local union fractions in all the local unions of the same trade or industry are connected nationally under a leading fraction set up by the—under a leading fraction set up by the national office of the Party. In the event of the

national convention of such a union being held, the leading fraction which has been coordinating the activities of all the local fractions continues to direct the maneuvers of proceedings of it in control of the national convention.

On such occasions, it is customary for the political bureau of the party, which is the executive and directive organization of the whole party, to appoint a special representative to supervise the activities of the Communists and fellow-travelers at such national union conventions.

If the union is an important one, operating in a basic or strategic industry, several members of the political bureau and the Comintern delegate himself may be present in the hotels of the convention city to steer the fight for control, or dominate the proceedings if in control of such a convention.

The activities of all the leading party fractions in the national unions are, of course, coordinated through party headquarters, and their policies are decided by the political bureau, under supervision of the Comintern representative, who has the final say on all disputed questions and even the questions that are not disputed. The political bureau, or the Comintern representative, in turn, is under the instructions of the Comintern in Moscow. The Comintern in this case is a—can be taken as a name for Stalin.

Since the end of the World War II the World Federation of Trade Unions, to which the C.I.O. and other large federations of the five continents are affiliated and whose set-up is dominated by the Communists, has taken over many of the functions formerly performed by the Profintern.

Conclusions: The Comintern machine, in the twenty-five years or more of its existence, has gone through numerous changes, both as to policy, and method of organization technique.

Many of these changes were an accompaniment to its process of growth from a mere embryo to its present stature. The outstanding change, however, to be particularly noted, is its change from the old Leninist firebrand internationalism, based on the Marxist rule of the working class, to the Imperialistic nationalism of the present. Many people of ability have noticed this change, particularly in the last five years.

The background of this change is inherent in the internal evolution of Russia under the Bolsheviks, which has reached a conclusion under Stalin. This evolution continually proceeded in the direction of creating a new upper class, based primarily on state-owned property and the benefits derived by them therefrom. The conquest of power by this group was accelerated greatly by the numerous purges of the last twelve or fifteen years which eliminated the old Bolsheviks, the group which was based upon the proletariat and which had entrenched the new ruling group in power. This new group, of which we shall speak later in connection with the internal situation in Russia proper, is not Internationalist in the Leninist sense. On the contrary, they are fanatically Nationalist.

The rise to power of this new State Bureaucracy has profoundly affected the workings of Stalin's machine in the foreign countries. The foreign Parties have been and are still being worked over into parties, serving the Imperialist designs of the new Nationalist Bureaucracy under Stalin.

A necessary concomitant of this change has been the vast growth of Stalin's secret services in the foreign countries which have grown to such an extent that they are now able to control sub-rosa the workings of the Communist Parties and their conspirative functions. Thus, we have what appears to be an anomaly: on the one hand with Russia becoming nationalist, many people

living in ivory towers expect Stalin's withdrawal from international politics as operated through the Communist Parties, and take the dissolution of the Comintern, or took that dissolution, seriously. On the other hand, we have the reality of these Communist Parties expanding their functions and becoming even a stronger arm of the new Imperialism of Russia. This apparent contradiction has created and is still creating tremendous confusion and is itself a potent means under cover of which Stalin's Parties are able to operate with a minimum of obstruction. The Comintern of old is dead, but the new Imperialism of Nationalist Russia, now operating and expanding through the machinery created by the Comintern, continues as a potent arm of the new Nationalist-Imperialist Russia under Stalin.

The Future: The process of transforming the Comintern, originally based on International—Internationalism, into a mere instrument carrying out the new Imperialist designs of a foreign power has, of course, had its consequences. Many of the men and women trained in the schools above referred to did not follow along with this change. It would not be an exaggeration to say that of the estimated fifty thousand trained in those schools, ten thousand are now outside of Stalin's machine and many of them in active opposition.

As concerns the old members of the Communist Parties, a high percentage of them have quietly dropped out, and the Parties have recruited new elements whose prime reason for adhering to it is to use it as a vehicle for quick personal advancement in politics, and in trade unions, etc. The consequences of this new social composition of these foreign Parties may be considerable under the stress of events to come. Thus, we can see simultaneously with the growth of these organizations also a counter-process of disintegration, a process which may become more accentuated as the new Imperialism of Stalin's Russia becomes better understood and more blatant.

A careful and detached study of the history of the one-party state of Soviet Russia shows a pattern of evolution entirely totalitarian in character—historical development most certainly not envisioned by Lenin, the founder of this state, nor by any of the great Marxian theorists. The Bolshevik Revolution not only destroyed all its enemies as it openly advertised that it would but it also swallowed in due time all basic human concepts of freedom and the inalienable rights of man. It finally destroyed and swallowed practically all of its thousands of creators when Stalin ruthlessly exterminated the old Bolsheviks themselves—old Bolsheviks themselves, leaving only himself, Kalinin, and an insignificant handful left of the thirty to fifty thousand original—original Bolsheviks of 1917.

Through the years of its inexorable totalitarian development the Soviet dictatorship extended absolute and unbreakable control over all types of social organizations—economic, cultural, political, religious and social. The individual was left standing helpless and totally defenseless against the Juggernaut of the all-powerful state. The totalitarian concentration of all power in the hands of state inevitably was followed by a similar development in the Comintern.

The First Congress of the Comintern permitted a few democratic liberties; the second and third Congresses, even while Lenin was still alive, so ended any such softness. The totalitarian unfolding in Russia was closely paralleled in the world parties of the Comintern. As so-called democratic centralism declined and faded out in the Communist Party of Russia, it faded out and disappeared in the satellite foreign parties. By 1928 the Comintern was

generally referred to as the Stalintern by cynical and disillusioned radicals and former Communists. Sixty-seven world parties, without a single exception, not even that of China, had been swallowed up and made integral parts of the Russian state apparatus.

The Communist Party of the United States by the unanimous testimony of dozens of former high-ranking officials and functionaries is a semi-military, totally subservient unit or foreign—foreign branch agency of the Soviet Party which controls the Soviet state. There has been not a single exception to undeviating loyalty and adherence to Russia and Soviet foreign policy on the part of the American satellite party since 1929 when the last revolt was crushed in Moscow by summoning American party leaders before the presidium of the Comintern for summary removal and expulsion.

The Communist Party in the United States, as all other parties, is today a subdivision of a much larger machine, just like a division of an army, is just a part of the total command of the army that's in charge.

This completes it.

Q. Now, that is the conclusion of the answers you have made to the specific questions we submitted to you?

A. That's right.

Q. And that is—testimony is based of your own knowledge on your experiences within the party, as a charter member in the United States, as the head of the Trade Union organization within the Communist Party in the United States, as a member of the Comintern, and as a subsequent director of the labor functions of the Communist Party.

A. That's right.

Q. That which you have given us here is your own testimony?

A. Correct.

Q. Now there are a few of those things that we want to go back over and reiterate.

Am I correct in understanding you to say that the Communist Party of the United States is an agent of a foreign power?

A. It is.

Q. Would you consider it a Fifth Column within the United States?

A. Oh, yes, distinctly so.

Q. In the event of war, is there any question to whom the Communist Party and its members would be loyal?

A. Oh, no question whatever. It would be to Russia.

Q. Is the Communist Party of the United States, a revolutionary party?

A. It uses revolutionary methods for purposes of disruption, but it is not a revolutionary party in the traditional sense, namely, that it seeks to do away with basic evils prevailing in a country and seeking to dispose of those evils through force in the interests of the country itself.

Q. Let me phrase it this way. Was the Communist pattern laid down after the assumption of power of the Communists in Bulgaria, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, the same as the planned program for all the countries of the world?

A. Yes, the same, except they had the benefit of having the Red Army come in and install them in power.

Q. If they were to gain power in the United States, would they liquidate the opposition?

A. Completely. That's the first thing they would do.

Q. And do they so teach it?

A. They certainly do. And from that certain event, the Communists have prepared a list for those to be arrested and exterminated the first few weeks following the overthrow.

Q. Is that true here in the United States?

A. Oh, certainly.

Q. Such lists are being prepared of the enemies of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And their purpose is for extermination within the first few weeks of their power?

A. That's right.

Q. What is the approximate number of the Communists in the world?

A. Sixteen million, according to their own figures, outside of Russia.

Q. Outside of Russia. Do you know what percentage of the Russian people within Russia, are members of the Communist Party?

A. According to the latest figures I know, there are about three—three million and, oh, I don't know, two or three hundred thousand, in the Communist Party, and more than five million in the Young Communists' League.

Q. I believe you testified that all officials of the Russian Government must be members of the Communist Party. Is that correct?

A. Yes, all officials that handle anything of consequence.

Q. And then the ruling officials of Russia must come from this three million two or three hundred thousand that you have mentioned. Now that's almost as bad as royal blood, isn't it?

A. Yeah, they're the new upper class in Russia, with special privileges. They are the beneficiaries of state-owned property.

Q. What effect did the passage of the Voorhees Act have upon the American Communists?

A. None whatever.

Q. They paid no attention to it, eh?

A. No, the administration did not apply to the Communists. They just applied it to the Nazis and the Fascists.

Q. Do you know whether or not Earl Browder is—has registered with our State Department as the agent of a foreign country?

A. No, not that I know of. Except when he came back from Russia he probably registered because he came back from Russia as an agent of a Soviet publishing house, so he may have registered as a result of that. I—I'm not positive.

Q. Walter K. Krivitsky, K-r-i-v-i-t-s-k-y, who foolishly thought he could resign from the Communist Party, stated that the Communist International is not an organization of the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties of the world are nothing more than branch offices of the Russian Communist Parties. The Russian International that operates in Moscow is nothing more than an administrative body which transmits the decrees reached by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia. Was that a correct statement?

A. Absolutely correct.

Q. And that is in harmony and accordance with the testimony that you have given here today?

A. That's right.

Q. William Z. Foster, in his pamphlet "Towards Soviet America" states, "The Communist Party of the United States is the American section of the Communist International. The Communist International is a disciplined world party; its leading party by virtue of its great revolutionary experience is the Russian Communist Party." Pages 258 to 259. Was he telling the truth in that instance?

A. He certainly did, only he put some flowers around it.

Q. What I'm trying to bring out here, clear-cut and positive, the Communist Party by its teachings, by its writings, and you by your own experiences in Russia on the Comintern, definitely is one party dedicated to world revolution and the establishment of a ruling proletariat which they interpret as the Communist clique, is that right?

A. Well, I would say it's dedicated to the object of conquering all the countries in the interests of Soviet Russia.

Q. Well, I'm trying to tie in some of these writings with your testimony here now. I note that Benjamin Gitlow, one of the founders of the American Communist movement, and who was a candidate on the Communist ticket for Vice President in 1924, and also in 1928. He too, was a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—makes the following statement: "Whereas the American party had to carry out decisions of the Communist International, explicitly, the Russian party was given privileged position. The Russian party was permitted not only to review all decisions of the Communist International but, if necessary, to take it up with the Political Committee, and to change those decisions, and that decision becomes binding upon the parties of the Communist International. The only party that has the right to instruct its delegates to the Communist International and to make those instructions binding on the delegates is the Russian Communist Party. In other words, they have built the Communist International organization in such a way that the Russians under no circumstances can lose control of the Communist International." Is that a correct statement?

A. Very correct statement.

Q. And is that what you had reference to when you stated there as to Stalin's direct control of the International?

A. That's right.

Q. And while you were in Russia and a member of the Comintern, did you see and feel Stalin's influence upon the decisions that were made by the Comintern?

A. Most certainly. I conferred with him on American Communist Party problems.

Q. You have personally conferred with Joe Stalin on American Party problems?

A. That's right.

Q. And all decisions were vested in Joe Stalin?

A. He had the ultimate decision. No matter what anybody else did before, he could veto it completely and turn it into its opposite?

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Q. I can't pronounce this name, you did, the statement of Opsit Paitnitsky, that's O-p-s-i-t P-a-i-t-n-i-t-s-k-y, how do we pronounce that?

A. Paitnitsky.

Q. Veteran leader of the Russian Communist Party in 1933 stated that Communist International is united by the Executive Committee of the Comintern into a single world centralized committee. Is that your testimony here today?

A. Oh yes, yes, certainly.

Q. Now, Earl Browder in his writings, his conception of the Communist Party of the United States, quotes, and states, quote, "A party of an entirely new type never before seen in America, a party of the type first created by Lenin in the Russian Bolshevik Party, and now being brought into existence in every capitalist country under the leadership of the World Party of Communism, namely, the Communist International." That was issued in the "Modern Victory" in March of 1934. Is that the conception they have for the Communist Party of the United States of America?

A. Yes, certainly. Well, he also put flowers around it a little, like Foster.

Q. He put flowers around it too, eh?

A. Yeah.

Q. Boiled down, in other words, the Communist Party of the United States is definitely and positively controlled by the Kremlin?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And you testified even as to the—in your testimony there, even as to the approval of the assignment of a district organizer.

A. That's right.

Q. And this Morris Rappaport that we have repeatedly talked about in this hearing here, before he assumed the position of organizer in this district he was approved by the Kremlin, is that correct?

A. Well, he may have assumed the position before he was approved by the Kremlin, by the decision of the Comintern delegate in New York, but if the Kremlin hadn't approved the—he would have been yanked out of it soon enough.

Q. Now we have an organizer here who calls himself Chairman of the Northwest District of the Communist Party, Mr. Henry Huff. Is—has it been necessary, and has he been approved by the delegate to the Comintern to hold that position here in the Pacific Northwest?

A. Well,—

Q. He succeeded Rappaport.

A. Oh, he succeeded Rappaport. Certainly, he couldn't—he couldn't even come over here and install himself in that office without the Comintern delegate okehing it first.

Q. And you, as the Comintern delegate sitting in Moscow know whereof you talk because you had to during that period of time, you also approved the organizers of the Communist Party in the various districts, is that your testimony?

A. In those countries where I had charge, yes.

Q. And you had charge here in the United States?

A. Well, I had—I didn't have charge of the—the Party machine as such. I had just charge of the Party organization in the labor unions.

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Q. You had charge of the Party—well, do you know whether or not someone in Moscow had to approve those decisions either in Moscow or their representative in New York?

A. Well, you see, for instance, the—in the matter of labor unions you can't fix the personnel. You have to take those who are members of it at the time. So the Kremlin couldn't do anything about that. An individual cannot be a fraction secretary in a union without being in the union first. And the American unions are not going to listen to what Stalin thinks as to who should be a member in the union. So as far as the labor union organization of the Party, that has to accommodate itself to circumstances; but those that would be in charge of the Party on a large scale, they would have to be approved by the Comintern delegate and subsequently okehed by Moscow.

Q. Now I have been told from various sources that there is a little consternation in the Communist Party in the Seattle area this last week. Would it be possible for a group of Communists to get together tonight and say to Mr. Huff, who is head of the Communist Party in this area, "We don't like the way you're running things, you're through, we've elected John Doe and tomorrow he'll take office?"

A. Oh, no. No. No. Anybody who take that attitude, they of course just expel them out without any proceedings whatsoever. You wouldn't need any trials or any lawyers for that. That would just happen. Just like in Russia. Of course in Russia they have state power, so in Russia individuals like that are just picked up two o'clock in the morning by the Political Police, they disappear and you never hear of them any more. But here they can't do that, they haven't charge of the government yet. As far as I know, I don't think they ever will. So here they can just expel them from the Party and then hound them whichever way they can in the community.

Q. Now we'll approach this same thing from another source. Does the Kremlin know of the activities of the Communist Party in this Seattle area?

A. They receive regular reports. The various departments of the Comintern receive detailed reports; all the minutes of the district committee or state committee of the Communist Party go to Moscow. There is a paper published here, whether it's official or camouflage, copies of it go regularly to the Agitation-Propaganda Department of the Comintern, and are looked over from the point of view of whether it lives up to the Party line, and if the editor is deemed to have not enough sense to follow it, or ability, well next thing that will happen he will be no more editor. That will be right from direction from Moscow.

Q. Now, we have a paper here which Professor Budenz, Nat Honig, and the circulation manager of that paper, testified is the Communist Party organ, unofficially known as such by the public. Is it your testimony that copies of this paper go to Russia and are looked over there?

A. That's right.

Q. And that they would exercise a control over the editor of this paper, Terry Pettus, an American citizen here in Seattle?

A. They will exercise a control over that paper as positively and absolutely and as much in detail as they do over the "Daily Worker," in New York.

Q. Now we have raised two or three names. I want to ask you, do you know a man by the name of Professor Louis F. Budenz?

A. I do.

Q. Mr. Budenz sat on that very stand where—he took the stand and testified on the subject of Communism. Does he have a knowledge of Communist activities?

A. Oh, he certainly does. Yes.

Q. Do you think Mr. Budenz is a creditable witness?

A. I think so.

Q. Would you believe him were he to testify, if you were to hear his testimony?

A. I certainly would.

Q. Do you, and did you in your Communist activity, know a gentleman by the name of Manning Johnson?

A. I do.

Q. Is, in your opinion, Manning Johnson a creditable witness?

A. He certainly is. He is both creditable and very able.

Q. Has Manning Johnson held official positions high in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. And if he speaks on Communism, does he know wherewith he talks?

A. Well, I don't know how he could do otherwise. He lived through it, and I don't think he could go into anything. It isn't necessary; there is so much that he could talk about by just telling the truth, and even that appears fantastic.

Q. Now, do you know a gentleman by the name of Nat Honig?

A. I do.

Q. Now, Nat Honig sat on that stand where you now sit and testified concerning Communism. Did he hold—hold high positions in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was associate editor of the Party's labor union paper, which had a national coverage, and which was the paper to which Communists active in the labor unions looked to for policy.

Q. Did he not, too, occupy in Russia position similar to the one you occupied during 1934 and '35 when he was there?

A. Well, he was in the Profintern that I spoke about before, see.

Q. He was in this Profintern that you talked about here?

A. The Profintern.

Q. Did you recently testify in the deportation trial of Mr. Santo, held in New York?

A. Yes, I was—I testified there as an expert in Communist Party techniques and theory.

Q. Did Professor Budenz also testify in that trial?

A. He did.

Q. Did you observe the tactics and the cross-examination of Professor Budenz by the opposing counsel?

A. Oh yes, the tactics was one of discrediting the witnesses by—by an unusual display of smear technique.

Q. Well, would you explain that to us? What you mean about it? Tell us all about it?

A. Well, they—their technique in this case was to dig up anything that they

could, and even invent things in reference to the personal matters, or past life of the individual in relation to his relations with women or to money or any other thing that would discredit the person's integrity or character.

Q. Of your knowledge, were these charges false?

A. As far as I know, yes. Generally, I don't believe anything they print, as a result of my experience of—

Q. Do you know the attorney who was cross-examining Professor Budenz?

A. I do.

Q. Well, describe that attorney. Was he a member of the Party?

A. Yes, he was a member of the Party.

Q. What was his name?

A. Sacher.

Q. Thacker?

A. Sacher. S-a-c-h-e-r.

Q. Was he a member of the Communist Party when you were operating as an official in New York?

A. He just about joined about that time.

Q. Would you consider him a very capable man?

A. Well, he—no, he was not capable, but he was just right for this type of a technique.

Q. Well, I want to bring this out because some of our local Communists here have been disseminating the same information they put out there. And I want you to tell us about it. Now, were you subsequently called to the stand?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you recite the first twenty minutes of your testimony, the verbal clash between you and Attorney Sacher.

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Would you turn this way just a little, Mr. Kornfeder, so we can surely pick it up on the—

THE WITNESS: Excuse me.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —recorder.

A. Well, as before indicated in reference to other witnesses he had, he was using the fish-market methods in this trial and—well, after we—several of us saw him practice that on the witnesses that preceded, so we decided that since we also know something about the fish market we will use it on him in return. So first he wanted to know how come that I'm a witness, so I said, "Well, I was subpoenaed." He said, "Can I—" Sacher said, "Can I see the subpoena?" So I said to him, "No, I would not show it to you."

Q. Will you speak more loudly?

A. Yes. I would not show him the subpoena, so he got very excited over that, and I told him, "Well, suppose you just let that blood pressure of yours down a couple notches, I'll tell you why." So after he cooled off, which took quite a while, I told him, "I wouldn't trust you with my home address, which is written on the subpoena." I said, "I'll show it to the presiding officer with the understanding that he scratch it out first before he hands it over to you." I said, "I know the techniques you use, and I don't want your demonstrations or goons around my neighborhood." Also he got some more excited. Then he said, "Are you getting paid for this?" I said, "Sure, I'm getting the customary

witness fees, which in my opinion, are far insufficient," being about five dollars a day, and in New York it can cost you five dollars to get a hotel room.

"Well, are you or are you not working for the Government?" I said, "Thus far I prefer to work for an employer, but if you mean that working for the United States Government is a disgrace, as I know you do," I told him, "I want you to know that I consider it an honor to work for the United States Government, and I consider it a disgrace to work for a blood-stained tyranny like Russia for which you work." Well, that really blew his top completely, and he ran over to the corner and packed up his papers and said he was going to quit the hearings completely, and the witness was contemptuous, and so on and so forth. So his client and the president of the union—

Q. Do you refer to Mike Quill?

A. Mike Quill, ran after him and pulled him back. After all, it would have been very bad for the client for his lawyer to run out of the proceedings. Well, this is just some of the incidents that occurred on that occasion.

Q. Now, in other words, smear tactics—is it your testimony that smear tactics are the tactics of the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes, that's the—that's the heart of it, distortion in every sense. Their propaganda would not be effective without it. They have to distort, fabricate, slander and so on. That's the middle name of their whole technique.

Q. And if the pattern runs true, this committee here and we employees of the committee, can look forward to being smeared by the Communists, is that right?

A. You can look—oh, you certainly will be.

Q. As a professional witness, would you go so far as to say that our names will probably be recorded in this secret book for early liquidation when they get power?

A. Well, if they—if they keep up to their usual practices your name will be on the black list, that's a sure thing.

Q. Now, do you know a publication by the name of "Pravda"?

A. I do.

Q. And do you know a publication by the name of "Izvestia"?

A. I certainly do. I wrote articles for it.

Q. You have written articles for them?

A. Yes.

Q. Now will you explain to this committee just what those two publications are, where they're published, and the line that they generally put out.

A. Well, the "Pravda" is the official organ of the Communist Party of—in Russia, very carefully controlled from the point of view of policy, and it is the line of all the Communists in Russia, and very largely outside of Russia, as to what the current policy of the Soviet Government is on any particular subject. "Izvestia" is supposed to be the official organ of the Government, and the difference between the two is the difference there between what you read of Krivitsky saying things in their plain meaning and Browder saying it with flowers. That is, "Izvestia" says the same thing with a certain amount of diplomacy, whereas the "Pravda" does the job like any Communist paper here would do.

Q. Now you too, used flowery words. I am trying to get this down to where I can understand this. Is the articles published in "Pravda" and "Izvestia" the approved propaganda articles of the Russian Government?

A. Certainly.

Q. And they do have the official approval of the Russian Government?

A. Why, of course.

Q. Now we had testimony from this stand Saturday morning by a former captain in the Russian Merchant Marine, in which he testified that the only Russian papers he was permitted to bring from Russia aboard his ship, that would fall into the hands of the Americans, was copies of "Pravda" and "Izvestia." Now, will you explain just why that is? In other words, I want you to testify, not me. Is that the line they want to get out to the world?

A. Well, the reason for that I think is obvious, that both of these papers being published in Moscow itself, they are much more controlled in detail than provincial papers, and they are always edited from the point of view that copies of it may reach the outside world.

Q. Now—

A. Because the Soviet Government doesn't want the outside world to know anything that it hasn't looked over very carefully, so these here captains are allowed to take only those papers; whereas, a provincial paper may give lots of details about the line in that locality, and does give an inkling to the outside, perhaps, of what's going on down below.

Q. Now, if an individual or a group of individuals, was furthering the dissemination of "Pravda" and "Izvestia" and articles appearing in "Pravda" and "Izvestia" in the United States, would they be furthering the Communist cause in the United States?

A. Of course. Sure.

Q. In other words, that's what the Russian Communist Parties and the Comintern wants, is that correct?

A. Well, there is a Russian colony in the United States, people that read Russian—Russians, Ukrainians, and so on. And then there are the—then there is—of course their Russian Secret Service agents here. Then there are Party leaders who know that if they read these two papers they get the Party line on foreign policy. So these papers are intended for that.

Q. Now if I were to translate "Pravda" and "Izvestia" and disseminate it, I would be definitely aiding the Communist cause, is that your testimony?

A. Yes. Of course.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I think we have reached a point where we can recess for a little while.

(Recess)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Zack, is the information that you have testified here to today, your first story to the American people? This is the first time this testimony has been given by you?

A. Well, I testified before, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but the contents of that testimony were in many ways different from the one today.

Q. The things you have brought out here today, have been brought out by the first—

A. Thats' right.

Q. —by you. Now, there are a few things I want to ask you about before we go back and pick up a further explanation of some of your testimony. Did you ever hear of an organization of the Federation of Technical Engineers and Architects?

A. Yes. Yes, the Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians. Very similar.

Q. The Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians.

A. Yes.

Q. Would you tell us about that organization, what you know about it?

A. Well, I could perhaps speak about how this type of organization fits into the strategy of the Communists. From the point of view of Moscow, originally they were not interested in organizing what they call the "white collar" element, because they thought that the "white collar" element has very little to contribute, and are difficult to organize, and therefore costly. They were basing themselves upon the laboring classes in basic industry, and other industries, but as Soviet policy developed along Imperialistic lines they found new uses for this type of element, that is, they were interested in technical or industrial espionage, and espionage of various other sources. So they conceived of the idea of organizing the "white collar" element, and particularly so, technicians, engineers, chemists, draftsmen, and so on.

Q. Did they confer with you about this while you were in charge of trade union activities?

A. Well, this was one of the very numerous discussions I had with the—with a number of Russian leaders on the general problem of how to get after an unsophisticated and unphilosophical element like the Americans, who do not believe in class ideology and so on.

Q. Well, now Mr. Zack—Kornfeder, is it not a fact that you were instructed to set up a union in some chemical plants so that they could secure the secrets of those plants?

A. Oh yes, they were very much interested in organizing the chemical plants.

Q. And instructed you to set up a union, did they not?

A. Yes, and when I returned I was instructed to make every effort to set up a new union amongst chemical workers. Of course, when I looked into that situation I found out that a chemical plant is almost entirely machinery and as far as workers there are concerned they are mostly unskilled and very few, and that the element of importance in a chemical plant are chemists and technicians. If you want to do something in that field you have to get at the chemists and technicians.

Q. If you set up a union, you would have nothing but the sweepers and janitors, and some like that?

A. That's right. Yeah. So the various attempts to get this element left me the idea that one must either organize very respectable professional clubs for this type of people because they wouldn't join a labor union as such, or as later was developed, organize a thing like the Federation of Architects, Chemists and Technicians. Well, that eventually was organized by one Marcel Sherer.

Q. Would you spell that name?

A. Sherer. S-h-e-r-e-r. Sherer.

Q. That was Marshall Sherer?

A. Marcel, M-a-r-c-e-l, Marcel. —who spent some time in Russia and received special training.

Q. A member of the Communist Party?

A. Member of the Communist Party, yes. And according to the design that they had in Moscow, the idea for organizing a group like that, was primarily to get at the technical secrets of production, new processes and so on, being developed in those plants. A union like that could be of tremendous help in getting the necessary information about what's going on in those vital processes, and then working upon securing them. Of course, most of the members there, I assume, didn't have the slightest idea of what the set-up was for, and the role the thing played in the strategy of the leaders in Moscow.

Q. Have you from—ever in your experience been called upon by a high Party official to designate some chemist or some man that they wanted to confer with?

A. Yes, in the very early stages of this, before even the Federation was formed, there were attempts of course to get at the chemists, and in this case particularly the ones who were working for the du Pont company, which was then having some innovations that Russia wanted to get ahold of, and I was called by a member of the Political Bureau of the Party, and he told—asked me whether I had a chemist who knows enough about this line of business, could mix amongst other chemists and make friends with them, perhaps organize them into respectable clubs and so on.

Q. Now when they asked—

A. So I—

Q. When they asked you if you had a man, they meant did you have a man who was a member of the Communist Party.

A. Oh yes, naturally. None other would do in this case. So I, of course, had a group of chemists. I was working on that idea of organizing them, I had a group of chemists and I recommended one. So he says, "Well, you go and meet so and so in a certain restaurant on Twenty-Third Street—

Q. In the City of New York?

A. New York. I forgot the individual's name, that is, I'm not certain, and I says, "Well, how will I know him?" "Oh," he says, "you'll know him. He knows you." So I took that inkling in the air along, and as we walked into that restaurant, of course there a mysterious individual was sitting. He was an operator for the Soviet Intelligence. And I introduced this chemist to him. My instructions were that after he was so introduced, I should just forget about this here chemist of mine because he's going to be detached from every activity of the Communist Party and get a new assignment. The new assignment was, of course, to work for the technical espionage service. And I didn't hear anything of him ever since, so—

Q. Now was this Federation of Architects, Chemists and Technicians organized by the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. The one that is now affiliated with the C.I.O.

A. Was. The group got to have a bad name, and they decided that it was one of those things that they had to liquidate, so it was liquidated about a year ago, and whatever remained of it was merged into one of the other

unions, also controlled by the Communists. I'm not certain whether it was the United Authors and Professional Workers, I think, were merged into that.

Q. Now here are you testifying that the Communist Party organized a union in an American industry upon orders from the Russian Intelligence for the purpose of securing industrial secrets from that industry?

A. Well, it was organized on orders from the political leaders in Moscow, but it was used specifically for the purpose of securing information from an American industry, yes.

Q. Now you have testified, Mr. Kornfeder, that the Communist Party finances its activities throughout the world, that this money is sent from Moscow over here to finance their activity, in part, if not in whole, occasionally. Of your own knowledge, do you know whether or not they have sent money over here to finance activities within labor unions?

A. Oh, yes, sure.

Q. Has Russia ever sent money over here to finance Communist-inspired strikes?

A. Well, they—their system is such that a specific appropriation for a specific strike, that only happens in unusual occasions. They don't like to spend money on strikes. Their idea is just to hold a man out, and then let them stay out on their own resources. They—but they do have continuous and regular appropriation for the type of organizing campaigns that they happen to be interested in from time to time. For instance, the beginnings of their labor union activities were financed, starting back in 1922, by an appropriation coming from Moscow, of—the first installment was a hundred thousand dollars.

Q. Now that was while you were the director of labor union activities for the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. In 1922. You testified of your own knowledge that you know Moscow gave a hundred thousand dollars to further union activities here in that year.

A. That's right.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Kornfeder, may I remind you again to turn this way, because I think they have difficulty picking it up on the recording device.

THE WITNESS: I see. I'm very sorry.

Q. Do you know whether or not any finances have been used to finance a mine strike?

A. There was an appropriation made, of which I have personal knowledge, because it was made in my presence, to finance a faction fight inside of the United Mine Workers in order to unseat John L. Lewis.

Q. Now this was an appropriation which was made in your presence—

A. Yes.

Q. —to finance a—an anti-John L. Lewis faction of the United Mine Workers—

A. That's right.

Q. —is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Now when was this, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. This—this one, of course there were others before, that I knew from

others about, but this one that I was myself personally consulted about was a very hot faction fight inside the United Mine Workers in 1928.

Q. And in 1928 you were in Russia attached to the International Comintern?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did this appropriation that was made in your presence, did that occur in the City of Moscow, Russia, in 1928?

A. Yes, it did.

Q. What was the sum of the appropriation, do you recall?

A. Well, the amount asked by the—by the Party here was fifty thousand dollars, and since there was a faction fight then also in the American Communist Party, and the faction that was in control wasn't the same—same one that I was with, so I suspected that maybe they want to use some of that for the internal faction fight in the Communist Party. So I suggested that instead of giving them fifty thousand dollars, they should give them at that time only twenty-five thousand and see how much they will do with the twenty-five thousand as a starter. So it was agreed for that particular occasion for a period of three months, the subsidy for that fight would be only twenty-five thousand dollars.

Q. Now, was that money subsequently sent to America and used in that factional fight within the United Mine Workers?

A. Well, I—I stayed in Moscow until 1930. I wasn't here to see how it was disbursed; but I know that from the reports that came to Moscow, that the factional activities inside the United Mine Workers were stepped up considerably, and that must have been the result of this extra subsidy.

Q. To whom did you make the suggestion that the fifty thousand be scaled down to twenty-five thousand?

A. Well, there was present at the time, three Russians, one was head of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions—

Q. Of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions.

A. Yes. The other was Piatnitsky—

Q. Now, we'll have to spell that. Maybe if you can write here a little bit, you can get a little better—

A. I would rather spell Connally or Ryan. P-i-a-t-n-i-t-s-k-y. Piatnitsky.

Q. That's the same man you've referred to here in some of your answers to these questions previously?

A. Yes.

Q. Now who was the third gentleman, Mister—

A. The third one, I don't remember. He was also from the Russian Council of Trade Unions, the head who since has been—has been liquidated, was Melnichansky. That's another name. Melnichansky had before been a resident of the United States, and he went to his Soviet fatherland and ended up six feet below.

Q. He's the one that was liquidated, eh?

A. Yeah. M-e-l-n-i-c-h-a-n-s-k-y.

Q. Now, this recommendation had been forwarded from the National Committee of the American Communist Party to—

A. That's right.

Q. —the Kremlin.

A. Yes.

Transcript of Proceedings of the

Q. In Moscow. And there in Moscow in some—in 1928 now, you had a conference, and the conference was between you, the American representative on the Comintern, and three Russian trade leaders, only one of whom had ever been in the United States. Is that your testimony here today?

A. That's right. Yes.

Q. Would you say that the decision as to the granting or withholding of these funds which were to influence an American trade union, was made by the Russian Trade Union leaders?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. They were not there in an advisory capacity; they were there in the capacity of approving or disapproving this, is that correct?

A. Well, that would not be entirely correct, in this way. That is, the decision to grant the subsidy was made by the presidium of the Comintern, but as to the amount was left to this here subcommittee, see.

Q. This subcommittee of which you were a member?

A. That's right.

Q. Was John L. Lewis considered an enemy of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, he certainly was considered an enemy of the Communist Party at that time.

Q. And they were sending money to try to unseat him, then?

A. Oh, they went to great length to do that.

Q. Do you know of—

A. They almost succeeded.

Q. What's that?

A. They almost succeeded.

Q. They almost succeeded, eh? Do you know of other instances where money was sent to affect the election or non-election or policies of American trade unions? Election or non-election of their leaders?

A. Well, the subsidy for labor union activities in America, as well as other countries, was a continuous policy, in Moscow, and there always were subsidies.

Q. They usually send these subsidies over in large sums to be prorated and handled by the American—by the American Trade Union representatives, is that—that's the normal way it works?

A. Well, they're the ones to decide upon—that is, in Moscow, the presidium, this five-man, with the consent and advice of the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party. They're the one to decide what the lump sum, or subsidy, may be let's say activities in American industry, say for a particular year, the decision is that they will spend a million dollars. Then a subcommittee familiar with the American situation is the one that will then break that down, so much for maritime, so much for steel, so much for chemical, and so much for others. And only after they have fixed the amounts, do the Americans have any further say on the subjects.

Q. Now we had some testimony from that stand last Friday, of a courier who testified that he took eighty-six thousand French francs in a money belt around his body and was sent from Moscow to Paris to deliver this money to Communist functionaries. Was that the same method by which money would be sent from Moscow to the United States?

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A. No, no, that's—that used to be one of the methods, rather primitive, when small sums are involved.

Q. They use couriers for small sums, then.

A. Yes. But they had not such good experiences with that, when—they lost considerable amounts when some of those for one reason or another were apprehended or searched. So as the relations with foreign countries began to develop they—these amounts would be sent in a more secure fashion. They may be sent to the account of a certain individual in Berlin, or in Paris, from there transferred through a bank to another individual to his account here in the United States. And then, of course, transferred to the Party. That was one method.

Another method would be to transfer it through the trading agencies the Soviet Government has. It was in a fashion that couldn't be traced by investigation. And still another, through the diplomatic service.

These were the three basic ways of doing it when it came in large amounts. The small amounts—I took with myself two thousand dollars, which were intended as a subsidy for the first month in one of the countries that I went to in South America.

Q. Now, Mr. Kornfeder, we had testimony from that stand last Thursday to the effect that the Party issued instructions to this man who was a District Organizer to secure photostats of blueprints in the airplane factories in his district of the different model airplanes. Do you have any knowledge of any espionage or program like that? Did anything like that come to your attention while you were in the Party?

A. Well, yes, this—this used to be a pretty general custom, that as a result of labor union activities of knowledges acquired of anything new, in the fabrication of munitions, or chemical processes, it should be relayed to New York and they then would probably handle that information through other channels to the—their secret organization. All a individual like me would be asked to do, or another official of the Party, would be to keep our eyes open to any such thing, and let them know if there is such a thing going on. Then they would take care of the rest.

Q. Will you bring it a little closer home? You're testifying now as an expert; you're testifying now as to what could have happened. I want to—I want to get a clear picture of what this program was. During the war we had quite some few secret planes developed at the airplane factory here in Seattle, Boeing Aircraft Company, they were revolutionary planes, there'd never been any like it before. If the Communists had a cell in Boeings, would they have attempted to use that cell to get those secrets—secrets of those planes?

A. Oh, most certainly. There's no doubt about it. Sure. New York would be informed of that right away, and then their experts would go to work, partly through the group they had, and partly through other means, to obtain all the necessary information on that subject.

Q. Not only then is the Communist Party a Fifth Column in America, but it is an espionage party. Is that a correct statement?

A. Why certainly. Of course, most of the Party members I suppose don't render themselves account of it fully, but they are ideologically conditioned if they are approached to serve the Soviet Union also in that field. I don't know of any Communist that, if so approached, would refuse. If he would refuse, he would of course be thrown out of the Party on some pretext.

Q. Is it your testimony here then, that not only are Communists traitors to their country, but also spies and potential spies?

A. Yes, they—their loyalty is one hundred per cent for Russia, with all the implications, insurrection, espionage, information, or whatever else is required. I could imagine that some of them may refuse, but there'll be very few.

Q. Now, Mr. Kornfeder, you testified this morning about these Russian schools, that they operate for chosen Communists from all the countries of the world that are sent to these schools for training. And in that testimony you stated that the Red Army officers instructed those foreign students in certain techniques. That was your testimony—

A. That's right.

Q. —was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you elaborate on that further? Now we've had from the city here several people go to Russia to attend the school of Lenin. We have one that I recall that publicly went to Vladivostok to attend school. Now, without going into the whole curricula, as you did this morning, enlarge that phase of it. What did these Red Army officers attempt to teach them?

A. Well, these Red Army officers are attached to a special section of the Military Academy in Russia. That academy—I mean that special section of the academy specializes on military problems of countries outside of Russia, and more specifically on techniques of insurrection. Techniques of, for instance, how to take a city from inside. They—now you take a city of two million, somebody that isn't instructed how to do it may waste a tremendous amount of motion, and effort, and so on and so forth. These specialists teach you what is essential or vital in taking a city and what is not. And the instruction is given on the basis of practical experience in past insurrections, some of them successful and others not, that have been carried out in Europe or in Asia, or in other parts.

Now for an illustration, the insurrection, successful one in Petrograd, which started off the Communists on their road to power in Russia, the actual taking of the essential point in that city of two million was effected by not more than three thousand and six hundred men. The Government had, at the same time, fifty thousand troops in the city. Yet the three thousand and six hundred organized in combat groups of the Communist Party, did succeed to take all the vital points and brought about a chain of events as a result of it, which made it possible for them to hold what then was the capitol of Russia.

Now how did they do it? They could not afford to first challenge the Government to a frontal attack, because the Government had too much strength in the city. They wouldn't go to the center of the city and begin to shoot, or something like that. They would have been liquidated fast. So they designed the idea of first taking all the powerhouses. Now the Government didn't expect any special trouble along that line. Nobody had pulled off that kind of a technique before. And the Government's troops were all concentrated in the main section of the city, in the form of patrols, mounted and afoot. Well, after the powerhouses were taken, of course the power was cut off, both from the plants as well as the telephone exchanges, and so on. Then the Communists in the factories, big factories, spread the word around that the new Government has taken power and everybody should pile out of those plants and go to the center of the city. And a tremendous mass then

came stringing from all directions into the center of the city. They were not armed; it was just a demonstration, just as it were a psychological maneuver of diversion.

Well, troops patrolling in the city who due to the situation then existing in Russia, were imagining that most anything could happen. In fact the situation was so chaotic that everybody expected anything. So when they saw the stream of people coming in the center of the city, they began to waiver. After all, maybe there was going to be a new government, so why be on the losing side.

Well, then there were two regiments on the outskirts in which the Communists had troops. Well, with those regiments they sent a number of combat groups amongst whom there were speakers, and these speakers addressed the troops. Those two regiments were thus convinced that the new government was already in possession, and they formed ranks and marched in formation to the center of the city; whereas the other regiments were either neutral, or anyway thought, well we're going to wait a while and see who's going to come out on top.

So when the troops patrolling the center of the city saw two regiments in formation, with arms, coming, well, they quit. They then decided, well, we may as well join the gang, and that was the end of the government in Petrograd.

There was just enough there, that started early in the morning, and before the day was over the Communists had the city.

Why, I—that's the first time I'm—I'm telling this because I don't like to use it at the meetings because it's too fantastical. But it is the actual practical reality, the whole thing was explained to us, how it was done, how the groups were organized, by those Red Army officers, some of whom had participated in it.

Q. Now this was taught you in the school, the Lenin School in Moscow?

A. That's right.

Q. And it is being taught to Communist students from all over the world.

A. Yes, certainly. All those that are recruited into these type of groups.

Q. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Kornfeder, is that the same pattern that was used in the recent French general strike when they secured the power plants in Paris and the post office?

A. Well, in the recent events in France and Italy, this was just a foreplay. They practice—they practiced some of this just in order to see how good their organization might work. From what I know of their techniques in this respect, they did not yet intend to seize power. They made a—they just intended to test their own organization and shake down the structure of the government, because if they had intended to actually seize power they would have done that by surprise. Small groups would grab off early in the morning, all the principal leaders that could lead the government, and that—capture all the vital points with which the government may be able to function to call for help, by communication services, police headquarters, war department offices, and so on, see?

Well, in this thing that they pulled off there, that was just a foreplay. They had one like that before they seized power in Russia also.

Q. Just a trial run to see how—

A. Yeah, trial run.

Q. —it would work, eh? Now, Mr. Kornfeder, I will ask you, are there people walking the streets of the City of Seattle today who have been trained how to seize power from within this city?

A. Well, certainly, that's the—that's the whole sense of the whole Communist movement is to get trained for that, both ideologically, organizationally, militarily, and so forth.

Q. Did this trained—did this training also include fighting at the barricades and disruptive tactics and the spreading of chaos and confusion on the day—

A. Well, barricades are considered antiquated methods, that used to be something that was all right about a hundred years ago, or so. Techniques that are taught now discount the barricades as a method, except that sometimes you could use it, not as a chief method, but something just auxiliary, accidental—incidental.

Q. I'll ask you if students in these schools, foreign students, of which there have been many Americans, have there not?—

A. Oh, yes.

Q. —are not taught how to sabotage within their country?

A. Well, they are taught the necessity and the place of sabotage in the total plot, and in the special school in Leningrad which specializes on the techniques of sabotage, they are of course also taught sabotage.

Q. Are they also taught how to make bombs?

A. Oh yes, hand-made bombs, yes that's all taught.

Q. That's why we have so many isolated cases over the world where there is a bombing here and a bombing there. If there's somebody they don't like, they set off a bomb in front of his door. Is that part of their pattern?

A. Oh, there is some very interesting new techniques along all these lines.

Q. Now how many of these schools are and have been operating for a period of years, in Russia, that teach this to these foreign students?

A. Well, the first school that I know of was the Lenin School, and they started in 1925, and these schools have been operating ever since on an ever-enlarged scale and are most likely being put up now in the satellite countries also.

Q. And they over this period of time have been turning out thousands of revolutionists and sending them back to the country they came from?

A. Yes.

Q. And you know this of your own knowledge, and you attended one of these schools yourself?

A. Well, I went through the whole process myself, yes.

Q. Now I will ask you, does the Communist Party also operate secret training schools in the United States of America?

A. Yes, sure. They have—of course the schools that are known, which they give all kinds of fancy names, like Lincoln School, Washington School, and Jefferson School, huh, and in those schools they just teach the techniques of propaganda and general techniques of organization. But in their underground apparatus, they are, according to the instructions from Moscow, supposed to teach this other stuff that I was just telling you about, the techniques of capturing a city, and of infiltrating the Armed Services, and so on. This—I know that in other countries when this is in advanced stages they—they have a military committee which even works out a blueprint for each city, how to proceed to do it. And that with the events of today were it possible to drop

army contingents from the air, I'm sure that this is an advanced stage even here, because over here they are too weak to seize power, and will be for a long time, and I hope forever, if a war should happen this type of organization inside would have new significance and new values, because if regiments could be dropped from the air out—on the outskirts of an important city and this group could operate from the inside of the city, they could at least hold that city sufficiently long to destroy all the essential equipment that they may be interested in destroying, plus, of course, liquidating as many of their enemies inside of the city at the same time.

Q. If war were declared between Russia and the United States tomorrow, would there be sabotage here in the State of Washington, would bridges be blown up, essential machinery in factories be sabotaged?

A. Well, you see this—well this is a whole subject by itself.

Q. Yes, I'm just trying to get a few highlights here. I know it's a whole subject, and I'm—

A. This type of sabotage you speak of is considered in the category of the barricade, that is, it's considered antiquated, except that it could be used also in some specific instances, and they certainly will use it where necessary. But, their main idea of sabotage, in the first stages, is to incite the workmen by, oh, around some grievance that they induce or that actually exists, to do a much better job than to sabotage a machine or two by simply tying up the whole works in a strike for a number of weeks, where nothing moves, is called political sabotage, and well, in the process of tying up a plant you can do a few extra things, alongside with it, the result of which may be to tie up production of a very vital plant, not only for the duration of the strike but even before they get back into gear fully, longer than that. That's one of the most important methods.

Q. All right, are—

A. Of course, then they also teach other methods, like where there is new—new processes, like there are some explosives, new types that you can just believe looks like a biscuit but it's a powerful explosive as it gets in touch with water, or some of them with sun. You can leave it there, it will explode in an important piece of gear of vital importance long after the person that left it there has left. There is many new devices to use in this field. And if you have an organization for which to use it, well, they're certainly going to use it.

Q. Are you familiar with this strike that was called in 1940 at the Allis-Chalmers plant in Wisconsin?

A. That was a political strike.

Q. A political strike. Now what do you mean by that? Was it called by the Communist Party?

A. Yeah, the Communist Party controlled that local union and they called the strike in order to interfere with the—with the preparations, or with the defense preparations that the country was making at the time. That plant was making some very, very vital navy equipment, which delayed the navy's progress by some time in its effort of preparation.

Of course, the workmen didn't know anything what they were being used for. The Communist in control simply proffered them mentally through very lively agitation, and they invented some demands and they made a big effort to build up actual demands into a major proposition and they called the strike just an economic strike. As far as the workmen were concerned. But, in this

plant like in North Aviation in California which also took place at the same time—I mean not exactly at the same time, but it was the same idea, the idea was to tie up a very important piece of equipment.

Q. Was it the policy of the Communist Party and its front organizations throughout the United States to give all support that they could to the Allis-Chalmers strike?

A. Oh, yes, they—as far as I know, they mobilized the whole party machine in support of that.

Q. And if you—and if there were an organization at thousands of miles distant who had no connection with the strike and who knew nothing about the strike, but they were sending money and passing resolutions endorsing the strike, would that be pretty good evidence that was a Communist front organization?

A. Well, it would be to an extent.

Q. Not a union organization.

A. Yes, it would be by, in large, such resolutions would indicate that; however, you have lots of very well-meaning people in the United States, and if they are told that the workmen somewhere is having a tough time of fighting for something worthwhile, economic demands, and so on and so forth, they may pass a resolution too, not having the slightest idea what they are really supporting in this case.

Q. But it still would be Communist-inspired?

A. Oh, well, certainly. It would be the after effect of—or the actual effect on the periphery.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, this witness has much much more that he can testify to, but he's been on the stand all day and I don't want to press him beyond his physical endurance. I am concluded.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would rather not open up the other phase of our hearing until the morning session, so unless you have something you wish to put on at this time—

MR. HOUSTON: We do have one deposition that I believe can be put in at this point. This deposition, Mr. Chairman, is of a lady well advanced in years, physically ill, and she's unable to be here by doctor's orders.

Now in accordance with the statutes of the State of Washington, this Committee did appoint a commissioner and sent her interrogations, which interrogations were duly subscribed to under oath, and I would like to have that deposition admitted at this time.

That's all, Mr. Kornfeder, thank you very, very much.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, this is the deposition of one Sarah Keller, that's spelled capital K-e-l-l-e-r.

"The witness, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

"Q. You may state your name, address and occupation.

"A. Sarah Keller. I live at 214 Boylston Avenue North, Seattle, Washington. I am a widow and have no occupation except being a housewife.

"Q. How long have you lived in the State of Washington?

"A. Better than twenty years.

"Q. Are you a member of the Washington Pension Union as it is now constituted?

"A. I am not. However, I am deeply interested in the social welfare work of this state, and the pension movement in particular, and I have heard from many sources that the Washington Pension Union and much of its activities are being directed by certain of its state officers who have more interest in their own selfish purposes and in advancing the foreign policy of the Russian Government, or in other words, the Communist Party line, than in the pensioners they are supposed to represent, or our own Government.

"Q. Did you make any personal investigation of these rumors you say you heard?

"A. Yes, I did.

"Q. What was the nature of that investigation?

"A. I started in four or five years ago attending different pension union meetings, first when they met at the Moose Temple near Ninth and University and then in the 1900 block on Third Avenue and ever since they moved over to the Ship Scalers' Hall on Third Avenue here in the City of Seattle.

"Q. How regularly have you attended their meetings?

"A. With one or two exceptions I have attended every Sunday afternoon meeting since July of 1947, and I had been attending once or twice a month for three or four years before then.

"Q. When was the last meeting you attended?

"A. I attended right up until about a week ago, which was Sunday, February the 1st, 1948.

"Q. As the usual thing, who was in charge of these meetings?

"A. William Pennock, their State President, and in his absence usually such persons as Phil O'Malley, Nora McCoy, or John Caughlan.

"Q. Who are others of the Washington Pension Union who are the most active at these meetings?

"A. Besides Pennock and O'Malley, the others who take the most leading part are John Caughlan, one of the State Vice Presidents; a woman by the name of Nora McCoy; Tom Rabbitt, another State Vice President; C. H. Fisher, their Educational Director; and George Hurley. Of the above persons I have mentioned, William Pennock is the main official. At each meeting a collection is taken up and the money directly turned over to him. The collections taken up at these weekly meetings usually ran around twenty dollars. Up until about six months ago they used to announce the amount of the collection. Since then they take up the collection and Pennock stuffs it in his pocket and no announcement is made. Also, Pennock is the final answer to all of the old ladies' questions. As an illustration, when someone from out of the state is turned down for a pension because they lack resident requirements, Pennock gets up and says that he will go to bat for them, and then he tells them that he will write them out an order for food and rent so that they can live in this state long enough until they do qualify for a pension.

"Q. Who are some of the state officials besides Mr. Pennock who make most of the speeches at these meetings?

"A. Just at the moment those I most vividly recall are John Caughlan, their attorney and one of their State Vice Presidents; C. H. Fisher, their Educational Director; Jerry O'Connell, a local politician; Tom Rabbitt, a Vice President of the Washington Pension Union; George Hurley; and a man by the name of Lenus Westman from up around Everett somewhere. Incidentally, this last man I named, Lenus Westman, is the same fellow who was

denied his seat in the legislature two or three terms back because he was a Communist.

"Q. Do you remember a speech made by C. H. Fisher at one of these meetings about the middle of August 1947, when he referred to what he described as being the 'lien laws'?

"A. I do very well.

"Q. What was the substance of his speech?

"A. He said that many of the old people of this state were not on pensions simply because they were afraid of the lien laws, and he told them that the lien on their property did not apply until after they were dead and for them not to be so scared but to go ahead and reapply for pensions. And in this connection I have heard many speakers at these meetings berate the legislature, both Democrats and Republicans, something terribly for passing this so-called lien law. But one thing they are careful not to explain to these old people is the fact that the application for a pension has a homestead exemption of something like four thousand dollars, if I remember it correctly, on their own property, to which this so-called lien law does not apply. I doubt if ten per cent of the pensioners in this state have property valued at more than four thousand dollars, and the ninety per cent that don't have are not even affected by the lien provision in the law. But just the same, Pennock and his helpers have these old folks believing that whatever they do have in the way of property is going to be pounced upon by the State and taken away from them before they can even start getting aid. As an illustration of this, they handed out a pamphlet at one of their meetings stating that very thing.

"Q. I hand you herewith what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit 36, and ask you to state if you know what that is.

"A. Yes, that is the pamphlet I referred to. If you notice it portrays a welfare worker talking to an elderly man and his wife out in front of their little cozy cottage, evidently a farm as there seems to be a rural mailbox out in front of the house, and the welfare worker is quoted as saying, quote, "You must deed over your property before you can get aid," unquote. And the poor old mother, wiping tears from her eyes, is pictured as saying, quote, "But we were married in our little home," unquote. And the old man, pictured in patched pants, is saying to his wife, quote, "Sign the deed, Mother. We must eat," unquote. The dodger goes ahead to state, quote, "hateful and despicable as is the vicious lien law portrayed above, this provision, quote, 'you must deed over your property before you can get aid,' unquote, is actually only a small part of the potential suffering in store for the social security recipients in our state unless these bills are defeated," unquote.

Of that ten per cent that the so-called lien law might apply to, I doubt if one-half of them even understand that the law does not start to operate until after their death, and in some instances not even then. Pennock and other Washington Pension Union speakers just hold that lien law up as a smoke screen to have something to scream to these old people about and to make them believe that the officers of the Pension Union are their only salvation and that if they do as they are told, Pennock and his helpers will lead them out of bondage.

"Q. What is the general theme of the speakers at these meetings you have attended?

"A. The apparent aim or theme of all the speakers will usually fall into about three classes. First, to bleed every dime, and penny even, that they

possibly can out of these old people, in order to subsidize and support institutions and movements that might otherwise fall of their own accord. Secondly, to preach hatred and abuse and to villify and discredit any and all persons that disagree with their line of thought, being particularly violent and vicious in their attempt to breed discontent with most of the elected representatives of our government, both State and National. And last, they try wherever possible to direct the thinking of these people along the lines advocated by the Communist Party of the United States.

"Q. Do you remember any meetings that you attended that would illustrate your first contention that they were interested in bleeding these old people for every possible penny, as you call it?

"A. Yes, many of them. As an illustration, at every meeting I have ever attended a world of literature is in evidence, but the interesting thing is they never give it away; they always sell it. It is either the 'New World,' the 'New Republic,' Communist pamphlets such as 'Workers, Defend Your Unions,' by William Z. Foster, present head of the Communist Party of the United States; the 'Daily People's World' of California; or the 'Soviet Weekly,' which advocates nothing but Communism.

It is my opinion that either Pennock or the Communist Party is cleaning up financially off these old people. Take for instance at their last Sunday's meeting in August of 1947, Nora McCoy and William Pennock and Burt MacLeech, head of the Northwest Labor School, were speakers. I remember particularly that MacLeech told of how with Pennock's approval the Washington Pension Union had donated to the Labor School two hundred dollars so that the Labor School could get started. This is the same Northwest Labor School which was recently declared to be a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States. At this same meeting, to show you how they put on effect, Pennock came attired in new overalls and a faded work shirt, and passed out subscription cards for the 'New World.' Then he told those poor old people that, quote, "Unless one thousand dollars worth of subscriptions were sold in the near future, the 'New World' could not be published," unquote. And at this same time he said that quote, "The future welfare of the people of the State as well as the workers of America was opposed to present big business as dominated by our national congress," unquote.

As another illustration of their money-raising tactics, at their meeting held on September 7th, 1947, Pennock in talking about their coming state convention, said that quote, 'All convention delegates would be expected to contribute at least one dollar to subsidize the 'New World' and that the pensioners present would have to solicit money from their friends and neighbors and business acquaintances in order to help defray the expenses of the coming convention,' unquote.

And then you take the state convention itself, held on September 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th, 1947. Every time you turned around someone was trying to make you buy some of their literature. I made note of the fact that they were selling a P.C.A. pamphlet—"

MR. WHIPPLE: Put out by the Progressive Citizens of America.

"A. —I have forgotten the name of it, also copies of the Washington Pension Union constitution, and they were even selling a mimeographed digest of Pennock's report on the convention itself. They were also selling the 'New World' and the 'New Republic' and a world of propaganda literature that was not even remotely pertaining to the pension problem. About the

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only thing that you got free was an application blank asking you to join either the Progressive Citizens of America or the Washington Pension Union, for two dollars and a half a year.

At Sunday's session of that same convention Pennock, on the floor of the convention, made a heated plea in which he asked the pensioners to get out and raise twenty thousand dollars in order that their official paper, the 'New World,' might be published this year. In fact, about one-half of the convention time during the sessions I attended, and I attended all of the afternoon and evening sessions, was taken up drumming the old folks for money in one way or another. If you ever attended a meeting of the Communist Party you'll understand what I mean, because the identical same tactics are used. For instance, at one time during a meeting when they met in the 1900 block on Third Avenue, they had what they called a penny march where somebody played the piano and all those poor old people, some of them halt and lame, would get up and march around the room and drop their pennies in a collection plate. That would be the last thing after they had raised all the money they could by the subscription method.

I could continue these illustrations for hours but will try to touch on only the more important ones. At the October 2nd, 1947, meeting of the Downtown Pension Union, in a speech, among other things Pennock said, quote, "We are completely out of money for our radio broadcasting program and more money must be donated immediately. Especially since Orson Welles and other progressive radio commentators have been banned from the air, it is more essential now than ever that the Pension Union program continue," unquote. He also said at this same meeting, quote, "I know you haven't gotten your pension checks yet, but we must have fifty cents a person from all of you, and if you don't have it with you, bring it into the office sometime this week," unquote.

At their October 26th, 1947, meeting in the Ship Scalers' Hall a lot of the time was devoted to a Negro selling the pensioners 'Wallace for President' buttons at ten cents apiece. At their October 30th, 1947, meeting, Burt MacLeech, head of the Northwest Labor School, took up most of the meeting time soliciting pensioners for money. He also sold them tickets on a raffle which was for an automobile to be given away, and he said that the money was going to support the school. He sold them books containing five tickets for this raffle, selling the books for four dollars each. The pensioners were to sell the tickets for one dollar each, turn in four dollars, and keep the other dollar for their trouble. And he requested that each local in the state take a block of these tickets, and this same Burt MacLeech at the November 16th, 1947, meeting, said that the Labor School was going through a critical period and might have to close for lack of funds and that if it did, it would be a great calamity for the Pacific Northwest to have such a thing to happen, and he again pleaded with the pensioners to buy a block of tickets on the car that was to be auctioned off.

At another meeting on November 30th, 1947, at the Ship Scalers' Hall, some man, whose name I did not get, representing the Northwest Labor School, again made an extended plea for money, asking the pensioners to buy more blocks of those same raffle tickets on the car, and at this point an old pensioner in the crowd got up and turned in eighty dollars for twenty books that he had sold, and many other pensioners at that point brought in large numbers of books they had sold. And I remember particularly that one old pensioner got up and said that he had been soliciting merchants and

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neighbors and had collected and had turned in more than four hundred dollars for the Northwest Labor School. It was interesting to me to note that in none of their financial reports that I have read, was there any mention ever made of these vast sums of money raised for Communist Party front organizations or Communist-controlled institutions such as the Northwest Labor School and their paper, the 'New World.'

At their December 7th, 1947, meeting, another big plea for money for the 'New World' was made by a chap introduced as Eddie Rogers, and among other things he made this statement, quote, "The businessmen of today are the dumbest people on earth, and so far as democracy is concerned, we do not have any in this country, and it is the duty of you pensioners to fight against reaction."

The irony of the whole situation is the fact that Pennock and his group at every opportunity damn what they call big business and anyone, for that matter, who believes in free enterprise, thrift or economy on the one hand; and then on the other hand they bamboozle these poor old folks into parting with their last penny—

MR. WHIPPLE: Such as those penny marches, even.

—to support a program directly opposed to everything worthwhile our government stands for, and programs which at the wildest stretch of the imagination do not in any manner at all pertain to social security or the pension movement.

"Q. You said a while ago that their speakers preached a program of hate and vilification, that they abused certain persons and certain practices, and that they did everything possible to discredit the elected representatives of our government. Can you give any illustrations of what you mean?

"A. Yes, many illustrations, but there are just a few that I paid particular note of. At a meeting held on September 21st, 1947, just to show you how Pennock uses these old people, he took up a lot of their time running down some Democratic legislator who lived over there near Everett somewhere. I think his name was Reardon. At any rate, Pennock outlined a plan whereby he said the Washington Pension Union was going to bring about the recall of this man Reardon, and Pennock directed all of the old folks to go over to the Everett community and circulate petitions asking for the recall of this legislator. He said they would get their transportation from Seattle to Everett and back, and he told the pensioners that they had to have the signatures of two out of every three people in that district in order to put this recall over.

At a meeting held on October 12th, 1947, they showed some moving pictures, and these pictures were shown only to incite the Pension Union members to hatred and animosity against the officers of our government, because the pictures showed policemen and officers on horseback riding over laborers, and they were putting down strikes, and so forth, and when they showed this scene the audience would hiss, and later on the pictures showed the likeness of two former United States presidents, and when these pictures were on the screen, the crowd stood up and booed and jeered.

At one of these meetings, I have forgotten the exact date; however, Jerry O'Connell got up and among other things he said, quote, 'I attended a Washington Pension Union meeting recently in which our great former Senator Thomas Rabbitt was denounced, and I never expected to see the day that such a thing could occur to such a good man,' unquote. And I remember that this same Tom Rabbitt on the October 26th, 1947, meeting at the Ship Scalers' Hall,

spent most of his time damning the Washington State Un-American Activities Committee and the individual members of the Committee, calling them by such names and referring to them particularly as, quote, 'rats.' He stated further that anyone cooperating with them was a, quote, 'crook.' His speech was deliberately aimed at being highly inflammatory and he did and said everything he could to incite hatred of this group.

At a meeting held on November 2nd, 1947, Burt MacLeech and a man by the name of Will Parry, a writer for the 'New World' did all the talking. Both of them spent all of their time condemning a movie actor by the name of Robert Taylor, and the other movie actors that had testified against the Communist Party in the Hollywood probe. And each of the speakers urged the Pension Union members to boycott the movies in which Robert Taylor and those others had taken part.

Another example of how the officers of the Washington Pension Union operate on occasions, came to light at one or two other meetings. I particularly remember at the November 9th meeting, Nora McCoy told about how Pennock would take charge of the funerals of these old age pensioners, and how he officiated, and how he had recently officiated at the burial of an old age pensioner at the Home Funeral Parlors. She said the Welfare Department of the State objected to their taking charge of the arrangements, stating that Pennock and the Washington Pension Union had no such privilege or authority, but she proudly boasted that the Pension Union and Pennock had won out again, and that they would conduct pensioners' funerals. This desecration of funerals was but another illustration of what they had previously done on the death of Marie Redenbaugh, whose funeral Pennock had conducted over at Butterworth's Funeral Home. People who attended them say there is nothing sacred about them, but they are just propaganda meetings. And at the November 30th meeting, Pennock, being the main speaker at the meeting, told about a funeral he had conducted at the Bonney Watson Funeral Home on Sunday, November 23rd. And he bragged about how Nora McCoy had made the arrangements for this funeral, and how the Pension Union was going to step in and take charge of all such occasions and that hereafter the Pension Union, meaning Pennock, of course, would conduct the funerals.

I remember a meeting held on Sunday, February 23rd, 1947, at 1905½ Third Avenue, Seattle, Washington, and at this meeting John Caughlan, who is the attorney for the Communist Party and who also is the attorney for the Washington Pension Union, and also a Vice President of the Washington Pension Union, set out at the very beginning to make his audience mad. In fact, he said on that occasion that it was the duty of all speakers at all Old Age Pension rallies to first make their audiences so mad that they would fight, and in this speech his tirade was directed largely against those he termed the reactionary members of the Washington State Legislature, including both Democrats and Republicans who had voted for the present Old Age Pension law. He whipped himself into a frenzy and got the old pensioners red hot on that occasion to start a fight against all so-called reactionary legislators. Caughlan was a very vicious talker, and his entire tirade was along the Communist Party line, as I understand it."

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, you're going a little too fast for the recording device. We'll bear with you an extra five minutes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Well, I was just—too red hot to slow down.

"A. —Caughlan was a very vicious talker, and his entire tirade was along the Communist Party line, as I understand it. He repeatedly urged the pen-

sioners to start a fight and be belligerent. At one time during this talk he said, quote, 'You pensioners should put the heat of hell on all these reactionary legislators and put it on hot,' unquote. He told these pensioners how on February the 24th, 1947, the next day, it was their plan to annoy the county commissioners of King County, Washington, and also the Labor Council of the City of Seattle, and to force them to sign resolutions condemning the actions of the so-called reactionary legislators, and that they were going to get everybody ready and that they were all going to march on Olympia and harass the legislators; that they wanted two thousand marchers to attend this event. And he requested all the Pension Union members to go out on this march. At this meeting similar remarks were made by Bill Pennock, Tom Rabbitt, C. H. Fisher, and others. They ranted like wild men, trying to whip this poor group of misguided old people up into a frenzy in order that they would do their bidding.

All of these meetings that I have attended were held on Sunday, and were referred to as mass meetings, and were held on behalf of the King County Council of the Pension Union in King County, and John Caughlan is the president of this so-called King County Council.

"Q. You indicated a few minutes ago that one of the classifications into which the principal speeches made by officers of the Pension Union and others who spoke to them fell, was the portraying of the Communist Party line. Do you remember any particular instances illustrating that point?

"A. Yes, several of them. For instance, one day last year, or maybe it was early last summer, I've forgotten the exact date, some organizer from over at Snohomish County made a talk and gave the Pension Union members some advice as to what they should say in the event anyone was to ask them if they were a Communist, and I remember particular that he said, quote, "If you are ever asked if you are a Communist, just say, 'So what?'" unquote.

Another thing that struck me as being quite interesting was a speaker from the Auto Mechanics' Union talking at the September 21st, 1947, meeting. I don't remember his name, but he eloquently begged for the support of the pensioners in the then pending auto mechanics' strike. It occurred to me at the time so foolish for his wasting the pensioners' time with such a talk, because actually only a very small per cent of them would be interested one way or another in an auto mechanics' strike because so few of them owned automobiles of their own and the strike certainly did not affect pension matters one way or another.

Going back to that Communist Party business, I remember a meeting held at the Ship Scalers' Hall on Sunday, October 12th, 1947, where the principal speaker was Carl Marzani. This Carl Marzani was the former employee—was a former employee with the United States Department in Washington, D. C., so he said, who had been discharged from that job because he had failed to reveal his former connection with the Communist Party, and I remember from reading the papers that he had been sentenced in June of 1947 for concealing his Communist Party affiliation in getting that particular government job."

MR. WHIPPLE: And incidentally, Mr. Chairman, I presume this Committee could take judicial knowledge of the articles in today's paper to the effect that the conviction of this same Carl Marzani was upheld by the Supreme Court, and he would have to serve, I think, some three years in

Federal prison and pay a fine of, if I remember correctly, of twenty-five hundred dollars.

"A. —Mr. Marzani's entire speech upheld Communism and the line that party puts out. I distinctly remember that he said, quote, 'Truman was trying to persecute him and that it was now time for the liberals to do something, and people like the pensioners and other liberals would surely win out in the end.'

Then again at the meeting that was held on November 9th, 1947, they spent a lot of time selling a pamphlet called 'Thought Police.' At this meeting a Mr. Dick Seller, who was introduced by John Stark, and in his talk he said all of the pensioners were urged to attend a meeting to be held at the Moore Theater, in Seattle, the following Tuesday to hear a man by the name of Howard Fast and O. John Rogge speak. He explained that they were coming here from Hollywood, and that it was a must for all of the pensioners to attend this meeting. Incidentally, it was also announced that a charge would be made to the pensioners for hearing Mr. Fast and Mr. Rogge. Seller also took the hide off of Robert Taylor, Adolph Menjou and Gary Cooper for testifying at the Hollywood hearing in Washington, D. C. And he urged all of these pensioners to remember those names and be sure and boycott any picture that any of them had ever had anything to do with.

At the November 30th, 1947, meeting I attended, a man by the name of Merwin Cole, who was introduced as an officer of Local 6 of the Building Service Employee's Union, spoke. I since learned that it was the same Merwin Cole who had been removed from that office by the National President of the union because of his Communistic activities within the union here in Seattle. Cole's speech was definitely a Communistic tirade about conditions generally as they exist throughout the world. For instance, he made the silly statement, at least it seemed silly to me, quote, "The conditions in France at this time are due to the fact that they tried to foist the Taft-Hartley Bill on the union members in France," unquote, and he gave that as the reason why all of the Communist-controlled unions in France were going out on strike. And those poor old pensioners drank it all in for the gospel truth, not realizing, of course, that the Taft-Hartley Bill only applies to labor in this country.

And at this particular meeting when it was about half over, William Pennock came in dressed in a bright red shirt. It was quite noticeable that it was all done for effect because he made a sort of dramatic appearance and threw open his coat and held it wide open to let everyone see that bright red shirt, and everyone cheered loudly and stomped their feet. It was a little thing, but it again illustrates Pennock's antics before these old people.

Another meeting they held that illustrates how brazenly officers have embraced Communism or at least how openly they court and welcome prominent Communists as speakers was the State Convention I previously referred to. This was just last September, right here in Seattle. I distinctly remember that the hall they used was decorated by a large number of posters that were uncomplimentary to the United States foreign policy. Pennock, in charge of the evening's meetings, made a very eloquent, arm-waving speech in which he introduced a man by the name of Henry Huff as the Northwest District Chairman of the Communist Party, and Huff then got up and spoke and had as his general theme, quote, 'Communism is what we need in this country,' unquote.

Among other things I remember that Huff said was, quote, 'Labor with the help of the Communists and the Pension Union here in Washington, should be able to swing things the way we want them. They should all join together in their efforts,' unquote.

"Q. What did you understand him to mean when he said, quote, 'The way "we" want them,' unquote?

"A. It was plain to me what he meant, because he emphasized the word 'we' with a broad grin on his face, and I think no one present could possibly misunderstand the fact he had reference to the Communist Party. When Huff was introduced, a spontaneous outburst of hand-clapping broke out in the audience from persons spotted around different parts of the hall. They jumped to their feet from all sections of the room and boisterously started clapping their hands. A quick glance convinced me it was a staged performance, this applauding, I mean, put on by members of the Communist Party because they motioned upwards with their hands and urged everyone else to stand up and applaud also.

Anyone who would read the resolutions that were passed at the State Convention would see that they were framed solely along the Communist Party line. At least I never heard any read that went contrary to it, and none were offered bragging about our own country.

For instance, every resolution that was introduced was introduced by Tom Rabbitt. He not only introduced the resolutions but made the motion for their adoption. I don't remember all of them, but there must have been close to forty resolutions. I do remember a few that might illustrate what I'm trying to drive at. For instance, one of the resolutions condemned the arrest of Robert Patrick, a Spokane Communist Party organizer, for speaking at a street meeting. They screamed to high heaven because they said that his constitutional rights of freedom of speech had been denied him. Yet, I remember only a few weeks before or after that one, that a certain U. S. Senator spoke here in Seattle, and they did every earthly possible thing to harass him and deny him that same constitutional guarantee, as they called it. Then again in another resolution they condemned the Truman doctrine and they also condemned the Marshall Plan. I think they said something about it being Fascist and reactionary.

I distinctly remember they endorsed the Pacific Northwest Labor School, the same school that the Attorney General has since declared as being subversive. Another resolution pledged their united effort to Henry Wallace. I could see no objection to that except they took the position that Wallace, and Wallace only, represented Americanism as they understood it. They also, in another resolution, pledged their efforts to the Civil Rights Congress, which I understand also has later been declared as being a Communist Party organization by the Attorney General of the United States. Another resolution transferred something close to fifteen hundred dollars of the pensioners' money over to the 'New World.'

C. H. Fisher, their Educational Director, spoke on one occasion at this same convention, and I shall never forget the remark he made in his talk because he said that on several occasions he would be asked whether the Pension Union was controlled by Communists, and he told the delegates there at the convention that he had always answered that question by saying that he was certain there were some Communists in the organization and that they were there because the Washington Pension Union would accept members of all political affiliations, races, and creeds.

One of the most glaring examples of their attitude toward Communism and Communist speakers was a speech made in the November 16, 1947, meeting held at the Ship Scalers' Hall when the principal speaker on that occasion was a man by the name of George Hurley, because in his talk to the old people he nearly bowled me over when he said, quote, 'The only freedom left in the United States was represented by Communism,' unquote. That remark was so striking that I wrote it down so I wouldn't forget it. In fact, he was very vitriolic in his denunciation of everything anti-Communistic, saying that anyone opposing Communism was either a reactionary or a Fascist. He was introduced by Pennock and he said the Washington Pension Union must continue the fight for freedom. He also referred to the disgraceful treatment that Tom Rabbitt had received from the hands of the Democratic Party and also the public. He also said that he, Hurley, was going to run for office again soon. And he implored all the pensioners to be sure and remember their friends. He did everything in the world in that speech to advance the cause of Communism except to come right out and say he was a Communist himself. I'm not trying to say who among the officers of the Washington Pension Union are Communists, because I don't know, nor who are not, but I have truthfully reported to you some of the meetings I have attended and given you the facts as best I remember them and from such notes as I took from time to time. One thing, though, I am certain of and that is that most of the old people themselves are not Communists and that they don't advocate the Communist Party line, but they are helpless. The State officers are not pensioners, but are younger people who have the pensioners in their complete control.

"Q. Mrs. Keller, I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit 37, and ask you to state if you know what that is.

"A. Yes, it is a copy of the course of study put out by the Pacific Northwest Labor School. This was one of the pamphlets distributed at the State Convention of the Washington Pension Union held on September 13th, 1947.

"Q. Who are some of the prominent instructors and courses mentioned in this pamphlet?

"A. Well, on the second page they list Terry Pettus, editor of the 'New World,' who would present the subject 'Interpreting the News.' On the same page they list the name Burt MacLeech, Educational Director of the Northwest Labor School, as presenting 'Science of Society and Development of Social Thought.' On the same page someone by the name of Harry Fugl—"

MR. WHIPPLE: That's spelled F-u-g-l.

"A. —is listed as teaching 'Political Economy.' On the third page someone by the name of John Daschbach—"

MR. WHIPPLE: Spelled D-a-s-c-h-b-a-c-h.

"A. —is scheduled to teach 'History of People's Movements in the U. S.' Burt MacLeech is again spoken of as the coordinator of a Seminar to be held on the subject 'Theory of Crises.' A woman by the name of Louise Heathers—"

MR. WHIPPLE: That's spelled H-e-a-t-h-e-r-s.

"A. —was listed as teaching 'Child Psychology' with special emphasis on the pre-school child. A man by the name of Ted Astley—"

MR. WHIPPLE: That's A-s-t-l-e-y.

"A. —was scheduled to teach the subject 'Psychology and the Social Scene' including the problems of democratic leadership and the roots of race prejudice. Then a Dr. Viola Garfield—"

MR. WHIPPLE: That's G-a-r-f-i-e-l-d.

"A. —was listed as the instructor for 'Peoples and Cultures,' and the last instructor mentioned on this page is the same Dr. C. H. Fisher, the Educational Director of the Pension Union, who was scheduled to teach 'Social Security in Washington,' and the pamphlet lists this as being, quote, 'A fighting course to provide up-to-date information for those concerned with social security in the State of Washington,' unquote.

On page four of the bulletin, Burt MacLeech is listed to teach 'Effective Speaking and Union Meeting Procedure.' Page five lists the name of Jerry O'Connell as coordinator for the subject 'Labor's Political Role in 1948' and states that this subject, quote, 'Will tackle both ideological and organizational problems which labor must solve,' unquote. Dr. Ralph Gundlach from the University of Washington is scheduled to teach the subject 'Analysis of Employer Propaganda.' The subject of 'Northwest Labor History' was scheduled to be taught by John Daschbach and William J. Pennock, President of the Washington Pension Union. This announcement said this class, quote, 'Would bring together the rich, inspiring story of the militant and progressive struggles of labor in the Northwest,' unquote. On this same page they announce that at the coming spring term of the school, the subject 'Trade Union Organizational Problems' will be taught by Jackins. Incidentally, I understand this is the same Harvey Jackins who was dismissed from Local 6 of the Building Service Employees Union for Communistic activity, and was recently expelled from the Electrical Workers Union for the same reason.

Page six of the bulletin lists Marjorie Daschbach as teaching 'Swing Your Partner.' Also John Davis as teaching 'Work Shop and the Graphic Arts.' A Mr. L. Richards is listed as instructor of 'Jazz and American Folk Music.' Jean Danielson—"

MR. WHIPPLE: That's spelled D-a-n-i-e-l-s-o-n.

"A. —teaches 'Special Workshop in Reading and Writing.' Ruth Bitterman—"

MR. WHIPPLE: That's spelled B-i-t-t-e-r-m-a-n.

"A. —assisted by Irene Hull, is listed to teach 'Children's Workshop.' Fair Taylor,—"

MR. WHIPPLE: T-a-y-l-o-r.

"A. —who used to be the editor of the 'Union Guardian,' which is an A.F.L. paper, as I understand it, and also the editor of the 'C.I.O. News,' is listed as instructor in 'Labor Writers' Workshop.'

"Q. I hand you herewith what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit 38, and ask you to state what, if anything, that is.

"A. It is a pamphlet entitled 'Workers, Defend Your Union' by William Z. Foster, who was the last Communist Party candidate for President of the United States, and it was sold for one cent at one of the meetings that I attended.

"Q. I hand you herewith a pamphlet which has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit 39, and ask if you know what it is.

"A. Yes, it is the pamphlet they sold me for five cents at one of the Pension Union meetings I attended, and is entitled 'The Slave Law.' You will notice it was published by the 'People's World,' one of the West Coast Communist papers published, I think, in San Francisco.

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"Q. I hand you herewith what appears to be a weekly paper and which for purposes of identification has been marked as Committee's Exhibit 40, and will ask you to state if you know what it is.

"A. Yes, it is the 'Soviet Weekly' and is the issue of September 11th, 1947, and was sold to me for ten cents at a recent Pension Union meeting. You will notice it contains on the front sheet the picture of V. M. Molotov, head of the Soviet Delegation to the London Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers; A. Y. Vishinsky, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; and one G. N. Zarubin—"

MR. WHIPPLE: Z-a-r-u-b-i-n.

"A. —Soviet Ambassador in London. This entire weekly simply reeks with Communist Party propaganda and praises nothing but the Soviet form of government.

"Q. I hand you herewith what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibits 34 to 39, and will ask you to state if you know what those are?

A. Yes, those are three—"

MR. WHIPPLE: Those are attached to another exhibit. This last one was number 40. It would be 41, 42, and 43, is that correct?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes.

"Q. I will ask you to state if you know what those are.

"A. Yes, those are three caricatures that were handed out at the meeting I attended Sunday, January 25th, 1948, at the Swedish Hall. You will notice one of them shows members of this committee holding a club up in the air, getting ready to brain a small child that is searching for something to eat in the garbage can, and another one showing a couple of graves where the Senior Citizens were supposed to be buried and where the Aid to Dependent Children's Union was supposed to be buried, with a monster holding a hammer in his hand, and the monster being labeled the Canwell Committee, and saying, quote, 'Now we'll build two more for the lame and the blind,' unquote. The third shows that same Committee attempting to slug a Senior Citizen with a club in his left hand and a blackjack in his right hand.

This well illustrates again the fact that the leaders of the Washington Pension Union and their friends, the Progressive Citizens of America, and the crowd that put these caricatures out, are trying to convince the old folks and everybody else that it isn't the officers of the Pension Union that are being investigated, but the Senior Citizens themselves, hoping, of course, to stir up sympathy and support in their fight to take the cat off the back of the Communist officers who are running the Washington Pension Union."

That is all.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce these exhibits into the record at this time, inasmuch as they have been properly identified by the sworn testimony of this witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do so.

MR. HOUSTON: We have finished with the deposition now.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 10:00 o'clock a. m., February 4, 1948.)

9:50 o'Clock A. M., February 4, 1948

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Houston and Mr. Whipple?

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MR. WHIPPLE: Yes, we are, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I would first like to introduce into the record, as an exhibit, a list of all those institutions identified by Mr. Budenz, and I think other witnesses, Mr. Manning Johnson, as being subversive organizations, as having been—as having been declared subversive organizations by the Attorney General. I don't think the list has been introduced as an exhibit and I would like to introduce it as an exhibit at this time.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will accept the list of subversive organizations into the record as Committee's Exhibit No. 44.

MR. WHIPPLE: This is a list that was prepared by the Attorney General of the United States, as being—

I have another exhibit, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce into the record. The following-named persons have been positively identified at this hearing as being or having been members of the Communist Party. The same individuals were also named in the September 18, 1947, issue of the "New World" as being officers of the Washington Pension Union for the year 1947-48. Name, William J. Pennock, State President, Washington State Pension Union; Conrad—Mabel Conrad, State Executive Secretary, Washington Pension Union.

I might say, incidentally, that twenty separate witnesses have positively stated into the testimony—into the record in their testimony, that William J. Pennock was a member of the Communist Party. Two witnesses identified Mabel Conrad, the State Executive Secretary of the Washington Pension Union, as a member of the Communist Party. Twelve witnesses positively identified Tom Rabbitt, State Organizer for the Washington Pension Union and a Vice President of the Washington Pension Union, as a member of the Communist Party. One witness positively identified one Elizabeth Andrak, that's A-n-d-r-a-k, as a member of the Communist Party, she being a Vice President of Kitsap County being attached to the Aid to Dependent Children organization.

Two witnesses positively identified one Bernice Bellows, Vice President from Kitsap County, as being members—as being a member of the Communist Party. One witness positively identified Dominic Bianco as a member of the Communist Party. I remember his testimony was to the effect that Bianco had recruited him into the Party. He is a Vice President from King County.

Two witnesses positively identified one W. F. Boettcher, that's B-o-e-t-t-c-h-e-r, a Vice President from Snohomish County, as being a member of the Communist Party.

Two witnesses, also, have positively identified John Boan, a Vice President of King County, of the Washington Pension Union, as being a member of the Communist Party.

Eleven witnesses have positively identified one John Caughlan, the attorney for the Washington Pension Union, and a Vice President of the Washington Pension Union, as being a member of the Communist Party.

One witness positively identified Mollie Higman, a Vice President from King County, of the Washington Pension Union, as being a member of the Communist Party.

Two witnesses positively identified Rose Johnson as being the head of the publicity committee for the Washington Pension Union, she being identified by those two witnesses as being a member of the Communist Party.

Two witnesses positively identified Nora McCoy, a Vice President of the

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Washington Pension Union, being attached to the Aid to Dependent Children Unit, as being a member of the Communist Party.

Two witnesses positively identified Phil O'Malley, a Vice President from King County, of the Washington Pension Union, as being members of the Communist Party.

Two witnesses positively identified Chart Pitt as being a member of the Communist Party. Chart Pitt was listed as a Vice President from Snohomish County.

One witness positively identified E. L. Pettus as being a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Pettus being a Vice President from Pierce County.

One witness positively identified Etta Tripp as being a member of the Communist Party, she being a Vice President from King and Kitsap Counties.

Eleven witnesses positively identified Terry Pettus as being a member of the Communist Party, he being a publisher of the "New World," the official Washington Pension Union publication.

One witness identified Dr. Mary White, a Vice President from Skagit County, as being a member of the Communist Party.

In addition to the above, the following State Office employees of the Washington Pension Union were positively identified at this hearing as being members of the Communist Party. I do not in this instance have the number of witnesses so identifying, but they have all been identified by two or more witnesses:

Emma R. Carpenter, Barbara Hartle, and Mabel F. Jenkins—I beg your pardon, that is Mabel F. Jensen, J-e-n-s-e-n.

The following prominent speakers have been positively identified at this hearing, as being members of the Communist Party, persons most prominently speaking at Washington Pension Union meetings: Bill Ziegner, Lenus Westman, Jerry O'Connell, George Hurley, Hugh DeLacy, Ward Coley, Merwin Cole, Henry Huff, and Richard or Dick Seller. N. P. Atkinson, former Old Age Pension Union President, and Homer Huson, former Old Age Pension Union Executive Secretary, were also positively identified at this hearing as being members of the Communist Party.

Based on positive testimony offered at this hearing, every State President of the Washington State—of the Washington Pension Union since its inception, except one, and that was former Senator James Sullivan, have been or are members of the Communist Party. And every Executive Secretary of the State Washington Pension Union without a single exception have been or are members of the Communist Party, as testified to by witnesses at this hearing.

I would like to introduce as an Exhibit this statement, together with the official publication listing them as officers or employees, as the case might be, of the Washington Pension Union.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do you wish that introduced as one exhibit?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes, as one exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The newspaper and the list prepared by you which is a summary of testimony to date?

MR. WHIPPLE: That is correct.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It may be admitted into the record as Committee's Exhibit No. 45.

MR. WHIPPLE: Now at this time, Mr. Chairman, I have the photostatic copies of the official nominating conventions, or petitions rather, of the Com-

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unist Party for the years 1946, 1942, and 1936, and I would like to offer these petitions, nominating petitions of the Communist Party, into the record, and dictate into the record the names of those persons whose names are found on the nominating petitions, whose names have been introduced into the testimony of this hearing as being members of the Communist Party.

First, the name of Al Bristol; Harold Brockway; Marian Camozzi—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, I think that you might as well sit down and be comfortable while you read this material.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, sir.

Babba Jean Decker, formerly Babba Jean Sears; Ralph Hall; Barbara Hartle; a Mrs. Hiller, whose first name is not identified; Henry Huff, the present Northwest Executive Secretary, District Organizer, of the Communist Party; Harvey Jackins; Burt Nelson; Andrew Remes; Lowell Wakefield; and Mrs. William Ziegner, Sr.

I would like to introduce these names into the record, together with the photostatic copies of the official nominating petitions of the Communist Party for those three years mentioned.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You wish those as one exhibit, the list and the nominating petitions of the Communist Party, as one exhibit?

MR. WHIPPLE: That is correct.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: They will be admitted into the record as Committee's Exhibit No. 47.

DANA T. ROBINSON, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. Dana T. Robinson.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Robinson?

A. 434 Second Avenue West, in the City of Seattle.

Q. Mr. Robinson, do you hold at this time any official position with this Committee?

A. I do.

Q. What position do you hold with this Committee at this time?

A. I am one of the force of investigators.

Q. Mr. Robinson, in addition to your regular duties as an investigator, have any special duties been assigned to you?

A. Well, when it comes to the matter of investigation of records, either public or private records that are accessible or required by the Committee, investigation of expense accounts, income tax returns, in fact any matter of record, is assigned to me.

Q. Mr. Robinson, in order to qualify you in that respect, I would like to ask you this qualifying question. Have you had any previous experience along this line before becoming connected with this Committee?

A. Prior to July 1st of this year, of 1947, I was for five years a deputy collector in the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the United States Treasury Department.

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Q. Just what were your duties as a deputy collector of Internal Revenue?
 A. Well, as deputy collector, during part of the year, that is you might say from January 1st to the 15th of January, devotes most of his time to assisting taxpayers in preparing their tax returns. All the rest of the year we spend our time in collecting delinquent taxes, investigating the possibility of hidden or concealed taxes. This covers the whole range of taxes that are under the jurisdiction of the Revenue department, such as income tax, corporation tax, capital stock tax, pinball machines, and everything, a total of about ninety different style of taxes.

Q. Now with this background you came to this Committee as an investigator with the specific duties assigned to you that you have mentioned.

A. That's right.

Q. Now, Mr. Robinson, have you familiarized yourself with that section of the law that pertains to the filing with the Department of Social Security, certain statistical data in the form of financial reports by the Washington Pension Union?

A. I have. I have the law in front of me.

Q. Do you have a copy of the law with you?

A. I have.

Q. May I borrow it, please? Will you just briefly read into the record that section of the law that applies to the filing with the Social Security Department, the statement of finances, receipts and expenditures of the Washington Pension Union?

A. This is headed: "Chapter 170, Section 7, Laws of 1941, Provisions for Filing Financial Reports by Organizations Receiving Contributions from Recipients of Public Assistance."

Section 1 through Section 6 of Chapter 170 appear as amendments to Chapter 132, Laws of 1937.

"Section 7: Every person, firm, corporation, association, or organization receiving twenty-five percent or more of its income from contributions, gifts, dues, or other payments from persons receiving direct relief, work relief, home relief, old age assistance, Federal aid assistance, or any other form of public assistance from the State of Washington, or any agency or subdivision thereof, and engaged in political or other activities in behalf of such persons receiving such public assistance, shall within ninety days after the close of each calendar year, make a report to the Director of the Department of Social Security for the preceding year, which report shall contain: (a) a statement of the total amount of contributions, gifts, dues, or other payments received; (b) the names of any and all persons, firms, corporations, associations, or organizations contributing the sum of twenty-five dollars or more during each year, and the amounts contributed by such persons, firms, corporations, associations, or organizations; (c) a full and complete statement of all disbursements made during such year, including the names of all persons, firms, corporations, associations, or organizations to whom any monies were paid, and the amounts and purposes of such payment; (d) every such report so filed shall constitute a public record; (e) any person, firm, corporation, and any officer or agent of any firm, corporation, association, or organization, violating this act by failing to file such report, or in any other manner, shall be guilty of a gross misdemeanor."

Q. Mr. Robinson, I think that is—

A. That's the end of it.

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Q. —sufficient as to that. Now, based on that law, I'll ask you whether or not you had occasion to contact the Department of Social Security to see whether or not the law had been complied with by the Washington Pension Union.

A. I did.

Q. Briefly, did you get copies from the Department of Social Security, of such reports as they might have filed in compliance with that particular statute.

A. The Department furnished me with the original reports and we have photostatic copies of them here.

Q. And those original reports were placed in your possession by the Department, and you had them photostated. Do you have those photostats with you?

A. I have.

Q. Will you produce them at this time?

A. Now this starts with the year 1941, '2, '3, '4, '5 and '6.

Q. May I have them in order, please? Now, Mr. Robinson, have you made any audit of these reports that were received by you, by the Department of Social Security?

A. Well, just, you might say a rather cursory audit. The manner in which those reports were made up and filed by the Old Age Pension Union, was of such a nature that it was practically impossible, without spending an enormous amount of time, to get any real information off of it. In other words, I might say that they complied with the letter of the law, but not the spirit of the law.

Q. Now, I wish you would examine these reports and just pick out a typical one of them as an illustration of the statement you have just made.

A. Well, here's a report, we'll say, for 1945, is one rather typical, and I might say this is the only one that the Department of Social Security made any effort whatever to digest.

You can see from the record—perhaps I could tell this instead of showing you—the report was made—any financial report, to be of any value, must be tabulated in such a way that receipts and disbursements, and the purpose for which the receipt is made—or, which the disbursement was made, must be shown in some tabulated form, to be available.

Q. Just tell this committee, now, how that—just read how it's set up there, as an illustration.

A. Well, this is a thing, it is just set up like you, you might say reading the dictionary. They just start in and run right straight across—right straight across the page, with the name of the person making the contribution, or the disbursement, as it is, and following right along just like a printed page out of a newspaper; there's no tabulation or anything of the kind made to it. It's just a chronological statement of John Jones, five dollars, and Mary Jones, four dollars, and then the disbursements the same way. John Jones so much, and Mary Jones so much. Just one line after another without any tabulation whatever.

Q. Could you, as an experienced auditor, or any other auditor, make heads or tails of that report?

A. No, sir.

Q. Is that a typical illustration of all of the reports that you have that have been filed with the State Department of Social Security?

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A. Practically so. The first report that they made was a little better than the later ones, but the later ones were all made in this manner. It would be quite evident to me; I would say it would be quite evident to anyone familiar with a financial statement of any kind, that this was made in this manner for the express purpose of confusing anyone that wanted to read it. In other words unless you were compelled to read it to find out something, you'd take one look at it and then never look again. And that's exactly what the Department told me they did.

Q. Now who told you that, Mr. Robinson?

A. The present head of the Social Security Department.

Q. In that connection, I'll ask you to state what cooperation you received from the state—present head of the Social Security Department.

A. I would state that—without any equivocation whatever, that the Department was a hundred per cent cooperative. They had taken these reports, and I says, "What did you do with them?" Well, the head of the Department stated, "We did exactly what the law requires us to do." And I says, "What is that?" She says, "Nothing. The law"—as it was read here just a moment ago—"simply states that these people must make this report," but it don't require that she does anything with it, so she didn't do anything with it, except in one case she sent it over to the Department of Audit and had them try to digest it and they made the statement here that it simply shows so much received and so much spent in different items; but as a tabulation—or, as a detailed tabulation, there was nothing to it.

Q. Now, then is it your testimony that those reports, after made to the Department of Social Security, merely are buried there and that nothing is done with those thereafter.

A. That's right. They're just in the file.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to introduce into this record these entire reports. They're too voluminous to go into individually at this time.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will accept them as one exhibit, if you will take the responsibility for finding a rubber band, or clip or something, so that I can keep them together.

MR. WHIPPLE: That provision has been complied with.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: They will be admitted as Committee's Exhibit No. 46.

Q. Now, Mr. Robinson, I would like to ask you if you have had occasion to examine any of the accounts or checks of the Washington Pension Union. By the Washington Pension Union, I mean the state organization known as the Washington Pension Union.

A. I have among other things, a certified copy of every bank statement furnished to the organizations mentioned by the Pacific National Bank from the time they opened the account in 1938, under the name of the Washington Old Age Pension Union, up to and including the balance in the account of the Washington Pension Union as of January 30th of 1948.

Q. Now, do you have those actual bank records, or are those photostatic copies of the bank records?

A. These are—two or three of them are photostatic records which we made after we came into the investigation, but prior to that time the copies—prior to that time the statements were copied in the bank by an employee of the bank and are certified page by page by Mr. G. H. Anderson, the auditor of the Pacific National Bank. His certification is on each page separately.

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Q. Now, was that information and those records furnished you by subpoena on that particular bank?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then that is a true and correct copy of their record of receipts and disbursements for the period you have mentioned.

A. It is a certified copy, certified and signed by the auditor.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce this certified copy into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be accepted as Committee's Exhibit No. 48.

Q. Mr. Robinson, do you have in your possession any record indicating the names of the persons who are authorized to draw checks on their account in this bank?

A. I have.

Q. Do you have the statement of the last—the last statement, or affidavit—

A. I have the—

Q. —or signature authorization?

A. I have all of them from the time they started. If you're interested in the last one, I have the last one on top of the file here, if you care to have it read.

Q. I would like to ask you this question. Are those photostatic copies or are those the originals?

A. Photostatic copies.

Q. Did you see the originals?

A. I had them in my possession, yes sir.

Q. And from those originals, those photostatic copies were made.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I would like for you to read the list of names of persons authorized to draw checks against their account.

A. The latest authorization is dated June 16, 1946. It requires two signatures on the check, and four signatures are authorized. The following signatures are the ones authorized by the organization: William J. Pennock, President; Mabel Jensen, bookkeeper; Mabel Conrad, Secretary; Bertha Atwood, Treasurer.

Q. May I have that group of authorizations?

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, we'd like at this time to introduce this list of authorizations into this record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be accepted as Committee's Exhibit No. 49.

Q. Mr. Robinson, have you had in your possession at any time, as an examiner for this Committee, the checks written by the Washington Pension Union?

A. I have a photostatic copy of every check paid by the Pacific National Bank for this account, from the first of September through January 30th of 1948.

Q. Were those photostatic copies made from the original checks?

A. I had the original checks in my possession.

Q. Have you examined each any every one of those checks?

A. Individually, yes sir.

Q. Mr. Robinson, testimony has been offered to this committee that the Treasurer of the Washington Pension Union, a lady by the name of Atwood, Bertha Atwood—now, I'll ask you to state from your examination of those checks whether or not the regularly duly constituted and elected Treasurer

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of the Washington Pension Union, Bertha Atwood, has ever issued one single solitary check in that group.

A. I think not. I wouldn't be positive. I haven't examined every one for that particular name, but let me see, her name does not appear on any of them.

Q. Now, over what period of time, Mr. Robinson, do those checks represent? In other words, when did you first start compiling them?

A. From the checks paid by the Pacific National Bank during the month of September, that's the actual payments by the bank in the month of September, from then on up to January 30th of this year.

Q. Then you have in your possession all checks paid by the Pacific National Bank from September 1st, up to and including January 31st of 1948.

A. That's right.

Q. Now, do you have those checks segregated—

A. I have them segregated—

Q. —as to—as to individuals?

A. I have.

Q. Do you have them segregated as to organizations?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Taking up first the organizations, I'll ask you to state if you have a check there written to the Frontier—any checks written to the Frontier Book Store, in the City of Seattle?

A. I have.

Q. How many checks do you have written to the Frontier Book Store and what do they total?

A. I have three checks for a total of thirty-nine dollars and thirty-one cents.

Q. Is that the same Frontier Book Store that has been testified to at this hearing as being the Communist-operated book store for the Communist Party?

A. It is. Down on Third Avenue.

Q. I'll ask you to state if you have any checks that have been payable—made payable and cashed by a newspaper known as the "New World"?

A. I have.

Q. How many checks do you have over that period of time issued to the "New World" and for what amount?

A. Well, just to the "New World" it amounts to five—just a minute, Mr. Whipple. You have the original; I'm working from the copy here. It shows five checks, a hundred and four dollars and twenty-five cents.

Q. Is that the same "New World" publication that has been testified to as being the official organ of the Communist Party?

A. It is.

Q. I'll ask you to state whether or not you have in that group of checks, any checks made payable to the Pacific Northwest Labor School, the organization designated previously by the Attorney General of the United States as being a subversive organization?

A. Mr. Whipple, have you the original copy there? May I have that slip? Three checks, a total of thirty-two dollars.

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Q. I'll ask you to state whether or not you have any checks there made payable to the—an organization known as the Progressive Citizens of America?

A. I have two checks for a total of two hundred and forty dollars.

Q. I'll ask you to state if you have any checks made payable to the Ship Scalers Union?

A. I have one check only, for one hundred dollars.

Q. Going over the—I'll ask you to state whether or not you have a list of checks payable to different individuals?

A. I have.

Q. I'll ask you to state if you have segregated those, and the names of individuals who—who have been named in this hearing as being members of the Communist Party?

A. I have.

Q. Will you name those individuals, the number of checks written to them, and the total amount.

A. Right straight down the list. Paula Alexander, six checks, total eighty-four thirty-five; Bertha Atwood, five checks—

Q. Just a minute. I think you misunderstood the question. You have a list of the names of those persons who have been designated as members of the Communist Party. Just to get the record straight, I want only a list of the names of the persons that have been designated at this hearing as being members of the Communist Party, and the number of checks written them and the total amounts each.

A. John Boan, B-o-a-n, one check for six dollars and fifty cents; W. B. Boettcher, B-o-e- double t -s-c-h-e-r, two checks for forty-five dollars; John Caughlan, eight checks, seven hundred and forty-four dollars; Emma Carpenter, twenty-six checks, five hundred and thirty-seven dollars and seventy-eight cents; Mabel Conrad, twenty-four checks, six hundred and fifty-nine dollars and sixty-three cents; Mollie Higman, five checks, twenty-one dollars and forty cents; Mabel Jensen, sixteen checks, three hundred and sixty-six dollars and seventy-nine cents; Rose Johnson, one check for nine dollars; Nora McCoy, twenty checks, five hundred and sixty-nine dollars and eighty-five cents; William Pennock, twenty-eight dollars—or twenty-eight checks, a total of eleven hundred and seven dollars and sixty-three cents; N. E. Shalberg—no, scratch that; Etta Tripp, twelve dollars and eighty-seven cents. I see one here, Mr. Whipple, that I did not check off this morning—

Q. I am going to ask you about it. Do you find there a check made payable to Jerry O'Connell?

A. That's right. Two checks, for forty dollars.

Q. Thank you, Mr. Robinson. Mr. Robinson, will you later in the day, extract from your list of checks, these last lists that you have read, and the amounts, and—

MR. WHIPPLE: I would like permission, Mr. Chairman, at a later date, to introduce those as an exhibit. They have not yet been separated.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Is my observation correct that they were able to afford a better lawyer than a bookkeeper?

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MR. WHIPPLE: Well, there are several deductions, Mr. Chairman, we'd be happy to make, but that not being our province, we do not care to indulge in that at this time.

That's all, Mr. Robinson. Thank you very much.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, we wish to turn now to another phase of the hearing on the Washington Pension Union.

I have here, which I will wish to introduce as an exhibit, immediately upon my conclusion of an explanation of what it is, the issue of the "New World" which has been testified to repeatedly here, is the unofficial organ of the Communist Party, and who has been testified to and copies have been introduced showing a masthead bearing the statement of official publication of the Washington Pension Union.

This issue is Seattle, Washington, Thursday, July 17th, 1947. Prominently displayed under a banner line on the first page you find "Pioneer, 72, First Hunger Act Victim," and the article is as follows:

"On the day before she would have known the final indignity of a seven per cent pension cut, Mrs. Marie Redenbaugh, 72, was found locked in her apartment at 4308 Ninth Avenue Northeast, Seattle, apparently having suffered a stroke some days earlier, she died while being taken to the hospital. Friends revealed Mrs. Redenbaugh, whose health had been failing, died as a direct result of fear of the 'lien law,' lack of proper medical attention, and drastic slashes in her pension grant. More than two hundred senior citizens attended her funeral services on Friday, to pledge renewed vigor in the fight against the recently enacted 'hunger laws' which led to her passing. Her pension had been cut in May, from seventy-five dollars to fifty-three dollars. Her last days were spent with the knowledge that she would receive another seven per cent cut in July. Living in her apartment alone, in delicate health, Mrs. Redenbaugh needed the regular attendance of a nurse and the visits and professional advice of a doctor of her own choice. Because the medical care program had been destroyed by the pension wreckers, she could have neither.

"Having by frugality acquired a number of moderately valuable linens, she was troubled by the knowledge that at her death the state would place a lien upon them and upon her other modest possessions.

"Except for these worries and fears created for her, as for thousands of others, by the Republican and quisling Democratic coalition in the last session of the State Legislature, her health failed and the stroke proved fatal.

"At the simple, quiet, memorial services, Dr. C. H. Fisher, Washington Pension Union Educational Director, offered a brief prayer, and read appropriate verses from scripture. Referring to Biblical incidents, Dr. Fisher contrasted the hardship and suffering, callously planned by legislators, with the full and abundant life for which the Pension Union members are fighting. The same note was struck in a brief tribute offered by President William J. Pennock. 'Here was a woman known for her kindness, for the quiet strength of her character, for her Christian virtue,' Pennock emphasized, 'her neatness and untimely death was the direct result of the acts of abomination passed by the State Legislature.'

"He called upon the pensioners to rededicate themselves, to make real the freedom from want and fear, of which the late President Roosevelt spoke. He asked that they resolve that no other person should meet a cruel death at the hands of the anti-Social Security laws, and expressed his conviction

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that Mrs. Redenbaugh would be glad if she could know that we will fight on for the right of senior citizens to a serene and happy afternoon of life."

"Following services at Butterworth Funeral Home, Mrs. Redenbaugh was buried in Washelli Cemetery. She was the last of her family, having been a widow for many years. There are no children surviving."

Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce this into the record as an exhibit, with the explanation that the testimony which will follow will show that that is a complete distortion of fact, that in reality here was a woman well along in life, having lived in excess of her three score and ten years, who did not die from any of the causes that are set forth there; a woman who had ample food, ample medical attention; a woman who was not in any degree in want. There was found in her apartment, monies. There were loving relatives who kept a close contact with her and knew of her wants, these relatives being in financial position to extend money to her at any time of need.

Her executor and dear friend, was a Vice President of one of the large banks here in the City of Seattle. In times past, he has loaned them money over a period of many years, and stood ready to loan money again.

This is a complete distortion of the facts surrounding her death, and at the funeral it was nothing but a political rally attended by strangers who didn't even know the woman, and there was a Communist hootenanny held over the body of this woman.

I introduced that to show the complete distortion of facts, as printed in this "New World" and will now, by a series of witnesses, prove the statements that I have just made to you, and ask that that be introduced as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be accepted and introduced into the record as Committee's Exhibit No. 50.

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask, Mr. Chairman, to introduce as an exhibit into this record, a certified copy of the death certificate of Marie Redenbaugh, who was born in 1875. This is the death certificate issued by the Department of Public Health, in which there is much personal data; and the M. D., the doctor who certified to this, was Dr. G. E. Wilson, and he certifies in this death certificate that death was occasioned by cerebral hemorrhage.

I would like to introduce this as a Committee exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be accepted as Committee's Exhibit No. 51.

MRS. ALBERT CROSETTO, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Please state your name to the Committee.

A. Mrs. Albert Crosetto.

Q. Will you spell the last name, Mrs. Crosetto?

A. C-r-o-s-e-t-t-o.

Q. In what city do you live, Mrs. Crosetto?

A. Seattle.

Q. And where do you live?

A. 4308 Ninth Northeast.

Q. I will ask you, Mrs. Crosetto, if you knew Mrs. Marie Redenbaugh.

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was your relationship with Mrs. Redenbaugh?
 A. Well, she rented the rooms upstairs in our home.

Q. And had she lived in your home for any period of time?
 A. Two years.

Q. Two years.
 A. Or more.

Q. Now, did Mrs. Redenbaugh have any hobbies?
 A. Yes, she did.

Q. What was this hobby?

A. She was a—well, I don't know the correct term, but she was a bird fancier, I guess you'd say.

Q. Did she have any birds in her apartment?
 A. Yes, she had.

Q. About how many birds would she have?

A. Well, she had from—well, I think at one time she had probably one hundred.

Q. And then it would graduate down to a lesser number?
 A. Yes.

Q. Did these birds—were any of these birds valuable birds?

A. Well, I assume some of them were. I don't believe they were—yes, I think they were valuable.

Q. They had a marketable value.
 A. Yes.

Q. She bought and sold birds.
 A. Yes. Uh-huhm.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: What kind of birds were they, Mr. Whipple?

MR. HOUSTON: I'm just getting to that.

Q. What kind of birds were they, Mrs. Crosetto?

A. They were canary birds.

Q. They were canary birds.
 A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now, was Mrs. Marie Redenbaugh ever without food to eat?

A. No.

Q. You have been in her apartment many times?
 A. Yeah.

Q. I'll ask you to describe what you know there was regularly in her apartment, in the way of food. Did she have canned goods?

A. Oh yes, plenty of canned food, and fresh food, plenty of it.

Q. Now, was she comfortably situated there?

A. Yes, very comfortably. She often said it was a very pleasant apartment.

Q. And did she have some furniture that had a value?

A. Well, I think her furniture was very—I don't think it was exceptionally valuable. She had one piece that was probably a genuine antique.

Q. And this antique piece had considerable value?

A. Well, I should think it would, yes.

Q. Now, were you the person that discovered Mrs. Redenbaugh in her last illness? Did you discover the body?

A. Well, I was—yes, I discovered it.

Q. Will you describe for us what you found there?

A. She was lying—we went into her room, and she had evidently suffered a stroke or a cerebral hemorrhage, and was lying on the floor. She had not struggled or suffered I—in any way, because she had—showed no signs of a struggle at any time. Her hair wasn't, you know, mussed up or anything like that and her earrings and her glasses and her jewelry were all intact. They didn't show any signs of struggle or anything like that.

Q. Did she have jewelry?

A. Well, yes, she did.

Q. Is it not a fact that she had a diamond ring that was worth considerable money?

A. Yes, she did.

Q. Can you place any estimate on the value of that ring? Her statements to you, or—

A. Well, I don't know how much it would be worth, but I think it was more than a carat diamond and was supposedly a very good diamond. I don't know how much that would be worth.

Q. Did she have other jewelry? You've mentioned earrings.

A. Earrings, and costume jewelry, and a watch, a new watch.

Q. A new watch, which she had—

A. Uh-huhm.

Q. I'll ask you, when you entered the apartment, did you notice whether or not there was any food in the apartment?

A. Oh yes, there was lots of food. She had been to the market the morning of the day she was taken ill, and there were lots of fresh food and—from the market.

Q. If I were to ask you if Mrs. Marie died—Marie Redenbaugh died as the result of want of food, what would your answer be?

A. I'd say she did not die from the want of food.

Q. The fact of the matter, from her living in your home there, did Mrs. Marie Redenbaugh want for any of the necessities of life?

A. No.

Q. Now, did you attend the funeral of Mrs. Marie Redenbaugh?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Where was this funeral held?

A. It was held at Butterworth's. I'm not sure, but—

Q. Will you describe from the very beginning of when you appeared at the Butterworth Funeral Home, all the way through, just what took place. Will you tell us about that funeral?

A. Well, when I went into the funeral parlor, I was amazed to find the room crowded with people. There were—well, I believe there was hardly standing room, and the people there were not—well, they were people I should assume on the pension, at least they weren't very well dressed at any rate, and they were—some of them were blind, crippled, and very poor, but they were all quiet and all this and that. Anyhow, we—when I went in there were all these people seated there, and then the people who conducted the

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funeral came in, this minister and Mister, the head of the State Pension Union came in, and they read, or conducted the funeral.

And the first person to speak was the—Mr.—

Q. Fisher?

A. No.

Q. Pennock?

A. Pennock. And he said that we were gathered here to pay tribute to dear Sister Marie, and that she was a martyr to our cause, and she had died alone and forgotten due to lack of food, or malnutrition, and because of the things which she had done without, and fear, and all this. Then, that was very well received by the members of the committee, I guess, or the Pension Union. And then the other man spoke, and he read from scripture, and at the time I thought he was not very—well, I thought he was almost illiterate. I found since he was very brilliant. But anyhow, he—he didn't seem to know the scriptures very well.

Q. He wasn't familiar with the Bible, then.

A. No. And he spoke of the fact that, well he intimated that the rich received so much here, and the poor didn't, and all that, the rich man, you know, in the Bible. And then he brought out the fact that we were sending so much money to Europe for the displaced persons, and he mentioned an amount, I can't remember the amount, but he said that it was too bad that our own people couldn't receive that, but also qualifying it by saying no doubt that the displaced persons in Europe deserved it.

Q. Did this man attempt to give the impression that he was a minister? Did you gather that impression?

A. Yes. I—he didn't say he was, but he didn't say he wasn't.

Q. Did—was any attempt made to pray at this funeral?

A. Oh yes, uh-huh, they offered a prayer.

Q. And what was the nature of the prayer?

A. Oh, I can't remember that exactly. It—

Q. Was it more along the same line that you have discussed with us?

A. Yes, uh-huh.

Q. I'll ask you whether or not Mr. Pennock in his prayer, said, "Oh, God, here lies the first victim of the 'hunger act', we pray you that there be no more."

A. Well, I don't know just the exact words, but that was the general effect of the prayer, yes.

Q. Did you ever—have you attended other funerals, Mrs. Crosetto, in your lifetime?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Was this funeral conducted in the manner of the other funerals?

A. No.

Q. How would you describe this funeral?

A. Well, I would say that it was the first time I have ever gone to a funeral where a corpse was used as a background for a political rally.

Q. You would describe this funeral as a political rally, then.

A. Yes, I certainly would.

Q. Did it appear to be a desecration to you?

A. Well, yes, it wasn't kindly or it wasn't—well, it was very poor taste.

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Q. Did any of the deceased's friends walk out during the course of the funeral?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. In other words, it was due to the disgusting and—

A. Yes.

Q. —revolting nature of the funeral?

A. Yes.

Q. That her close and dear friends got up and walked out. Now did you know anything about a letter in the newspaper, requesting all pensioners to attend this funeral?

A. Yes, there was a letter in the paper.

Q. Do you recall what paper it was published in?

A. Well, I believe it was in the "Post," "Post-Intelligencer."

Q. "Post-Intelligencer."

A. Yes, uh-huh.

Q. Do you recall what the context of this letter published in the "Post-Intelligencer" was?

A. Well, it seems to me it was to the effect that if the pensioners, or the old age people, who were interested in—who were interested in a pension should be there.

Q. Regardless of whether they knew Mrs. Redenbaugh or not.

A. Yes, well, I'd assume that. I don't know how they'd interpret it.

Q. Now I'll ask you if before the funeral, did anyone go through Mrs. Redenbaugh's apartment? Did a bank Examiner—Mr. Truax—

A. Oh, yes. Yes, they did.

Q. Now, were you present when they went through her—

A. Yes, I was.

Q. —apartment?

A. Uh-huhm.

Q. Do you have any knowledge of the things they found in the apartment?

A. Oh, you mean, all her furniture and her personal things, yes. They found furniture—

Q. Did they find any food in the ice box?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the—was the ice box full of food?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any food on the shelves?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not they found any money in a tea cup?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. Do you know the amount of that money?

A. Oh, it was two or three dollars, or maybe more, I can't—

Q. Your testimony was then, that—is that there was food in the ice box, food on the shelves, and even money there.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Did the—was the stuff subsequently removed from her apartment?

A. Yes, it was.

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Q. Now, where was this funeral held?

A. It was held at Butterworth's.

Q. Butterworth's Funeral Home.

A. Yes, uh-huh.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all. Thank you very much, Mrs. Crosetto.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, I wonder if we have reached a point here where we can recess for a few moments. I have some telephone calls to make.

MR. HOUSTON: All right, that's very agreeable, Mr. Chairman. We can recess between these witnesses.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be at recess for about ten minutes.

(Recess)

MRS. LUCY OSBORN, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Will you please state your name for the record?

A. Lucy Osborn.

Q. And how do you spell Osborn?

A. O-s-b-o-r-n.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Osborn?

A. 4344 Ninth Northeast.

Q. I will ask you, Mrs. Osborn, if during your lifetime you knew Mrs. Marie Redenbaugh?

A. I did.

Q. Will you explain the relationship, so that we will know whether you knew her well, or just knew her.

A. Well, I knew Marie—I have known her for about twenty years. For ten years I've known her very well. I've been in her home on the average of once a day.

Q. That was the last ten years of her life.

A. Yes.

Q. You have been in her home once a day. I will ask you if at any period during that last ten years of Mrs. Redenbaugh's life, was she in want for any of the necessities of life?

A. No, she wasn't.

Q. Did she have plenty of food?

A. Always plenty.

Q. Did she have the types and kinds of food she wished?

A. Yes, she had the best of everything.

Q. Did she occasionally buy special delicacies and things like that?

A. Well, most everything she bought was vegetables.

Q. Did she complain to you at any time about not having sufficient money to get the things she needed?

A. No, no she didn't.

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Q. Did she have necessary medical attention?

A. She did.

Q. Now, I will ask you if you were present with Mrs. Crosetto when you went to the apartment and found Mrs. Redenbaugh.

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Will you describe for us just what you found when you went into the apartment?

A. Well, we—we looked all over and couldn't find her, and Mrs. Crosetto called downstairs before I had gone up and said, "Well, she isn't here." And I said, "Well, she must be there someplace." And Mrs. Crosetto went into the bedroom and her coat and dress were on the bed and she says, "Well, here are her clothes." So I said, "Well, I'm coming up." So I went up too, and I stepped in the sitting room door and couldn't see her, and I just turned around to go out when I heard a peculiar noise, and so I stepped back and she was lying behind a large swing rocker, on the floor.

Q. Now, was she locked in the apartment in such a manner that she couldn't get out?

A. No, just as we would lock our door, that's all.

Q. Now, did you observe the apartment when you went in that day? Did you see any food around the apartment?

A. She had just come home from the market a short time before, and had plenty of food.

Q. Plenty of food.

A. And she had an ice box in the hall, and she had everything in there.

Q. Did she have canned goods around the apartment?

A. She had lots of canned goods that she had canned herself, pickles, and vegetables, and fruit.

Q. Did Mrs. Redenbaugh have any birds?

A. Yes, she did.

Q. About how many birds did she have in her apartment at that time?

A. Oh, I don't know I'm sure. It'd be between seventy-five and a hundred, I'd imagine.

Q. And these were canary birds?

A. Beg your pardon?

Q. Were they canary birds?

A. Yes.

Q. Did these birds have a value?

A. They weren't what you call "banded" birds, or registered birds, and they didn't have the value that other bird raisers would have, you know, but she did sell them.

Q. She sold them.

A. She sold them to people that didn't require the registration.

Q. Would—at any time during the last ten years, has she been so destitute of money that she was unable to buy bird food and the things for the birds?

A. Well, lots of times toward the end of the month she would run short of money, but she always borrowed it from me.

Q. You loaned her money from time to time.

A. Yes.

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Q. And had she needed any money now, would she have borrowed it from you?

A. She certainly would have.

Q. Would you have loaned it to her?

A. I certainly would.

Q. And this month, did she borrow any money from you?

A. No. She still had money when she—when we found her. Her purse had, I think it was a dollar and sixty-five cents in small change.

Q. And was there any money around the apartment?

A. Yes, there was a little change here and there.

Q. In tea cups and tea pots and things like that.

A. That's it, uh-huh.

Q. Did you subsequently attend the funeral of Mrs. Redenbaugh?

A. I did.

Q. Will you describe that funeral for us? In your own words.

A. Well, I think it could be called a political meeting more than a funeral.

Q. A political meeting.

A. I don't know why—

Q. What led you to say that?

A. Well, in the first place, it was full of people who were not her friends, people that had answered this ad that was put in the paper, these union people.

Q. And what was the nature of the service? First, do you know who conducted the service?

A. Dr. Fisher and William Pennock.

Q. Dr. Fisher and William Pennock. And did it resemble any other funeral service that you've ever attended?

A. No, it didn't. The only part about it was a solo that was sung by a blind woman that was like any other funeral I had ever been to?

Q. That was the only part—

A. The only part.

Q. —that was similar to any other funeral. Now, did you note some of the close friends of Mrs. Redenbaugh leaving the funeral during the course of the sermon?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And why did they walk out?

A. Because they were so disgusted.

Q. So disgusted. Did you consider walking out yourself?

A. Well, if I hadn't been so far up in front, I think I would have.

Q. Now, do you recall anything that Mr. Fisher stated in that—at the time of that—his address?

A. Well, he said that it was too bad that we could send money and food to foreign countries when our own old people were suffering for food and medical aid.

Q. Did he make any kind of a statement about changing our present form of government?

A. He said he thought it was time for us to do something about it.

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Q. Did he use the word "change" our form of government?

A. Yes, change it.

Q. At this funeral service, solemn last rites for Marie Redenbaugh, this man made a statement that if we couldn't do better for our old folks, it was time we changed our form of government.

A. That's right.

Q. All right, now which one of the two made that statement?

A. Well, I think it was William Pennock that made it more plain.

Q. William—oh, both of them made it then.

A. Both of them spoke of it, yes.

Q. Uh-huhm. Now, do you recall who prayed at that funeral?

A. Both of them.

Q. Both of them prayed. Do you recall anything they said in their prayer?

A. Well, I don't know which one it was—I think it was Bill—William Pennock that said that, "Oh, Lord, this is our first victim, Sister Marie, and let there not be any more."

Q. And your testimony is that this resembled a political rally.

A. Yes.

Q. And did the audience appear enthusiastic about the things that they said?

A. Well, I don't know—I know that all of her friends were very much disappointed to think that it had taken place.

Q. And the non-friends, how did they appear?

A. Well, I got right out, I don't know, I—

Q. Your description of this funeral is that it resembled a political rally.

A. It certainly did.

Q. And you were disgusted with the whole affair, is that right? Did you express this disgust to anyone?

A. Oh, we all talked about it together.

Q. You thought it was a shame?

A. I did.

Q. Did Mr. Pennock, among other things, state that this woman had died because she was unable to obtain medical care?

A. Lack of—for nourishing food and lack of medical care.

Q. He stated her death—

A. Yes.

Q. —was due to lack of nourishing food and medical care.

A. That she was the first victim.

Q. She was the first victim.

A. Uh-huh.

Q. Now you know this of your own knowledge to be false?

A. Certainly it was false.

Q. And you have been in Marie Redenbaugh's apartment every day for the last ten years.

A. Yes. Sometimes two or three times a day.

Q. Sometimes—

A. She lives just a few houses below me, and when I couldn't get her over the 'phone, I'd go down to see her.

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Q. Now, when you first went to the funeral home, where was the casket?
 A. Well, it was in a large room when I went, but I understand it was set up in a small room, a family room, and so many people came they had to change it to the large room.

Q. To the large room.

A. Uh-huh.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all. Thank you very much, Mrs. Osborn.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: Mrs. Redenbaugh?

MR. HOUSTON: Well, just a minute—do you mind, Mr. Whipple?
 Mr. Chairman, at this point in the record I would like to introduce an exhibit which is a subscribed and sworn to affidavit of Mr. Arthur Truax who is Vice President of the First National Bank. He's just recently undergone a major operation, and is in one of our Seattle hospitals at this time, and is unable to be here. I would like to read the affidavit and introduce it as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do so. It will be accepted as Committee's Exhibit No. 52, after you have read it.

MR. HOUSTON: "State of Washington, County of King. I, Arthur Truax, of lawful age, being first duly sworn on oath, depose and swear that I am a Vice President of the First National Bank of Seattle, Washington, with offices at Second and Cherry in said city.

"I have known Mrs. Marie Redenbaugh and her mother for many years. They came to Seattle from Iowa or from some state back in that section of the country, and came to my attention through my wife. Mrs. Truax was a member of a club known as the 'Seattle Fruit and Flower Commission,' a welfare organization. And the Redenbaughs were one of the cases that were assigned to her for visitation. She found them to be such good people, nice and genteel, that she became quite interested in their case. Because of her interest, I met them and became interested also.

"Through the ensuing years I and a couple of the boys at the bank were instrumental in saving their home for them. In fact, we made the payments on a mortgage on their place.

"Marie Redenbaugh was the wage earner. Whenever she was stuck and needed help, she always came down to the bank and we were always good for a touch. About a year ago, Marie came to me and told me she was making me Executor of her will. She mentioned the fact that she was leaving my wife her diamond ring, and a highboy and a mirror to a niece. I never saw the will at the time and knew nothing of its contents beyond what she stated.

"The Monday following the Fourth of July, a Mrs. Osborn, whom I have later found to be a very nice lady and a friend of Mrs. Redenbaugh, 'phoned me that they had found Mrs. Redenbaugh in her room and had sent her to the Harbor View Hospital, stating further that she doubted if she would live to reach there. That left me up in the air. I didn't know whether I would be stuck with the funeral expenses or what the situation would be. I 'phoned the hospital and was told that Mrs. Redenbaugh had died on the way to the hospital, and the body had been delivered to the morgue. I immediately called the morgue and told the deputy coroner who I was and asked him to hold all jewelry for me. I asked him what disposition was

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being made of the body, and he told me he had received instructions from a Mrs. Bettinger—"B-e double t-i-n-g-e-r"—to send the body to the Butterworth Funeral Home. Thinking this was a good break for me and that I would not be stuck with the funeral expenses, and assuming that this action of Mrs. Bettinger meant that friends or members of the family were taking care of the situation, I did not countermand the instructions.

"I later called the Butterworth Funeral Home and talked with Butterworth about funeral arrangements. He told me that the State would pay one hundred dollars on the funeral, if the expenses did not run over one hundred and fifty dollars. I got her 'phone number from him and called Mrs. Bettinger. I was worrying about keeping the expenses down within the prescribed limit. While I did not mind furnishing the fifty or fifty-five dollars extra, I did not want to be stuck for the entire amount.

"During my talk with Mrs. Bettinger, she informed me she had had a great deal of experience in handling funerals of this type, that Butterworth's she was sure would keep the expenses low enough, that they handled many such funerals, and that she had been a very good friend who made a practice—that she had a very good friend who made a practice of officiating at the funerals of these poor people. She mentioned the name of Bill Pennock, whose name I have heard mentioned in times past, yet it meant nothing to me at this time.

"She also stated there was a certain Dr. somebody, I don't recall his name, who though not a Doctor of Divinity, was a doctor of a certain theological school, who would take care of the religious part of the ceremony. She also mentioned a blind singer who worked with these two men. Upon being assured that the expenses would be kept to a minimum, I told her to go ahead.

"I went out to the house that evening and found that the birds were hungry and needed feeding. I didn't know just what to do with them, but many of the women came in and any of them would take the birds and take care of them, I just gave the birds to them. I had a copy of the will, and taking a Mr. Nederer from our trust department with me, we took an inventory of the apartment. While in doing so, we found thirty dollars in cash in various parts of the apartment.

"I noticed she had two cupboards filled with canned goods. We estimated the value of her belongings at two hundred dollars, aside from the bequests of the highboy and the mirror to the niece back in the Midwest, and her diamond ring to my wife.

"Later on I called Butterworth again, and during the conversation told him that I didn't think there would be more than a dozen or so people attending the funeral. He told me he had a small chapel we could use, and thought we could manage to keep the expenses down so that the State would pay its share.

"I also got in contact with the visiting representative of the Social Security or Pension, who visited the pensioners and informed her of the arrangements being made, and had her route the necessary papers, so there would be no delay in the payment of the State's share. The funeral was set for two o'clock, Friday afternoon, July 11th, 1947. I made arrangements to get away from the bank in time to pick up my wife and attend the funeral. While we were en route from our own home to Butterworth's, my wife mentioned that Mrs. Osborn had 'phoned her and said there was an article in that morning's 'P.I.' which we should read. I thought little of this until we arrived at Butterworth's. Upon entering the doors of the funeral home, I

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was literally astounded. A large crowd was in the hall. I would estimate there were better than one hundred and twenty-five people. An amazing number of them appeared to be lame, halt, or blind. I noticed that each one seemed to be holding or carrying a small card or slip in their hands which read, quote, two o'clock, Butterworth's, unquote. I immediately got hold of Butterworth and requested a copy of the 'P.I.' In this I read the article which purported to be a letter from Mrs. Bettinger, requesting the attendance of all Old Age Pension Union members who were dissatisfied with the proposed cut in their pensions.

"I might say at this time that several of the men at the bank had laughed at me when I told them of the proposed plan for the funeral, and asked me where I had been all my life, and—that I didn't know about Bill Pennock.

"With all this happening as it had, I now demanded an audience with Pennock, and upon being introduced, went with him to a small anteroom, where I at once said, quote, Mr. Pennock, you do not intend to introduce anything into this funeral service in connection with this Pension Union, unquote. He told me that he had intended referring to it, stating that he had been an old friend of Mrs. Redenbaugh's and had visited with her on occasion and thought she would want him to.

"I emphatically stated I did not think this was either the time, place, or occasion for such. When the ceremony began, Mr. Pennock made a very nice introductory talk, referring to our dear departed friend and so forth. He introduced the other speaker, who read some scripture, as I recall, and made a short talk. Following this there was a song by the blind lady, who as I best could tell, was a white woman of medium build, baby face, inclined on the heavy side.

"Following the song, both Pennock and the other fellow made a very fiery speech in which they said Mrs. Redenbaugh's death was due to the lack of proper food and medical attention, and laid the blame on the State Legislators.

"I sat there fuming. I just didn't know what to do. It was a terrible state to be in, and several times I started to get up and stop it, and then I thought that making a scene would just make things worse, so I would keep still.

"It was finally over. I noticed that several persons in the audience got up and walked out during these latter speeches. I, myself, also was indignant, and also noted that the majority of the older people were nodding and smiling in agreement as each speaker made a point. When the audience filed by the casket, Mrs. Louise Redenbaugh, a sister-in-law of the deceased, stopped in front of the man with Pennock, the other speaker, and really told him off. She gave it to him in regard to the speech and was so indignant she could hardly articulate. During her statement she told him Mrs. Redenbaugh had the very best of food, that she had been a nurse and could have obtained the very best medical attention without any trouble whatsoever, and that the speeches were not only ill-advised and out of place but an actual misrepresentation of the facts.

"Mrs. Truax and I went out to Washelli Cemetery, and there Mr. Pennock, and his friend, and about a dozen of the friends of the deceased, were all present. Mr. Pennock made a short talk in which he stated we were there to pay our last respects to the dear departed, and then the other man stepped forward.

"I really believe they intended to take up where they had left off at the funeral home, but before the second man could get started, one of the assis-

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tants from the funeral home said, 'This concludes the ceremony.' And that ended everything.

"I turned things over to the trust department of my bank, to help me out in handling the effects of the estate. Instructions were given, Bushell's, to obtain the furnishings and place them in storage for future auction. I contacted the two nieces in the Midwest to whom the balance of the estate, if any, would go. And they wrote me a very nice letter, agreeing in every respect with my handling of things. My wife has the diamond ring which was left to her, although I told her at the time there might be some question as to her right to it until the completion of the settling of the estate.

"Butterworth's sent me a statement for fifty dollars net. I was very incensed at the statement made that Mrs. Redenbaugh died of malnutrition; as I stated before, she had a large supply of canned stuffs in her apartment and I know that she had plenty to eat. She knew and made use of the fact that I was always good for a touch, and had she needed anything I am positive she would have contacted me.

"In addition, she had over thirty dollars in cash in her possession at the time of her death, and her current pension check was due. Her monthly pension check was around eighty dollars, although I believe it was to have been cut later on. Incidentally, this last check has never been received by me. I left instructions for it to be sent to me, but I've never received it, and do not know what happened to it.

"Also, I might add that Mrs. Redenbaugh made an income off her birds, from fancy work and from sewing.

"I am sure that these facts contradict the statements made by Pennock and his friend at the funeral.

"I have read the above affidavit, consisting of five pages, and thoroughly understand the matters and things contained therein. These statements are made by me of my own free will and accord, without promise of remuneration or reward of any nature, and without duress or threat of violence.

"Signed, Arthur Truax.

"Subscribed and sworn to this 21st day of August, 1947, before me, an investigator of the un-American Activities Committee created by the House Concurrent Resolution No. 10 of the Thirtieth Legislature, and authorized to administer oaths by the Chairman of said committee, under Section 12, Paragraph 2, of said Resolution. Ernest P. Stith, Investigator; Aaron R. Coleman, witness."

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That has been admitted as Committee's Exhibit No. 52.

MRS. MARY LOUISE REDENBAUGH, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, it's my understanding that Mrs. Redenbaugh must be released in time to catch a train. Now, are you advised of that?

MR. WHIPPLE: I am advised of that, Mr. Chairman, and in that connection I'll do my best to conclude her testimony by twelve. It might go over just a few minutes, but if you will bear with me I will complete her testimony so that she can make arrangements to catch the train.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: All right, if you will proceed.

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Q. Will you state your name, please?
 A. Mary Louise Redenbaugh.

Q. Mrs. Redenbaugh, these proceedings are being transcribed on a machine and it depends on your voice being recorded, so if you will speak into that microphone in front of you, and speak as clearly and not necessarily as loud as you can but keep your voice up so it can be recorded, and we will greatly appreciate it.

How do you spell your last name?
 A. R-e-d-e-n-b-a-u-g-h.

Q. Mrs. Redenbaugh, where were you living in July of 1947?
 A. I was living in Friday Harbor, Washington.

Q. Where do you reside at this time, Mrs. Redenbaugh?
 A. I am in Boulder City, Nevada.

Q. Mrs. Redenbaugh, what relation, if any, were you to Marie Redenbaugh who passed away on the 8th day of July, 1947?

A. I was her sister-in-law.

Q. How long had you known Marie Redenbaugh prior to her death?
 A. About forty years.

Q. Do you know anything about what occupation she might have followed during that period of time that you knew her?

A. She was a trained nurse. A registered nurse.

Q. A registered nurse.
 A. Yes.

Q. Did she follow the position of a registered nurse here in the City of Seattle?

A. I think she did for a while, when she first came out.

Q. Mrs. Redenbaugh, did you have occasion to visit in the home of Marie Redenbaugh prior to her death?

A. Not too recently. I was out of the city. It had been about two years since I had been there.

Q. Well, had you corresponded with her?
 A. Yes, I had.

Q. Right up until the time of her death? In other words, you kept in touch with her either by correspondence or personally, right up until the time she passed away.

A. Yes.

Q. Now, where was the next nearest relative of hers living at the time of her death?

A. In Peoria, Illinois.

Q. And then you with probably a distant cousin, who will testify later this afternoon, was probably the only relatives she had in—either by marriage or blood, in the State of Washington at the time of her death.

A. I think so.

Q. Now, based on your visits with her up until you ceased to do this, based on correspondence which you had with her, what would you say as to her means of providing for herself?

A. Well, I feel that she was amply provided for by the State, with her pension. I think she had plenty to live on.

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Q. Did she have plenty to eat?
 A. She certainly did.

Q. Did she have plenty to wear?
 A. She did.

Q. Did you ever see her at any time when she was suffering either from food or clothing?

A. No, I never did.

Q. What was her habit if she needed some special food or something downtown, how would she get it?

A. Well,—

Q. What conveyance would she use to get to town and back?
 A. Well, I don't know that she went to town in a taxi, but the last time I ever saw her I invited her downtown for lunch and it rained a little and she refused to go home on the bus, and took a taxi. She had plenty of money for that.

Q. She had money to take a taxi home.
 A. Yes.

Q. Well, did you have occasion to observe the way that she dressed, and the type of clothes that she wore?

A. Well, she was fairly well dressed. She certainly wasn't destitute by any means.

Q. She was dressed as well—
 A. As the average person.

Q. —as the average ordinary woman in her station in life?
 A. Yes, I would say that.

Q. Well, was she dressed in such a manner that she felt comfortable and didn't feel ill at ease if she was among her friends?

A. I think she did.

Q. And—now, you mentioned a few minutes ago the name of Peoria, Illinois. Does that recall to your mind any particular trips that Mrs. Redenbaugh might have taken at any time?

A. Well, she—she took a trip back to attend a school reunion. I understand she was the one that had to go the longest distance, and they made a point of that, and I don't think she stayed very long, but—

Q. Now, let's just get into that just a little bit. Now when she did make that trip in relation—in reference to the time of her death?

A. Well, I think that it was about three years.

Q. Now had she made any other trips back to Peoria to attend this class reunion, of this school?

A. Well, five years before.

Q. Five years previous. Then it is your testimony that two years previous to her death, and approximately five years previous to her death, she went back to Peoria, Illinois, to attend a class reunion of some school she had graduated from there.

A. Yes.

Q. Now then, during this period of time, was she on the pension roll of the State of Washington?

A. Yes, she was.

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Q. Now do you know what—where she obtained the finances to make these trips back to Peoria?

A. I couldn't state that. I suppose she had no other means except her pension. She wasn't working.

Q. She was not working.

A. She was not working.

Q. And you don't know of any instances in which she might have borrowed the money to make a trip?

A. No, I don't.

Q. In other words, her sole income during the period of both those trips, so far as you know, was from her old age pension.

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear the article read in the record this morning that her death was due directly to lack of food, lack of medical care, want to the attention that she should have received by virtue of her pension—the size of her pension, and all that kind of business?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Now, Mrs. Redenbaugh, I wish you would state whether or not that article was true.

A. It was not true.

Q. You know that of your own knowledge?

A. I know that.

Q. Now, as one of maybe two of her only relatives residing in the State of Washington, how did you first learn of her death?

A. I read it in the newspaper, and the paper was a day old.

Q. If you hadn't of read the notice in the newspaper of her death, would you have had any knowledge of the fact that she had even died?

A. No, I would not.

Q. Did anybody notify you by 'phone or telegram, or letter, or anything else, of her death?

A. No.

Q. Do you know whether or not that letters were in her apartment, corresponding—correspondence from you, with your address? In other words, was it possible for you to have been notified?

A. I think so.

Q. It is your testimony that you had corresponded with her.

A. Yes, I had.

Q. Now, Mrs. Redenbaugh, did anybody consult you as one of the nearest relatives of this deceased person, relative to her funeral arrangements?

A. No.

Q. You had nothing at all to do with the funeral arrangements that were later made?

A. Nothing at all.

Q. Did you have any kind of a chance to make—to have anything to do?

A. No chance at all.

Q. In other words, I'll ask you if the arrangements had all been made before you ever had—ever came to the City of Seattle to attend the funeral.

A. Yes, they had all been completed.

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Q. Now, you did attend the funeral?

A. I did.

Q. In company with whom?
A. With my husband.

Q. Is your husband ill at this time?
A. He is.

Q. Just briefly what—for what reason—
A. He has had a stroke.

Q. He has had a stroke, and it is physically impossible to bring him here at this hearing?

A. Well, he couldn't very well make the trip.

Q. Mrs. Redenbaugh, where did you attend this funeral?
A. At Butterworth's.

Q. Do you refer to Butterworth's Funeral Home here in the City of Seattle?
A. Funeral Home here in Seattle.

Q. Now, just describe that funeral briefly. First, in which one of the rooms was the funeral held?

A. Well, it was in a large chapel. It was pretty well filled when I went in. I had made the trip from the Island and I had just barely time to get there before two.

Q. You just barely got there before the service started?
A. Yes, very shortly.

Q. Now, this room that was fairly well filled, as you say, was it filled with her friends?

A. I didn't recognize only two people.

Q. You only recognized two persons.

A. Yes, that I would have said were friends.

Q. Who were the rest of the folks that were there?

A. Well, they were complete strangers to me. They were elderly people, and I had no idea where they had come from or who they were.

Q. Now, just in your own words now, will you describe to the committee what the funeral was like, who participated in it, and so on.

A. Well, it was a disgraceful affair. There wasn't really any funeral about it, and I didn't know—I did know Mr. Pennock by sight, I didn't know the other man, I took it for granted that he was a minister. And—

Q. Did you hear Mister—who was the first one to speak?
A. I think Mr. Pennock was the first to speak.

Q. Well, what was the general nature of his remarks, Mrs. Redenbaugh?

A. He said we were gathered there for this funeral of Sister Marie Redenbaugh, and he said that she had died from neglect and she had no relatives, and I don't recall just what he said after that, and then Mr. Fisher took over.

Q. Well, did he give the type of neglect that she had died from?

A. Yes, he said that it was starvation, and neglect. He said she had needed medical care and had been refused.

Q. Well, did she—did he indicated—did he indicate what type of medical attention that had been refused to her?

A. No, I don't think he mentioned any type. He simply gave the idea she had needed medical attention and hadn't received it.

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Q. Well, during all the forty years that you knew her, was there any time that she needed medical attention that she didn't have medical attention?

A. No.

Q. Well, did he attempt to pray or offer any kind of a prayer there at the—

A. Yes, he did, and he—

Q. What did he say in that respect?

A. —said that she was the first victim, and he hoped she'd be the last.

Q. You couldn't repeat his words, could you Mrs. Redenbaugh?

A. I'm afraid I don't recall them exactly.

Q. But he did say that she was the first victim?

A. The first victim.

Q. The first victim of what?

A. Of the State not providing ample funds, and the aid they should have and the medical attention they should have.

Q. Mrs. Redenbaugh, was there anything sacred about this so-called funeral service?

A. Nothing at all. There was nothing there except just the one woman who sang the song. I think it was "Beautiful Isle of Somewhere." And it was the only thing that referred to a funeral in any way.

Q. Did anyone else talk there beside Bill Pennock, the President of the Washington Pension Union?

A. There was a man, I didn't know his name at the time, but later learned it was Dr. Fisher.

Q. Who presented Dr. Fisher to the audience?

A. Well, I think it was Mr. Pennock.

Q. Did he introduce him as a doctor, or a minister, or do you remember how he was introduced?

A. No, I don't recall just what he said.

Q. Well, what sort of a talk did Dr. Fisher make?

A. Well, he had little slips in the Bible that he could turn the pages and refer to, and he read here and there, it was mostly about the poor and not neglecting them. He had—he read quite a number of those.

Q. Did you hear any statement—did he make any specific statement there on that occasion, that—that you particularly remember at this time, about our form of government?

A. Yes, I do. He mentioned the pensions in California, first, and then he—

Q. What did he have to say about that?

A. Well, he—I—as I recall it, he said they had sixty dollars, or something like that. And he said that then they were sending money abroad, helping everybody, sending food, and that he didn't object to it, but he felt that if they could do that for the other countries they ought to be able to provide the relief for their own people, and if they couldn't do it, it was time we had a change of government.

Q. Now, do you mean to say that he made that type of a talk at a funeral?

A. He did.

Q. Was that the general tenor of his remarks throughout all of his remarks?

A. Yes.

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Q. Mrs.—do you remember any part—anything else that either he or Mr. Pennock said there? Other than what you've testified to?

A. Well, the—no, nothing except what I have said. He just talked on the wrong thing, that she had died from starvation.

Q. Well, how did the—all this crowd of elderly people that were unknown to you, receive his remarks, or their remarks?

A. Well, I would take it that they thoroughly agreed with what he said.

Q. What causes you to say that?

A. They looked rather satisfied to me.

Q. Now, as a matter of fact, Mrs. Redenbaugh, was this a rally of old age pensioners there on this occasion, or was it a funeral?

A. It was no funeral. I later told Mr. Pennock, in a letter, that it was nothing but a political rally. That's all it was.

Q. Well, did you—did you stay till the funeral was over?

A. I did not. I walked out.

Q. You walked out.

A. I did.

Q. Before the service, or whatever it was, was completed?

A. I walked out quite a little while before they were completed.

Q. What did you walk out for, Mrs. Redenbaugh?

A. Because I could no longer stand hearing all the lies they were telling.

Q. Lies who were telling?

A. Mr. Pennock and Dr. Fisher.

Q. And it is your testimony that they were lying before that group of people—

A. They certainly—

Q. —at what was supposed to be a funeral service?

A. They certainly were lying.

Q. And the body of this woman lay in a casket right out there in front of them at the time they were telling those lies?

A. Right beside Mr. Pennock and Dr. Fisher.

Q. And you got up and walked out, and what did you then do?

A. Well, I went into Butterworth's and sat down, and then in a short time Dr. Fisher came in, and I got up and talked to him, and I told him I thought he had conducted a very disgraceful affair, and that he knew they were lies that he'd been telling, and that every one of them had been a deliberate lie. That's the only way to say it.

Q. Well, what did the doctor say?

A. He didn't say anything. He never said one word. He looked down at the floor for the most part.

Q. He just took it.

A. He just took it, and said nothing at all.

Q. Do you remember anything said by Pennock about failure on behalf of the State of Washington to make provision for her burial expenses?

A. He said that the State of Washington didn't take care of their dead, and that but for the generosity of the Butterworth Funeral Parlors they couldn't have held the beautiful funeral they had.

Q. Now, I just—

A. That it was his generosity.

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Q. I just want to be sure now that I understand you. You mean he said that the State of Washington made no provision to take care of their dead?

A. I wouldn't say that he said "no" provision, but he said they didn't make provision. I don't think he put the word in "no" provision.

Q. They didn't make provision.

A. Yes.

Q. And said that it was but for the generosity of the funeral home, this beautiful funeral service could not be held.

A. It was through the generosity of the Butterworth Funeral Parlors that they had that funeral.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mrs. Redenbaugh, and thank you very much for your testimony.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: I believe that concludes the testimony we have to offer at this session.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be at recess, then, until one-thirty o'clock.

(Noon Recess)

1:30 o'clock p. m.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you proceed, Mr. Whipple?

CARRIE A. MORDAUNT, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. Carrie A. Mordaunt.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Mordaunt?

A. 4352 Ninth Avenue Northeast, in the City of Seattle.

Q. Mrs. Mordaunt, your testimony is being recorded in a recording device. It will necessitate your speaking as loudly as you can, just so you don't strain your voice and sort of speak into that microphone, if you please. How long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. About forty-two years.

Q. Mrs. Mordaunt, were you acquainted with Marie Redenbaugh during her lifetime?

A. I was.

Q. Ma'm?

A. Yes.

Q. How long had you been acquainted with her before she passed away?

A. I would say ten or twelve years.

Q. You remember the circumstances of her death and burial here in the City of Seattle, do you?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, if you will answer a question, instead of nodding your head, why, we will pick up the answer by the machine a little bit better.

Q. Now, did you attend her funeral?

A. I did.

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Q. Did you attend her funeral in company with anyone?

A. Yes.

Q. Who did you go with?

A. With Mrs. Osborn.

Q. Is that the same Mrs. Osborn who testified here this morning?

A. It is.

Q. Mrs. Mordaunt, just describe the chapel when you first got there, as to whether it was filled or not.

A. Well, when we entered the chapel it was not filled, but it—the people commenced to come in rapidly and it was soon filled, so that they brought in chairs and there was people standing at the back.

Q. Well, what funeral home was this, or what chapel?

A. At Butterworth's, of Seattle.

Q. Are you familiar with the fact that they have a small chapel and also a larger one?

A. I am. They have.

Q. Now which of the two chapels did they use, the smaller one or the larger one?

A. The larger.

Q. And from the time the funeral service started, the larger chapel was full, is that your testimony?

A. It was not filled when I entered, but it filled rapidly.

Q. And by the time the service started, or the meeting started—

A. It was full.

Q. Was it full? I think you said there were—brought in extra chairs?

A. Yes.

Q. Now were those persons there all friends of the deceased who was being buried on that occasion?

A. Well, I wouldn't think so, because I had known Marie Redenbaugh for many years and I had met quite a few of her friends, but the majority of these people were people I had never seen.

Q. Mrs. Mordaunt, you heard the account of her—the newspaper account of her death that was read in the record by Mr. Houston this morning?

A. I did.

Q. In which reference was made to the fact that her death was directly caused by her suffering and want for lack of food, placing the blame on the Legislature for her starving to death and for her not having medical care. Did you hear that statement read this morning?

A. I heard that, yes.

Q. Now, were you a neighbor of hers?

A. I was.

Q. During the ten years of time that you knew her, did you have occasion to visit her at her home and she visit you in your home?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have an opportunity to observe the manner in which she dressed, whether she had ample clothing to wear?

A. I'm sure she did.

Q. You're sure that she did.

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever have any opportunity to observe the—what she had to eat, or to know whether she had enough to eat or not?

A. Yes.

Q. All right, just tell us now something about her habits—her eating habits, as you know them.

A. Mrs. Redenbaugh had not been well. She had heart trouble, and she also had stomach trouble, and she had to be very careful of what she ate, and was careful in choosing her food, which she did. She was a trained nurse and knew how to do that sort of thing, and she bought her food accordingly, but she had plenty.

Q. You say she was a trained nurse?

A. Yes, she was.

Q. She knew what she needed and bought her food—

A. Yes.

Q. —plenty. Well, compared to what other people had to eat, what you had to eat in your home, and your other neighbors had to eat in their home, how did she fare in comparison with her neighbors?

A. I don't know about my neighbors, but I know that she bought food I did not buy, but I thought that was on the condition of her health.

Q. The condition of her health.

A. Yes.

Q. Well, Mrs. Mordaunt, was there any truth in that statement that was read into the record this morning, from that newspaper, about her dying for lack of food, and care?

A. Absolutely no truth in that.

Q. No truth in it.

A. No.

Q. Now, when you got to this undertaking establishment, who seemed to have charge of the meeting there?

A. Well, I didn't know at the time who it was, but I afterwards learned that it was a man named Pennock and he introduced a gentleman named Fisher. He introduced him as Doctor Fisher.

Q. Introduced him as Doctor Fisher.

A. I never had seen either one before.

Q. You didn't know either of those two persons before. Do you remember anything about the remarks of either of those two gentlemen?

A. Well, they—

Q. Which one spoke first?

A. Well, Mr. Pennock.

Q. Well, what was the nature of his talk, if you remember?

A. Well, I wouldn't be able to quote him—word—but the nature of the talk was that just, the departed, Marie Redenbaugh, the cause of her death was malnutrition, she had died because of lack of food and lack of medical care. And that seemed to be the trend of the whole talk, and that they were sorry for her and they hoped it would not be repeated, that this was the first case they had had.

Q. Did he at—on that occasion offer a prayer or attempt to offer a prayer of any kind?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he say in that respect?

A. Well, I couldn't quote the prayer, but he repeated again that this party had died of want in this country, and that he hoped that—I don't know whether it was in the prayer or not, but in his talk was that he hoped things would be changed in this country so that the elderly people and people who needed, would be better taken care of.

Q. Yes. Now, were similar remarks made by anyone else that took part in the funeral—

A. Well, they both made those remarks, Dr. Fisher and—

Q. Dr. Fisher and he also, made those—

A. Yes.

Q. —remarks.

A. They were sending to other countries and he felt that they should be taken care of at home before—

Q. Yes. Well now, Mrs. Mordaunt, was there anything—was there any lack of reverence—

A. Yes, I couldn't see any reverence to it. I was quite incensed about it.

Q. You were what?

A. Quite incensed because there was a lack of reverence.

Q. Did you stay in the room there until the meeting had concluded?

A. No, I couldn't stay.

Q. What did you do?

A. I listened as long as I could, and the meeting to me was not—it was a meeting; it was not a funeral service. To me it was, well, I had never been to a Communist meeting, but it certainly sounded that way, and I was so incensed when they commenced to talk of what we should get in this country and what the Legislature should do, that I just got up and walked out.

Q. Do you mean to say you just couldn't stand it any longer? And got up and walked out?

A. I did.

Q. Where did you go?

A. I went out one door and in the other to Mr. Butterworth's office.

Q. Did you have any conversation with anyone out there?

A. Yes, I did. There were the—

Q. Who did you talk to?

A. Well, there were several gentlemen, I didn't know who they were, they were—had something to do with the—

Q. Attendants there at the funeral home?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, did you talk to anyone there?

A. Whether it was Mr. Butterworth or an attendant, I don't know; but I—he asked if he could do anything for me when I came in the door, and I said, "No," that I had been in to the funeral service and I was so incensed over it and so agitated I couldn't stay. And he said that it was a surprise to them too, that they didn't realize or know that this was going to happen.

Q. What else did he say?

A. Well, that's all he said.

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Q. Was anything said about changing the arrangements?

A. Yes, he said, "We had no idea this funeral was to be this size," that, "we had the body prepared in the smaller chapel, but when the people commenced to come in, then we had to change and bring the body into the larger chapel."

Q. But first they had made preparations for the use of the small chapel.

A. Yes.

Q. Then, due to the size of the crowd, they had to—

A. They had to change it.

Q. —change it over to the larger chapel. How many of her friends did you see in attendance there?

A. Oh, I wouldn't know.

Q. That you recognized.

A. Oh, there were a dozen I would say that I knew, but as I say, I was so incensed I didn't look around to see who was there.

Q. Did you later have any kind of a talk with Pennock or Fisher?

A. I did.

Q. Tell the committee what that conversation was and with whom you had the conversation.

A. Well, after the services the—Dr. Fisher came out into this room where I was, and a lady went up to him and told him that what he had told, what he had said in the other room, was not true, that Mrs. Redenbaugh had not died of malnutrition. I didn't know at the time who the lady was. So when she finished talking I said to Mr. Fisher, "I want to verify what this lady has said to you, that what you said was not true, that I'm a neighbor and I don't think that it was called upon anyway to say what you did."

Q. What did he say to that?

A. He didn't say anything.

Q. Well, look around the room now and see if you see this lady that had that conversation that you didn't know at that time.

A. Well, I know it was Mrs. Redenbaugh who—

Q. The lady sitting over here?

A. Yes.

Q. The lady who testified here just before lunch?

A. Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, Mrs. Mordaunt, that's all.

THE WITNESS: I also met Mr. Pennock outside.

MR. WHIPPLE: Oh, I beg your pardon. Tell us about that.

THE WITNESS: He was standing on the sidewalk talking to some of these people, and I couldn't help but to say to him that I thought he made a very fine address but it wasn't called for at a funeral of my friend, that it was a good Communistic talk.

MR. WHIPPLE: What did he say to that?

THE WITNESS: He didn't answer.

MR. WHIPPLE: He didn't answer. That's all. Thank you very much, Mrs. Mordaunt.

(Witness Excused)

MRS. J. R. HAMILTON, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

*Un-American Activities Committee***DIRECT EXAMINATION**

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. Mrs. John R. Hamilton.

Q. Where do you live, Mrs. Hamilton?

A. 6214 Roosevelt Way, Seattle.

Q. Did you know Marie Redenbaugh during her lifetime?

A. About twenty-three years.

Q. Were you—would you put yourself in a class of being a friend of hers?

A. I do.

Q. Were you a close personal friend of hers?

A. I sure was.

Q. Did you visit her intimately during that period of time?

A. I did.

Q. Did you visit in her home, and did she visit in your home?

A. She did. She was in our home about once a week for dinner.

Q. What was the condition of her health during the last, oh, two or three years of her life?

A. Well, she wasn't any too well at times, but she never complained very much.

Q. What was the nature—did she ever divulge to you the nature of her illness or her trouble?

A. Well, she just said she had a bad heart. Outside of that, why—and her stomach, sometimes she couldn't eat everything.

Q. The newspaper record of her death, and the cause of her death, was read in the record this morning, in which it was charged that she virtually was starved to death.

A. Well, that's untrue.

Q. Ma'm?

A. That's untrue.

Q. That she didn't have the proper medical attention and that she suffered for lack of care.

A. Well, no, that isn't true.

Q. Do you know of your own knowledge whether that was true or not?

A. That was untrue.

Q. What sort of care had she had over the period that you knew her?

A. Well, she had the very best. She had everything she wanted. She bought everything that she liked to eat.

Q. Did you ever eat at her house?

A. I did.

Q. Did you ever observe the type of food that she had?

A. She had just as good or better than lots of people.

Q. You observed the manner in which she dressed, I presume?

A. Yes, she dressed—

Q. Did she ever lack for clothing?

A. No, she didn't.

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Q. Do you know of anything on earth, Mrs. Hamilton, that that lady lacked for her own comfort?

A. I don't know of any one thing.

Q. During the last years of her life.

A. She went to shows when she wanted to, she went—if she wanted to eat downtown, she did; she went to good places to eat; so I know of nothing that she didn't have.

Q. Did you ever know of any time that she lacked for funds to buy anything that she wanted?

A. She never told me, if she did. If she did, it was just a temporary—the end of the month before her check came.

Q. You do know that she was receiving a pension from the State of Washington.

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know about any training of any kind that she might have had in her younger years?

A. Well, I knew she was a trained nurse, a registered nurse.

Q. A registered nurse.

A. Yes.

Q. And she understood the nature of her own illness?

A. She did.

Q. And the things that it was necessary for her to do?

A. Yes.

Q. And it's your testimony that she had all of the groceries that she wanted to eat. What about medicine, was she able to get—

A. She got all the medicine she wanted, but she wouldn't take it. She didn't take very much medicine, but she could have had it.

Q. She could have had it.

A. Yes.

Q. Now, if I remember correctly—strike that. When was the last time she ever ate a meal with you before she passed away?

A. On the Fourth of July. She spent the day with us.

Q. Well, that was just four days preceding her death.

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have any understanding with her on that occasion about another visit or another meeting—

A. She called me up on the morning that she had gone to the market, and she had just come back from the market, and she said she was coming up. She said, "I bought your Christmas present." And I thought she was joking. And she said, "I'm going to bring it up," but she said, "I'm tired and I will rest a while and come up later on in the evening." And I said, "All right, come up and have dinner with us." And she said, "All right." Well, she didn't come, but I didn't think anything of it because lots of times she would do that and then maybe go someplace else or be just too tired to come. And so I didn't hear any more from her until they found her body.

Q. How long was it after she called you until she passed away?

A. Well, that I—that was on Saturday forenoon that she had came back from the market. And it was Monday evening when they found her.

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Q. I see. Now, did you have occasion to attend a so-called funeral service over at the Butterworth Funeral Home?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you go there in company with anyone?

A. Yes, with my husband.

Q. Did you go there before the meeting had started, or after it had commenced?

A. Well, before it started. We were there early.

Q. Are you familiar with the fact that they have more than one meeting place in the funeral parlors there?

A. Yes.

Q. Which of the meeting places was first prepared for this body, or the funeral?

A. Well, I was told the small one; but we didn't go in there. We waited in the lobby for a while, until they had decided then on this larger room.

Q. Was that information imparted to you by an attendant there at the funeral home?

A. Yes.

Q. You had to wait until they transferred the body from the small room over into the large one.

A. Yes.

Q. And that was the room in which subsequently this—

A. The services were held.

Q. —were held. Now, how large a group were in attendance there?

A. Well, I should say a hundred, a hundred and fifty.

Q. Was there—were those people Mrs. Redenbaugh's friends?

A. Well, some of them, but not all of them, for I heard them—

Q. What percentage of them would you say were her friends?

A. About, maybe twenty-five.

Q. Who were the—who were the other people?

A. Well, from what they said, I heard different ones say that they had never met Mrs. Redenbaugh, but that they knew about her from being in the Pension.

Q. That is, you heard from different ones in attendance there?

A. Yes, in attendance.

Q. That made the statement that they never had met her didn't know her, but that they had heard about her in the—

A. From the Pension—going to the Pension Union.

Q. Meetings. And from that you made your own conclusions as to who the rest of the persons were.

A. Yes.

Q. Well, you heard the statement read into the record this morning, the "New World" account of her death, I presume?

A. I did.

Q. Now was there one single word of truth in that statement other than the fact that she died and later was buried out here at Washelli Cemetery?

A. Not one.

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Q. Did you hear any part of the so-called services that took place there that day?

A. I did.

Q. Who were the speakers?

A. Mr. Pennock and Mr. Fisher,—Dr. Fisher.

Q. Had you ever seen this Dr. Fisher before?

A. No, I didn't.

Q. Had you ever seen this Mr. Pennock before?

A. No.

Q. Then at that time you didn't know either of those two gentlemen. Did you hear Mr. Pennock offer a prayer of any kind there on that occasion?

A. I don't remember of Mr. Pennock having any prayer. Mr. Fisher said some kind of prayer.

Q. What, to the best of your recollection, was it?

A. Well, I don't just recall what—

Q. What he said?

A. What he said.

Q. Do you remember anything about the—any of the remarks Mr. Pennock made on that occasion?

A. Yes, he made the remark that we were sending lots of supplies and food and money overseas to help people over there, and we weren't taking care of our people in this country, and if we didn't—if they didn't do it pretty soon there'd have to be some action taken.

Q. If they didn't do it pretty soon, there'd have to be some action taken. Now did he say what that action would be?

A. Well, I don't know what he meant by it.

Q. Was a change of our form of government mentioned?

A. Well, he said that there would have to be some change in the way things were handled.

Q. Now, you heard that newspaper article refer to the fact that she had been trapped behind a radiator. Was there any truth in that?

A. No, there was not.

Q. Did—were you among those persons who came in at the time her body was found?

A. No, I wasn't.

Q. I see. I didn't know whether that was true. But you learned that that was not true.

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Mrs. Hamilton, was there anything sacred about that so-called funeral service at all?

A. Not that I could see or hear anything of it.

Q. How did it impress you?

A. Just like what they call a political rally. It wasn't really a good political rally.

Q. Was that being done there over the body of this deceased elderly lady there—

A. It was.

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Q. —in your presence, and in the presence of all these other persons.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mrs. Hamilton.

(Witness Excused)

MR. JOHN R. HAMILTON, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. John R. Hamilton.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Hamilton?

A. 6214 Roosevelt Way.

Q. What relation, if any, are you to the person who just testified?

A. Husband.

Q. Where do you work, Mr. Hamilton?

A. County Assessor's office.

Q. Here in King County?

A. King County.

Q. Did you know Marie Redenbaugh—Now will you talk over in that microphone there so we will get this—Did you know Marie Redenbaugh during her lifetime?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. How long did you know Marie Redenbaugh before she passed away?

A. Well, I've known her ever since I was a child.

Q. Well, would you give us—would you care to give us some indication of the years, as to the length of time you've known her?

A. Oh, about sixty.

Q. About sixty years. Now, Mr. Hamilton, did you ever have occasion to visit her in her apartment there in Mrs. Crosetto's home?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Did you visit her frequently?

A. Well, I didn't visit near as frequent as the wife did.

Q. Did you have occasion to observe her as she would visit you people over in your home?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, over these years, Mr. Hamilton, do you know of any work that she was peculiarly fitted to do, or had been trained to do?

A. Well, she was a trained nurse in—for children, as I understood it.

Q. She was a trained nurse.

A. Yes.

Q. Now, there has been some testimony, that is—strike that. There has been a newspaper article read in the record this morning, laying the blame of this woman's death on the Legislature for not giving her funds enough to sustain herself, to buy medicine and food and so forth and so on. I would like for you to state whether there was any truth in that article, or not.

A. That was a malicious falsehood.

Q. That was a malicious falsehood. Now, why do you say that was a malicious falsehood?

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A. There was no resemblance of fact to it whatsoever. She was as well fed as anybody was. She was well clothed, I would say, as the ordinary person.

Q. During all those years, Mr. Hamilton, that you knew her, did you ever know her to lack or want for anything to sustain her body, in the way of food and clothing?

A. Not a thing, no.

Q. Or medical care.

A. No.

Q. Now, without going into the conditions of her apartment and so forth, did you attend the—this meeting at Butterworths alleged funeral service?

A. I did, and it was—wasn't a funeral, it was simply a rabble-rousing political meeting, is all it was.

Q. Then it's your testimony it was not a funeral, but a rabble-rousing political meeting?

A. That's all.

Q. Why do you make that statement, Mr. Hamilton?

A. Why, the manner in which it was conducted, the remarks that were made.

Q. All right, who conducted the funeral?

A. Mr. Pennock and some man by the name of Fisher.

Q. Did you overhear the remarks of either this Mr. Pennock or this Mr. Fisher?

A. I did.

Q. Let's take the case of Mr. Pennock first. What were his remarks on that occasion?

A. His remarks was that this lady had died of malnutrition through the fault of the State of Washington, and legislators, and that some change in the government policy should be made. He didn't state how, but he made that statement.

Q. Now, did you hear him offer or attempt to offer any prayer there on that occasion? Or either of those two gentlemen?

A. I think Dr. Fisher offered a prayer.

Q. What did he say in that?

A. Well, he—the prayer seemed to be principally for a change in conditions for these old people, regardless of how they got it.

Q. I think you said you didn't know Fisher before that.

A. I didn't know either one of them.

Q. You didn't know either Fisher or—or Pennock. Did you hear either one of those gentlemen say anything relative to the change of our form of government?

A. He said that such a change should be made. He didn't say how it should be made, but that it was evident that it should be made.

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Q. Who made that remark?

A. Fisher.

Q. Now, Mr. Hamilton, was there anything sacred about this so-called funeral at all?

A. Not a thing.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mr. Hamilton. Thank you.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to read an article that appeared in the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer" in the issue of Friday, July the 11th, 1947, and at the conclusion of the reading of the article, to introduce this issue of this paper as a Committee exhibit.

I am reading from page ten: "Pension Protest. On July 7th, 1947, my life-long friend, Mrs. Marie Redenbaugh, was found locked in her apartment at 1308 Ninth Avenue, Northeast, and died on the way to the hospital. She was the last survivor of her family. Her only child, a daughter, died at six years of age. Mrs. Redenbaugh was a nurse by profession and a true Christian by practice. This dear sweet soul died unnecessarily. Her death can be directly attributed, I am positive of this, to the new pension set-up, the worry and apprehension over the lien law, plus the lack of medical care, were responsible for her passing. She had already received a cut in her pension in May, of twenty-two dollars. She knew she was going to receive another cut on July 7th, which was delayed and came the day after her death.

"Her funeral services should be attended by all who detest and despise the new insecurity program. It will be held at Butterworth Funeral Home on Friday, July 11th, at two p.m. Mary E. Bettinger." B-e-t-t-i-n-g-e-r. "2839 Fourteenth Avenue, West."

I would like to introduce this as an exhibit and so marked and incorporated into the record, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The specific page in question will be marked in evidence and admitted as Committee's Exhibit No. 53.

MR. HOUSTON: I might mention that that's under the column of "The Voice of the People," for more ready identification, which I understand is letters that are published by this paper, written to the paper for publication.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce into the record at this time, two instruments. One is the photostatic copy of the Articles of Incorporation taken from the records, and duly attested to, Articles of Incorporation of the Washington Old Age Pension Union. I would like to introduce, have that numbered as an exhibit and introduced into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be number—Committee's Exhibit No. 54, and accepted into the record.

MR. WHIPPLE: I would like particularly to call the Committee's attention to one of the purposes set up in the Articles of Incorporation. Quote, to study the science of government. I would like to introduce into the record at this time a photostatic copy of the—and amendment to the Articles of Incorporation and have same designated as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted and identified as Committee's Exhibit No. 55.

MR. WHIPPLE: This morning reference was made by the witness, Dana Robinson, of a list of firms receiving checks from—or institutions receiving

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checks from the Washington Pension Union and you gave it number 46, but we did not have the exhibit prepared, and I would like to introduce that into the record as an exhibit, at this time.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It already has been given the number 46, then, and admitted previously.

MR. WHIPPLE: That's right. Now, I also want to give a list of checks of individuals that were previously identified by witnesses as being members of the Communist Party, and received checks from the Washington Pension Union in the months of September through, to and including the month of January 1948, and I'm not sure that that was given a number.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: In the event that it was not, we will give it Committee's Exhibit No. 56, and I shall so mark it at this time.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, we have previously had introduced into the record an exhibit showing a Dr. Mary White of Anacortes, is a State Vice President of the Washington Pension Union. In connection therewith I would like to submit a letter on the letterhead of Skagit County, State of Washington, Mt. Vernon, under date of January 22nd, 1948, Samuel E. Wilhite, Clerk; Arthur Elliason, Chief Deputy. Grant Sisson, Route 2, Mt. Vernon, Washington. Dear Mr. Sisson: In reply to your request, kindly be advised that our records show that Mary Gabrielle White, then living at 1020 26th Street, Anacortes, Washington, filed her petition for citizenship in this court on October 17, 1934, which petition was heard on May 21, 1935, at which time Judge George A. Joiner, "J-o-i-n-e-r," denied her petition for citizenship, stating in his order, quote, under testimony of sworn witnesses and evidence produced in open court, it was shown that petitioner, Mary Gabrielle White, was Communistic inclined. Yours very truly, Samuel E. Wilhite, County Clerk, by Arthur Elliason, Deputy."

I ask that that be given a number and entered as an exhibit of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be numbered Committee's Exhibit No. 57, and admitted into the record.

MR. HOUSTON: I have here a letter which I will read and then ask to be entered as an exhibit.

"United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service. File 3633-P-1288, 815 Airport Way, Seattle 4, Washington, February 3, 1948. Chairman, Joint Legislative Fact Finding Committee on un-American Activities, 305 Harrison Street, Seattle, Washington. Dear Sir: Confirming telephone conversation of yesterday, with Mr. Coleman, of your committee, the General Counsel to the Commissioner of this service had directed that we assert the privilege of declining to testify or furnish records or information therefrom, in accordance with instructions issued by the Attorney General.

"However, in accordance with the request of Mr. Coleman, there is furnished the summary of the testimony taken from Martha Johnson during the hearing accorded Mary Gabrielle White in the Superior Court, Skagit County, at Mt. Vernon, Washington, on May 21, 1935.

"The witness named above alleged she was a native-born citizen of the United States. She was employed in the home of Mary White and was a patient of hers. The witness believed that Mrs. White was a member and believer in the Communist Party. The witness stated as her reason for

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thinking that Mrs. White believed in the Russian form of government, was that during election time in Anacortes, Dr. White urged her to vote for the Communist candidate, and that she stated she was neither Republican nor Democrat, and that while she could not vote, while she did not have her citizenship papers, she urged the witness to vote for the Communist candidate.

"During this examination, the witness also stated, 'I wish to state that I know Dr. White has said to a friend, and I wish that part to be confidential, that she would die for Communism and that she thought Lenin was a greater man than Christ, unquote.'

"During the hearing Mrs. White questioned the witness, at which time the witness gave the following reason for believing the subject was a Communist. Quote, because you made allusions to the inadequacies of the existing form of government in the United States, and praised the Russian form of government highly, because they took care of the people and kept them from starving, which the United States did not do. And when I was with you at the camp in Seattle, while we stayed overnight, Lenna spoke very enthusiastically of the chance for Communism in the Broadway high school because the students were ripe for that. Then you answered in a very non-committal way, and I know you did not answer because of the affair that took place one dinnertime when the Grand Duke of Austria was assassinated. You remember very well, Dr. White, at the time I cried when you spoke in such a way that you made me feel—I will not be personal—we were discussing that and I cannot repeat the remark because it is all so vague in my mind. It was so offensive to me and I tried to push it out of my mind, the remarks you made about monarchies, Dr. White; it was after that when we were at the camp, and I know you didn't care to discuss the matter, unquote.

"The witness also stated that while Dr. White had never mentioned Communism to her, she had stated that Russia took better care of her people than any other government.

"It is hoped that the above summary will answer your purposes. Mr. Coleman stated that the subpoena which was taken requiring my presence on the 5th of February, will be withdrawn, and that I will not be required to testify. Respectfully, R. P. Bonham, District Director, Seattle District."

Mr. Chairman, we have made every attempt to secure this record from the Federal Government. They have exercised their right to contend that this is a privileged hearing, but have summarized the testimony here of the witness Johnson. We have made every attempt to get witness Johnson present, but she resides in the State of Montana and we have no subpoena power there, and she's declined to come and testify.

So in the absence of the jurisdiction of this committee reaching to the witness, the inability of this committee to secure the witness, I would like to introduce this summary of the testimony as prepared on the official stationery of the United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and signed by R. P. Bonham, District Director of the Seattle District.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I believe that it is proper to accept this summary in the record, and it will be numbered Committee's Exhibit No. 58.

Due to the fact that we are approaching the conclusion of this session of hearings into the Old Age Pension Union, and it will be necessary for our small and overworked staff to do a little summarizing before going into the

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concluding phases of this hearing, we will recess at this time until one o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 1:00 o'clock p.m., Thursday, February 5, 1948)

1:00 o'clock p.m., February 5, 1948

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have here an exhibit which I will later wish to introduce as an exhibit into the record.

ERNEST PAUL STITH, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Stith, do you recognize this exhibit?

A. I do.

Q. Please state your name for the record.

A. Ernest Paul Stith. S-t-i-t-h.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Stith?

A. 1309 Dexter Avenue, Seattle.

Q. What is your employment, Mr. Stith?

A. Investigator for this committee.

Q. Now you state you recognize this document?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was this the document prepared by you and under your supervision?

A. Yes, sir, with the help of the staff.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Stith, to just describe this document. What is it?

A. A chart, consisting of twenty-one pages of material, each page of which has been divided into three columns. The material in the left-hand column is a chronological list of world events. The center column contains the Communist Party line. And the right-hand column contains material showing the stand taken by the leaders of the Washington Pension Union throughout the period from 1937 to the present time. The source of material for this chart consisted of the United States House of Representatives, 78th Congress, 2nd Session, documents numbers 541 and 1311, excerpts from Appendix IX, Report of the Special Committee on un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives; excerpts from the "Daily Worker" of New York, which is the official organ of the American Communist Party, and shows the changes in the policies of that party in accordance with the changes in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union; excerpts from editorials, articles, and Pension Union bulletins from the Washington "New Dealer" and the "New World," official organ of the Washington Pension Union and formally so designated on the masthead of that publication; daily newspapers, pamphlets, books and articles, which I have placed on file with this committee.

Authority and source of material used in this chart is listed under each item.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do you wish to introduce this as an exhibit now, or at the close of—

MR. HOUSTON: At the conclusion—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —your proof.

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MR. HOUSTON: if it's relevant, Mr. Chairman.

A. A comparison—well first, I will attempt to give you a digest of the information contained in this chart, in the form of a running commentary.

A comparison of the Communist Party line and the policies of the Washington Pension Union as they reflect world events compels me to conclude that the leaders of the Pension Union have consistently followed the Communist Party line. This support of Russian foreign policy has been constant throughout even when in opposition to the foreign policy of our own country.

I will first sketch for you a background of world conditions as they developed previous to August of 1939. The Japanese started their conquest of Manchuria in '31. Adolf Hitler became head of the National Socialist Party in Germany, and Franklin D. Roosevelt became President of the United States in 1932. In 1933 Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and the United States recognized the government of Soviet Russia.

During 1935 the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International was held, following which the United States called attention to and protested against, the activities involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, which took place in Russia in connection with this Congress. Russia declined to accept the protest of the United States and Secretary Hull, in turn, rejected Russia's reply, quote, in view of the plain language of the pledge, it is not possible for the Soviet Union to disclaim its obligation to prevent activities on its territory directed towards overthrowing the political or social order in the United States, end of quote. President Roosevelt signed the first neutrality act during this year; Italy and Ethiopia mobilized and the United States placed an embargo on the export of munitions to Italy and Ethiopia. Chiang Kai-Shek became president of China in December. During 1936 the Popular Front won the general election in Spain; German troops occupied the Rhineland; the Spanish Civil War started; and the Italian-Ethiopian war ended. This was followed by the first of the Soviet treason trials and Franklin D. Roosevelt's re-election as President of the United States.

In 1937 Congress prohibited the export of munitions to Spain; a new American neutrality law was signed; the Moscow trials and purges continued; Japan invaded North China; and President Roosevelt delivered his Quarantine speech in Chicago.

During 1938 there was a continuation of the Moscow trials; the reunion of Austria and Germany; the Munich Conference; and German troops occupied a portion of Czechoslovakia.

The Spanish Civil War ended in '39; the United States recognized the Nationalist Government of Spain; Molotov replaced Litvinov as Foreign Commissar of Russia; Secretary of State Hull recommended revision of the neutrality law to eliminate the arms embargo, which recommendation failed to pass the House of Representatives by a narrow margin; and finally, Britain and France affirmed their determination to defend Poland by arms, if necessary, to keep their obligation.

What was the Communist Party line during this period? Prior to August 1935, no distinction was made between fascist and democratic governments, by the Communist Party. They were all termed capitalistic and had to be destroyed by a revolution and replaced by a proletarian dictatorship.

Between August of 1935 and September of—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Stith, will you read your authorities as you proceed through this record?

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THE WITNESS: Well, I don't have them all on me—

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have one there—

THE WITNESS: —on the paper; they are all on the chart.

MR. HOUSTON: All on the chart.

THE WITNESS: All right. The authority for that statement was from the United States House of Representatives, Document No. 1311, page 186.

MR. HOUSTON: But each authority is listed on the chart.

THE WITNESS: Is listed on the chart, under the item.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Let me understand, this is a resume of the chart?

THE WITNESS: Of the chart.

MR. HOUSTON: That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The chart will support any part of that record.

MR. HOUSTON: It will point right to the documentary evidence.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: And—well, proceed.

A. Between August of 1935 and September of 1939, Adolph Hitler became a threat to the Soviet Union. Opposition to the Fascist governments, support of a Collective Security Program, or a United Front of the democracies and the Soviet Union against the Fascist nations, became the policy of the Communist Party. Now, that is a quote from the United States House of Representatives, Document No. 1311.

The following is a quotation from United States Attorney General Biddle. Quote, The American League Against War and Fascism is the first of three organizations established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union. Its successor, the American League for Peace and Democracy, was established in 1937 and it, in turn, gave way in 1940 to the American Peace Mobilization which, since the German invasion of Russia and the establishment of a pro-war policy by the Communists in the United States, has been known as American People's Mobilization, end of quote.

The Manifesto and Program of the American League Against War and Fascism, adopted at the United States Congress Against War, in New York City on September 29th through October the 1st, 1933, includes the following objectives:

To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes;

To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by Imperialist governments;

To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own Imperialist governments;

To form committees of action against war and Fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries.

United States House of Representatives, Document No. 1311, dated March 29th, 1944, in the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the 78th Congress, in 2nd Session, makes the following comment on the above program. Quote, years later this was translated into overt acts when the Communist-led C. I. O. unions did everything possible, especially through strikes, to stop the

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manufacture of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of the war, end of quote.

Turning to the right-hand column of the chart, I find in the Seattle "P.-I.", May the 23rd, 1936, N. P. Atkinson, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, urged permission to use the Broadway High School for the Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism.

"Sunday News," June 5, 1937, N. P. Atkinson and Bill Pennock, of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, elected members of the Continuations Committee by the Third Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism.

In 1937, the formation of the Washington Old Age Pension Union occurred, with James Sullivan, President.

"Seattle Times," May 30, 1938, N. P. Atkinson, Chairman, Northwest Congress for Peace and Democracy, May 30, 1938.

Also in 1938, N. P. Atkinson, Executive Chairman, Continuation Committee, Northwest Congress for Peace and Democracy, which was affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy, and whose address was 601 Palomar Building, Seattle.

William Pennock, Washington Commonwealth Federation, member of the committee.

We find, therefore, at least two of the future leaders of the Washington Old Age Pension Union connected during this period with organizations termed by Attorneys General Biddle, and Clark, and United States House of Representatives Report No. 1311, as Communist Front organizations.

Turning to the column on World Background, I find that on August the 23, 1939, Molotov and Von Ribbentrop signed the Soviet-Nazi non-aggression pact in Moscow. Then in swift succession, Hitler invaded Poland, Britain and France declared war on Germany, the Soviet Union attacked Poland from the east, the United States declared neutrality, and on September 28th Russia and Germany partitioned Poland.

The signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact brought an abrupt about-face in the Communist Party line. On September 19, 1939, the "Daily Worker" carried the Declaration of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, excerpts from which were as follows: "The war that has broken out in Europe is the Second Imperialist War. . . . We must keep two guiding thoughts in mind; first, allow no single measure to be taken for purposes of giving American help to either side of the Imperialist conflict; second, find the most effective means of keeping out of the war. . . . These two guiding thoughts are inseparable."

Note: Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, of the 78th Congress, 2nd Session, House Report 1311, page 186, "From September 1939 to June the 21st, 1941, the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, opposition to the present war as Imperialist. Support of an isolationist position. Support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Demand that we pay attention to our own domestic problems first," constituted the Communist Party line.

In line with the above declarations, I find in the Pension Union column the following material:

"Washington New Dealer," October 12, 1939, United States Must Keep Out of War, Old Age Pension Union Delegates Declare, Wall Street Branded as War Menace, Keep America Out of War and Safeguard Democracy at Home by Joining with Other Progressive Groups in the Precincts to beat back Wall Street's Drift Toward War. These were among resolutions over-

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whelmingly endorsed at the convention as pensioners mobilized to protect their gains by safeguarding peace at home. We find, among committee officials at this convention the following: Constitutional Committee, John Caughlan, Chairman; Grievance and Organization Committee, William Pennock, Chairman; Legislative Committee, N. P. Atkinson, Chairman; Resolutions Committee, Tom Rabbitt, Chairman.

Among state officers elected were: James Sullivan, President; William J. Pennock, Executive Secretary; and Tom Rabbitt, N. P. Atkinson, John Caughlan and Edward Pettus were elected members of the State Executive Board.

"Seattle Star," October 26, 1939, N. P. Atkinson, newly appointed precinct organizer of the Democratic Central Committee, said his first move would be to circulate peace petitions from house to house in every precinct in the city. These petitions were to be circulated by an organization perfected during the preceding fortnight.

I might mention at this point, that these petitions were subsequently referred to as "Mandates for Peace" and the organization circulating them was the Peace Mobilization Council.

"Seattle P.I." November the 21st, 1939: Following controversy over the peace petitions, Atkinson resigned as organizer for the King County Democratic Central Committee.

From October of 1939 into May of 1940, I find that Soviet Russia had concluded pacts with the Baltic countries for military materials, bases and other rights and the Russian-Finnish campaign had ended. President Roosevelt made a speech in which he condemned Russia for her invasion of Finland, the bombing of her civilians and stated that the Finnish people by their heroic defense of their homeland had earned the right to remain an independent nation. Germany took over Norway and Denmark and invaded the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and France. Dunkerque is history.

During this period we find in the column under Communist Party Line, this excerpt from a speech by William Z. Foster in the "Daily Worker," February 27, 1940: "Not only is it the basic interest of the American people to stay out of war, but it is also vital that the United States be not allowed to throw its reactionary influence into the present developing world struggle."

"Seattle Times," March 15, 1940: Russ Call It Peace Victory. Moscow, Thursday, March 24th, Typical of worker's resolutions reported by Tass was this one adopted in a Moscow automobile factory—"The treaty with Finland is a fresh victory for the Stalin policy of peace." "Izvestia" characterized conclusion of the Finnish treaty as a real triumph for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and a crushing blow to the far-reaching plans of the warmongers in Northern Europe.

"Seattle P.I." March 14, 1940: Stalin Crosses Fingers, Hails Peace Triumph. Moscow, March 13, an AP dispatch, Soviet Russia jubilantly hailed her dictated peace with Finland as a new triumph for Josef Stalin's "policy of peace" and a stunning blow to plans of British and French "Imperialists" to spread war all over Europe.

"Daily Worker," April 6, 1940, Editorial, Quote, The Yanks are not coming; no aid in the forms of loans, credits or any other manner to any of the beligerents; opposition to the war-and-hunger budget of the Roosevelt Administration; no support to the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Government which has turned the United States into an arsenal for the warmakers abroad, end of quote.

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"Daily Worker," May 11, 1940, Editorial, "This is not our war; keep United States out of it; the Imperialist bandits in each country; the Anglo-French and Hitler bandits; a handful of the population are turning the world into a madhouse of murder; President Roosevelt cannot escape the share of responsibility for the criminal spreading of the war; starve the war and feed America; keep America out of this criminal war." Now, some Pension Union activities during this same period.

"Seattle Star" and "Times," March 19, 1940. John Caughlan dismissed from the Prosecutor's office because of refusal to publicly condemn Communism and the Russian invasion of Finland.

"Seattle Times," March 22, 1940. State Representative William Pennock, Secretary of the Old Age Pension Union—"I am not a Communist. I don't think taking sides in the Russian-Finnish war, now over, is a pressing problem."

State Senator N. P. Atkinson, president of the King County Council of the Old Age Pension Union, "I'm not a Communist. Why should Americans take sides in the European conflicts? What I condemn is the subversive attempts of our leaders to turn a peace economy into a war economy."

"Seattle P. I." April the 25th, 1940, gives a report of dissensions at the meeting of the Thirty-first District Washington Commonwealth Federation legislative assembly held at Renton, over a resolution adopted by the State Board of the Old Age Pension Union, assailing nine King County legislators who wrote President Roosevelt commanding him for denouncing the peace terms imposed by Russia on Finland and urging him to continue his moral boycott on Russia.

The Pension Board's resolution was made public by State Senator N. P. Atkinson, King County President of the Union; and by State Representative William J. Pennock, Executive Secretary. State Senator James Sullivan, President of the Old Age Pension Union, was one of the legislators censored.

"Times," Seattle, April the 28th, 1940. At the Thirty-first District Assembly of the Washington Commonwealth Federation at Renton, a report was read showing that the legislators had been censored by the State Board of the Old Age Pension Union. William J. Pennock, Executive Secretary of the Pension Union, had announced that the Board's views were supported by the Thurston County Council of the Pension Union.

"Seattle Times," March 19, 1940. Text of the message to President Roosevelt by the nine legislators in story, "Washington Commonwealth Federation Clashes on Red Censor."

"We heartily commend your stand in condemning the Russian peace demands on Finland. As we have in the past advocated an economic boycott of Japan, Germany, and other aggressor nations, we also urge that you continue your moral boycott of Russia, as being no less brutal an aggressor than any of the nations named."

"Washington New Dealer," April 11, 1940. Pave Peace Road with Old Age Pensions. Help Remove War Threat. Old Age Pension Union urges adequate old age pensions is a vital part of the program to pave the road to peace, it was declared at a meeting of the State Executive Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union here Saturday.

Again we find Pension Union policy in line with the policy of the Communist Party and in opposition to the United States foreign policy.

Turning to the column on World Background, I find that in May of 1940, President Roosevelt asked for one-half billion dollars for defense; Represen-

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tative Bulwinkle, Democrat of North Carolina, introduced legislation to permit allied governments to purchase on credit in this country, anything excepting, "arms, ammunition and implements of war." Incidentally, this would have altered portions of both the neutrality act and the Johnson Act. W.P.A. employment was denied to Communists and members of the Nazi Bund by Congress.

During June, Italy entered the war on the side of Germany and the German-French armistice was signed. On June 29, 1940, President Roosevelt signed legislation passed by Congress, requiring the registration and finger-printing of all aliens in this country. This bill set up penalties for all types of subversive activities and provisions of the bill prohibited the organizing of or membership in any organization advocating the overthrow of the government by force or violence.

The Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill, Selective Service, was introduced in Congress on June 20th and signed by the President on September 16th following. Fifty United States destroyers were traded for British bases in September.

The 1940 campaign platform of the United States Communist Party as found in the "Seattle Times" of June the 1st, 1940, includes the following statements: "Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for war preparations and the Imperialist war. Resist the militarization and armaments program of the Administration and Congress. Stop the application of the M-Day plans. Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union."

"Seattle P.I.", August the 2nd, 1940. Molotov Assails United States, Sees Aid for Britain. Red Premier Stresses Russia's Friendship with the Nazis. Moscow, August 1st: "Imperialist designs in the United States may turn the war into a world Imperialist struggle," Premier Foreign Minister Molotov told the supreme Soviet today in predicting that England would be assisted by America in fighting Germany and Italy. "Germany," Molotov said, "will have the advantage of a calm feeling of security on the east, thanks to the Russo-German non-aggression pact. There are certain people in the United States who are not pleased with successes of the Soviet foreign policy in the Baltic countries," the premier said. "But we are not worried. We can get along without the help of these displeased gentlemen."

"As a result of territory acquired since the beginning of the war in Poland, Finland, the Baltic states and Roumania, Russia's frontiers have reached the Danube," Molotov proudly reminded his hearers, "and her population has been increased in less than a year by more than twenty-three million."

August 31st through September 1st and 2nd, 1940, Meeting of Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago. "Washington New Dealer," September 12, 1940, People Draft Program for All America. Chicago, Illinois, Following is the five-point program for America, drafted by the representatives of the people attending the nation-wide Emergency Peace Mobilization here:

1. America Keep Out of This War. Restore strict neutrality and stay out of World War II. No aid, no loans, no credits, no entangling foreign alliances. American armaments must not be used for military adventures.
2. America, Defeat Militarism and Regimentation. Conscription is a subversive scheme to gag and militarize the nation and drive us into war.
3. America, Restore the Bill of Rights. Restore full rights to the foreign-born. Repeal the anti-alien legislation.

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4. America, Stop War Profiteering, and

5. America, Guarantee a Decent Living Wage For All.

Turning to the Pension Union column, I find in the "Washington New Dealer," July 11, 1940, Old Age Pension Union Board Cites Needs of America. Seattle, Washington. Washington State delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, July 15th, are urged to work for peace, pensions, the preservation of civil rights and jobs in letters ordered sent by the State Executive Board of the Old Age Pension Union. Meeting Saturday, the Executive Board declared that it is unalterably opposed to American intervention in war, either with men or materials.

With but one dissenting vote, the State Board rejected a resolution endorsing the administration's national defense program.

A resolution against military conscription branded the move as un-American and designed to regiment our people and make them pay the price of American intervention abroad for the sake of our industrialists' foreign markets.

The board also protested the bill calling for the fingerprinting of the foreign-born and the dismissal from W.P.A. of Communist and other minority groups.

"Washington New Dealer," August the 15th, 1940. Convention Committees selected by State Board, Old Age Pension Union, include: Tax and Legislation Committee, John Caughlan, Ross Kingston, E. L. Pettus; Educational Committee, Mrs. Etta Tripp, Tom Rabbitt, and Charles Forhell; Resolutions Committee, Senator N. P. Atkinson, A. E. Edwards, Margaret Bryan; Constitutional Committee, Rose Parks, C. A. Johnson, and H. A. Spickler.

"Washington New Dealer," August the 15th, 1940. The Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago, August 31st through September 1st and 2nd, was endorsed by the State Executive Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union. All locals are being urged to send delegates. Arrangements are being made to send several cars on a share-the-expense plan. Persons interested should contact the Washington Old Age Pension Union headquarters, 409 Lyon Building, Seattle.

Entertainment program at the Old Age Pension Union Convention to include a musical revue, "We Won't Be Over," by Topical Players.

"Seattle Star," August the 21st, 1940. Red Charge Splits State's Pension Group Wide Open. The resignation of State Senator James T. Sullivan, who had served as President since the union was formed in 1937, with the statement, an excerpt from which follows:

"This organization today is dominated by Communists, and the natural inference, if I remained as President, would be that I was in sympathy with their program. I, therefore, refuse to act as a decoy to attract honest, sincere people into an organization which has degenerated into a propaganda society. About a year ago Atkinson was busy organizing for peace and helping Tom Rabbitt sell Draft Roosevelt buttons for the Washington Commonwealth Federation. Then the Communist Party line changed, and their activities ceased suddenly. Six months ago, Atkinson entered the Union as chairman of the King County Grievance Committee. Wreckage of the Old Age Pension Union is another illustration of what happens to legitimate organizations when Communists join it and take it over."

"Washington New Dealer," August 22, 1940. Report of Convention of Washington Old Age Pension Union. Among the resolutions passed were the following: Under the heading of Foreign Loans, Opposition to amendment of the Johnson Act to legalize the loaning of money or the selling of naval

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stores, airplanes, or ships to any belligerent nation. Also opposing unneutral statements by government officials.

W.P.A. Purge: Branding as un-American and unconstitutional the section of the 1940 W.P.A. Act inquiring into political beliefs of the unemployed.

Under Anti-Alien Bills: Deploring attacks on foreign-born as steps toward Fascism.

Peace Mobilization: Endorse the Emergency Peace Mobilization at Chicago on August 31st through September 1st and 2nd. Pointing out that in case of war, old age pensions will be drastically curtailed or abolished.

Conscription: Voicing opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth peacetime conscription bill as the establishment of a military dictatorship.

State officers elected at this convention included: President, N. P. Atkinson; Executive Secretary, William J. Pennock. Vice Presidents included Tom Rabbitt, Lenus Westman, and Edward L. Pettus. John Caughlan was elected a member of the State Board.

You will note how fear of losing their pensions was used as a means to persuade members of the Old Age Pension Union to endorse the Communist Party line resolutions. This is shown in the statement by Hugh DeLacy to the convention: "You should not adjourn this convention without taking action on the Burke-Wadsworth Bill—

THE WITNESS: That was the Selective Service bill.

—You must not allow this bill to be forced on your friend and ally, labor. You know that we are not going to win freedom fighting three thousand miles away while we have military dictatorship at home. If the fight for pensions is to be successful, you must join with those who have a common objective," and by the following extract from an open letter by Pennock, published in the "Washington New Dealer," August the 29th, 1940.

"As to the charge that the present leadership of the Union is more interested in international politics than pensions, the organization's stand for peace is modeled after the program adopted at the Townsend Convention, where Dr. Townsend pointed out that if America is dragged to war, all pension advances will in all probability be cut."

"Washington New Dealer," September 12, 1940. Peace Vital to Pensions, Oldsters say. Seattle, Washington. Declaring that peace and democratic rights are vital to the Old Age Pension movement, the State Executive Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union, Saturday, unanimously voted to telegraph the congressional delegation to vote against the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill, or face opposition at the polls in the coming elections.

The board also voted unanimously to concur in the five-point program adopted by the delegates attending the historic People's Convention for Peace and Democratic Rights. And note, this refers to the Emergency Peace Mobilization meeting at Chicago, August 31st through September 2nd, at which the American Peace Mobilization was formed.

The State Board also recommended to locals that at least one meeting in three should be a special peace meeting and urged the close cooperation of the Pension Unions with the peace forces in every community.

"Seattle P.I." October 10, 1940. State Senator N. P. Atkinson and Hugh DeLacy included among those signing a protest against barring of the Communist Party candidates from the Washington State ballot.

We find the leaders of the Pension Union again in agreement with the Communist Party line, and in opposition to the domestic as well as the foreign policy of the United States.

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Turning to the column on World Background, we find President Roosevelt signed the Voorhis Act on October the 17th. This act required registration with the Justice Department of all "foreign-controlled organizations and of all organizations whose purpose is to overthrow or seize the Government by force, violence, or threats." Franklin D. Roosevelt was re-elected President of the United States in November, and in December, during a press conference, he suggested lending arms to Britain. During the same month he called for national effort to increase production of defense implements to meet the threat to democracy. On January the 6th, 1941, the President called for unlimited aid to Britain. On January 10th, the Lease-Lend Bill was introduced in Congress, and on January 28th, the Anti-Sabotage Bill was introduced in the Washington State Legislature.

The Communist Party reaction to these events was prompt.

"Seattle Times," November the 16th, 1940. United States Radicals Shun Moscow to Keep in Law. New York, November the 16th, 1940. Meeting in special convention, two hundred national delegates of the Communist Party today unanimously adopted a resolution to, "cancel and dissolve organization affiliation with the Communist International." The resolution said this was done, "for the specific purpose of removing the Communist Party from the terms of the Voorhis Act, which has been enacted by Congress and goes into effect in January."

"Washington New Dealer," January 23, 1941. Old Age Pension Union Bulletin No. 9. This bulletin is to be acted upon after it is read. Secretaries should indicate on the weekly reports they send in to State Headquarters whether or not the bulletins have been acted upon.

Of major importance to every Pension Union member and friend is the attempt to unseat our Second Vice President, Lenus Westman, duly elected Senator from the 39th District. If the Senate unseats Westman, it will be the beginning of the unseating of other progressive and liberal-minded Senators. All Pension locals are urged to rush resolution demanding the seating of Westman, to Senator Shirley Marsh, State Capitol, Olympia, and to your own Senator.

"Seattle Papers," January 25, 1941. State Senate voted against seating Westman, 27 to 17, because of former Communist Party membership.

"Washington New Dealer," February 13, 1941. Mobilization to converge on Olympia. One of the purposes given was to protest Senate Bill 99, the anti-sabotage bill.

"Seattle P.I." February 12, 1941. Resolution introduced in the House by Representative William J. Pennock, calling upon House members to approve the votes against the Lease-Lend Bill by Congressmen Coffee, Hill, and Jackson. Same resolution introduced in the Senate by N. P. Atkinson. Both were shouted down.

"Washington New Dealer," February 20, 1941. Old Age Pension Union officers elected to the State Executive Committee of the Washington Commonwealth Federation at Eighth Annual Convention of the Washington Commonwealth Federation on February 15th; N. P. Atkinson, one of the three Vice Presidents of the Washington Commonwealth Federation; and on the State Executive Committee were Lenus Westman, Tom Rabbitt, John Caughlan, William Pennock, and Dr. Richard Nelson.

"Washington New Dealer," February 20, 1941. Following the Washington Commonwealth Federation Convention, a People's Legislative Conference was

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held at which N. P. Atkinson was chairman, and Lenus Westman, co-chairman. Among the resolutions passed were the following:

Opposition to the Lease-Lend Bill;

Opposition to the Senate Bill 99, the anti-sabotage bill;

Opposition to resolutions in the Legislature to outlaw the Communist Party;

Opposition to Senate Bill 222, which provides that parties subscribing to the overthrow of State or National government, by force or violence, shall be barred from the ballot.

"Seattle Times," February 13, 1941. Pension Union Flays Red Ban. Olympia, February 12th. Senator J. D. Roberts, Democrat, of Seattle, drew censor yesterday from the Washington Old Age Pension Union for his bills to outlaw the Communist Party through its President, Senator N. P. Atkinson, and Executive Secretary, Representative William J. Pennock.

The period from January 1941 to June the 22nd, 1941, affords a graphic illustration of the close parallel between the policy of the leaders of the Washington Old Age Pension Union and the Communist Party line.

President Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease Bill during this period and pledged a continuous flow of ships, planes, food and guns, to the allied nations, until the winning of total victory.

A series of strikes occurred during this period, seriously crippled many defense activities. Strikes occurred at Vultee Aircraft Company, November 15 to November 27, 1940; Allis-Chalmers, January 22, to April 6, 1941; Harvill Aircraft Die Casting Corporation in March of '41; Bethlehem Steel in March of '41; Ford Motor Company, April the 1st to April the 10th, '41; San Francisco Shipyards, May to June the 25th, 1941; Lumber mills, May 9th to June 14th, 1941; Coal industry from April 1st to April the 28th, 1941; North American Aviation, June 5th to June 10th; and the Communist-inspired attempts to disrupt vital military production at the Boeing Aircraft Company of Seattle during April and May of 1941.

Inasmuch as these strikes stopped the production of key materials in the defense program and most, if not all of them, have been proven Communist-inspired and led, and as some of them were openly endorsed by the leaders and State Executive Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union, a more detailed account follows:

Vultee Aircraft Strike: Company employed approximately fifty-three hundred men and had on hand large orders for United States and foreign military, as well as commercial contracts.

The government lost delivery of between forty and fifty much needed basic training planes and the Air Corps pilot training program was slowed down.

L. H. Michener, Regional Director of the union, issued the strike order. Wyndham Mortimer and L. H. Michener were strike leaders.

Allis-Chalmers Strike: The strike was conducted by the United Automobile Workers of America, whose leader at the plant was Harold Christoffel. Incidentally, Christoffel was one of the leaders of the American Peace Mobilization and of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Communist front organizations.

An excerpt from the statement made by the Naval Affairs Committee in regard to this strike, "it has been estimated that the strike delayed the completion and outfitting of destroyers, submarines, mine sweepers, transports, net tenders, repair ships, and fleet tugs for periods ranging up to six months."

"Seattle Times." March 28, 1941. Interior Department engineers have told Secretary Ickes that necessary equipment for five big Western power projects,

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which are related to defense production, was being held up by the Allis-Chalmers strike at Milwaukee. Allis-Chalmers had contracts for power equipment for Bonneville, Shasta, Boulder, Parker, and the Colorado-Big Thompson dams.

Daily Papers, February 25th, 1947. A brief submitted to the United States House Committee contained a statement of Louis H. Budenz, a member of the National Executive Board of the Communist Party at the time the strike decision was made, that he was present when the Communist Party ordered the strike at Allis-Chalmers for the purpose of disrupting American aid to Britain.

Ford Motor Company Strike: Complete paralysis of the Ford manufacturing and assembly sites throughout the nation. On November 6th, 1940, the Ford Motor Company had been awarded a War Department contract for more than four thousand Pratt and Whitney airplane engines. A report of three hundred thousand dollars sabotage to precision tools, jigs and dies, during the strike, was made to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Coal Strike: Army Department officials said reports from Army branches throughout the country blamed the stoppage for, quote, drastic curtailment in the output of ammonia, steel, wool, cotton, textiles, and other products essential to the defense effort, end of quote.

Boeing Aircraft Company, Seattle: Communist-inspired attempts to disrupt vital military production at the Boeing Aircraft Company, Seattle, through the raising of fictitious labor issues, was prevented by police and the Aero Mechanics Union. The Boeing plant was making flying fortresses for the United States Army and twin-engine bombers for Britain.

The Communist attempt to sabotage Boeing production in the winter and spring of '41, began with the activities of certain members of the Aeronautical Mechanics Local 751, A. F. of L. Harvey W. Brown, President of the International Association of Machinists, with which the Aeronautical Mechanics was affiliated at the time, came to Seattle and took charge of investigations conducted by the union. In reviewing the factional fight that developed he laid the blame wholly upon Communists and their sympathizers.

Quote, I found an element in the union determined to close down the plant. After an understanding had been reached, I returned east and the same element started trouble again, and I had to come back. I then discovered what was wrong, and I was correct when I reported to my associates that the followers of Moscow were at the bottom of the trouble. We suspended the union, and by so doing, we froze the right to hold meetings, an action made necessary by the filibustering tactics of the Communists.

Aeronautical Mechanics Lodge No. 751 has been a long-suffering victim of Communist strategy, character assassins, deliberate lying, and in fact perjury to create confusion, prejudice, hate, bitter feeling among members, to arouse sympathy for expelled Communists, and to treat lightly acts of misappropriation of lodge funds, end of quote.

In the trials conducted by a special committee of the union during the winter of '41, Don Keppler, Vice President, was convicted of Communist activities within the union. Keppler was expelled from the union on January 11th. Barney Bader was suspended from office as President of the local on January 25th, and Hugo Lundquist, business agent, was removed from office on February 11th.

On April 7th, Mr. Brown notified the local of its suspension and deputized

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officers to transact the routine business pending investigation by the Grand Lodge Executive Council.

On April 17th, Wyndham Mortimer, International Representative of the Aircraft Division of the C.I.O. United Automobile Workers, arrived in Seattle, announced he would open offices and said Lewis Michener, Regional Director of the United Automobile Workers, would also arrive on that day. An organization campaign was openly announced.

"P.I." April 20th, contained a picture of Mortimer and Michener in Seattle. "Times," April 20th, contains a picture of Michener, with the caption "Directs C.I.O. Drive."

"Seattle P.I." April 23rd, says Wyndham Mortimer announced that he had applied to the C.I.O. for a charter in a move to organize the Boeing workers into the C.I.O.

Richard Francis, Regional C.I.O. Regional Director for Washington, issued a statement emphatically denying charges that the C.I.O. was sponsoring the Sunday mass meeting announced for April 20th by Barney Bader and Hugo Lundquist in the Civic Auditorium.

Mortimer wrote Barney Bader and Hugo Lundquist, ousted President and Business Agent, respectively, of the Boeing local, for permission for he and Michener to address the mass meeting, adding that R. T. Frankensteen, National Director of the United Automobile Workers organization campaign, may also be here from Detroit.

On April 18th, 1941, acting upon direct orders from Mayor Earl Millikin, the City Building Superintendent canceled the lease issued to Hugo Lundquist for use of the Civic Auditorium for the meeting called by the Lundquist-Bader faction. Mayor Millikin stated, quote, I find upon investigation that this is not a legitimate meeting of the Boeing workers and that the purpose and nature of this meeting have been misrepresented, end of quote.

"Seattle P.I." April 19th, quote, B. Gray Warner, Prosecuting Attorney of King County declared, quote, I am advised that members of the Communist Party have been traveling into Seattle from many distant points of the country for the express purpose of fomenting trouble and that many so-called Communist leaders have taken it upon themselves to openly avow their purpose in this regard. Should purported picket lines, or any other move be attempted at Boeings for the purpose of intimidating the workers by third parties, I am advised by the executive head of the City of Seattle, as well as the heads of all law-enforcement bodies, that the workers as well as the plant, will be protected in the enjoyment of their peaceful relations to the end that this industry, and all others, shall not be interrupted in this community, end of quote.

"Seattle Times," April 24th, 1941. Richard Francis, C.I.O. Regional Director for Washington, announced receipt of a telegram from R. J. Thomas, President of the United Automobile Workers, stating that neither Mortimer nor Michener was authorized by Thomas or by the Executive Board of the U.A.W. to organize Boeing workers.

Hearings opened April the 29th, under Harvey W. Brown, International President of the International Association of Machinists and five other members of the executive board. On April 30th, 1941, Richard T. Frankensteen, National Director of organizing for the U.A.W., arrived in Seattle to take charge of the drive to organize the Boeing Aircraft Company workers into the C.I.O.

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By May the 4th, a total of thirty-eight men had been expelled from the Boeing union, with twenty-one cases pending. Richard Frankensteen and Wyndham Mortimer left for Los Angeles on May the 2nd. Housecleaning of the union had been completed by May the 18th and the suspension lifted. Two days later, however, a group of C.I.O. organizers, directed by Harvey Jackins from a sound truck, appeared at the entrance of Boeing plant two. A near riot ensued as they were driven from the plant. Jackins announced plans for a return engagement at the plant for the following Tuesday, but upon law-enforcement officers appearing upon the scene and an announcement by the Prosecuting Attorney and Chief of Police Sears that measures would be taken to prevent further disturbances, nothing more was done by the rebel faction.

This closed the period of turmoil and strife at the Boeing Plant. On June the 5th, the North American strike began with Wyndham Mortimer and Lewis Michener active in the strike. This strike ended on June 10th with the taking over of the plant by the Army.

Note: The United States House of Representatives Report No. 1311, 78th Congress, 2nd Session, 1944, reports the Communist leadership of strikes responsible for stopping production of vital war materials in the Allis-Chalmers, Harvill, Vultee, International Harvester, Aluminum, North American plant, and Lumber Mills. Many of those responsible were connected with the American Peace Mobilization, whose program was designed to prevent aid from reaching those countries fighting Hitler.

By holding the special links in key industries, Communists and their sympathizers were able to slow down or stop the whole chain of defense production for ourselves and Britain. The loss of life and territory which had to be regained at such terrific cost later, for which the strikes in defense industries may have been responsible, is beyond computation.

Some slogans of the Communist Party as taken from the pamphlet entitled "The Fight Against Hitlerism" which contains abridged texts of the reports of William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party, and Robert Minor, Acting Secretary, are: Quote, Get Out and Stay Out of the War, Fight Every Step of War, Regain and Strengthen our Democracy, Defend the Rights of Labor, Work for a People's Peace, end of quote.

The Call to American People's Meeting, in New York City, April the 5th and 6th in 1941, quote, this is not a war to wipe out the evils of Hitlerism and tyranny. It is not a war to liberate the peoples of Germany or France, India or Ireland, Africa or Asia. It is not a war to defend democracy. It is a war to line the pockets of corporate interests at the expense of the people of the world, end of quote.

Daily Papers, April 8th, 1941. American Peace Mobilization picketing the White House, with signs demanding that the United States remain at peace. Quote, all-out aid to England means total war for America, end of quote, one sign said.

Daily Papers, April the 7th, 1941. American People's Meeting in New York City, April the 5th and 6th, accused President Roosevelt and Wendell Wilkie of betraying pre-election stands against war; urged that the United States terminate the military alliance with the British Empire; seek to prevent the threat of war by establishing genuine friendly relations with the Soviet Union; refuse to convoy American ships.

Note: The Emergency Peace Mobilization at its Labor Day meeting in Chicago, founded the American Peace Mobilization. The official program of

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the American People's Meeting of the American Peace Mobilization on April the 5th, 1941, carried the story of American Peace Mobilization from which the following is taken:

Quote, since Labor Day week end, 1940, the American Peace Mobilization has grown from a Chicago convention hall full of enthusiastic, shouting delegates, to a substantial network of hard-working community peace councils, reaching from East Coast to West, from the northernmost borders of the United States to the cotton fields of the South. In Chicago we met, six thousand of us, as the Emergency Peace Mobilization. We drafted five planks to defend America, which have been American Peace Mobilization's guiding principles ever since, end of quote.

Note: United States House of Representatives Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, says, quote, the American Peace Mobilization was one of the most notorious and blatantly Communist fronts ever organized in this country. The period of its existence coincided exactly with the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, that is, down to the very day of June the 22nd, 1941. During that period, the American Peace Mobilization perfectly reflected the Communist Party's line on the war. On the very day that Hitler attacked Russia, the American Peace Mobilization withdrew its pickets from the White House. The organization itself was promptly disbanded, and its erstwhile adherents became vociferous American patriots demanding an immediate entrance of the United States into the war.

For the reasons given, the program of the American Peace Mobilization and the Emergency Peace Mobilization were given in the chart in the column under "Communist Party Line."

United States House of Representatives Report No. 1311. Testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities showed that Wyndham Mortimer has been a member of the Communist Party under the alias of Baker since 1933.

Mortimer has headed various groups in the auto and aircraft industry directly controlled and supported by the Communist Party. Wyndham Mortimer was a featured speaker at the Third Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Cleveland on January 3rd, 4th and 5th, 1946.

Following the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, it will be remembered that the Communist Party entered upon a campaign of opposition to the present war as Imperialist, denouncing conscription, Lend-Lease, and the defense program in general. It was during this critical period that Mortimer was assigned to the task of organizing the aircraft industry on the Pacific Coast. Together with Lew Michener, another Communist, he organized strikes in such important aviation plants as Vultee and North American.—

MR. STITH: And incidentally Charlie McCoys.

—According to the testimony of Hugh Ben Inzer, former President of Local 216, U.A.W.A., C.I.O., Phillip Connelly was present at a meeting held in Lew Michener's office in the Currier Building, at which the following persons discussed plans for strikes in local aircraft plants: Wyndham Mortimer, Lew Michener, and Pettis Perry, all identified as leading Communists, together with Hans Diebel, leader of the German-American Bund, and now under indictment as a Nazi agent.

The strike which subsequently occurred in the North American plant was condemned as Communist-led by Attorney General Robert H. Jackson. The President was compelled to order Federal troops to take over the plant be-

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cause the situation, as he said, was a serious threat to the defense of the United States.

Hans Diebel was a leader of the German-American Bund in California, and owner of the Nazi Aryan Book Store, which cooperated by printing "The Yanks Are Not Coming" leaflets.

United States House of Representatives Report No. 1311, page 130 to 131: Lew H. Michener—Closely associated with Wyndham Mortimer, in fomenting strikes among the aircraft workers on the Pacific Coast during the Stalin-Hitler Pact period and in the field of Communist Party activities, we find the name of Lew H. Michener. His ties with the Communist Party are numerous, as brought out in testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

Michener was Regional Director and Executive Board member of the United Automobile Workers Association, representing California and neighboring States during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. He was closely associated with Wyndham Mortimer in organizing the aircraft industry and was one of the leaders in the disastrous strikes at North American Aviation plant at Inglewood, California, and at the Vultee plant.

Turning to the Pension Union column, we find—"Washington New Dealer," March 13th, 1941—Old Age Pension Union Bulletin No. 16. Anti-war education must be carried on as never before. Part of this program of education and organization is to promote the April anti-war edition of the "Washington New Dealer." This one-hundred-thousand-copy edition will carry at least one full page of vital pension information. Send in your bundle orders for extra copies at once. Signed, N. P. Atkinson and William J. Pennock.

"Washington New Dealer," March 13th, 1941. Orders for Anti-War Issue at Forty Thousand Nine Hundred Mark. Taking the lead in the sales campaign, the State Executive Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union, Saturday assumed responsibility for twenty-five thousand copies. The Board has written all locals urging them to buy papers on a minimum basis of five for each member.

"Washington New Dealer," March 13th, 1941. Senator N. P. Atkinson and Representative William J. Pennock, President and Executive Secretary of the Old Age Pension Union, will represent that organization at the People's Meeting in New York, April 5th and 6th, called by the American Peace Mobilization. The call to the anti-war meeting was endorsed by the Old Age Pension Union's State Board, Saturday.

"Washington New Dealer," April 10, 1941. Pension Union Backing Strikers. Seattle. Full support to the striking voters in the Allis-Chalmers and Ford factories and the coal industry, was voted by the State Executive Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union, Saturday. The Board also reaffirmed its support of Harry Bridges and pledged continued aid to the Bridges Defense Committee.

"Washington New Dealer," May 1st, 1941. Old Age Pension Union Bulletin No. 22. Pension progress has become enmeshed in armaments appropriations. It will no longer be possible for pensioners to hold the gains they have already made, much less win new victories, without entering into a detailed political fight against war. We suggest your local discuss the following, pass resolutions and have the individual members write to President Roosevelt and as many members of our delegation in Congress as possible.

One, protest the false defense which refuses to solidify the country by granting concessions to the working classes. Demand that the Tobey Anti-Convoy

bill be brought out of committee in order that this costly adventure in sending American soldiers abroad to follow the American dollar shall be stopped.

Two, protest the rising tide of civil liberties violations. We must point out that the attack on Harry Bridges is an attack upon labor; the attack upon any minority leads to attacks upon the pension minority; and that the attack upon a man like our Vice President Lenus Westman is an attack on our program. Signed, N. P. Atkinson, President, William J. Pennock, Executive Secretary.

"Seattle Times," May the 4th, 1941. Pensioners Back C.I.O. at Boeing's: The State Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union, yesterday endorsed the campaign of the United Automobile Workers, an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, to organize Boeing workers. The Board condemned Mayor Earl Millikin for refusing to rent the Civic Auditorium to the rebel faction of the Aeronautical Mechanics Union.

"Seattle P.I." May the 4th, 1941, page 42. More Pension Funds Sought. The State Board of the Pension Union went on record yesterday, endorsing the campaign of the Aircraft Division of the United Auto Workers Union to organize Boeing Aircraft Company employees.

"Washington New Dealer," May 15th, 1941. Old Age Pension Union Bulletin No. 23. The mask is off the Administration's war program. The statements by Administration leaders last week, and by the President's son that, quote, we're in the war now, end of quote, is conclusive substantiation of the position taken by the State Board of the Old Age Pension Union that the aim of the government is not national defense, but an aggressive foreign war to extend American Imperialistic interests. We are not by any stretch of the imagination defending democracy by taking over the Azores, Dakar in Africa, Iceland, the Canary Islands, and so forth, as called for by Senator Pepper,—

MR. STITH: Just remember, they censored Senator Pepper here.

—Each local is urged to write both senators and the congressmen from your district denouncing Pepper's statement that, quote, Americans are willing to spill their blood, end of quote, for this kind of a cause.

If these trial balloons of Roosevelt's are not brought down by an overwhelming avalanche of adverse letters, telegrams and resolutions, the "go" signal will be given to war, and we will then be faced with struggling, not for increases in pensions, but struggling against already threatened decreases. Signed, N. P. Atkinson, President, and W. J. Pennock, Executive Secretary.—

MR. STITH: Instructions in this bulletin were that it was to be read at each local meeting, and if not read, members are asked to inform the state office.

Note: N. P. Atkinson, William Pennock, Edward L. Pettus, Lenus Westman and Evelyn Gardner, of the Washington Old Age Pension Union were among sponsors of the call to the Conference for People's Rights on June 7th, 1941, and were also elected officers of the Washington Committee for People's Rights, which was formed at that conference and which voted to affiliate with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and to adopt its program. The function of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as a Communist front organization, as described by Attorney General Biddle, is given on a later page. Following is a section of the program of this National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, relating to defense industry strikes:

Quote, the right of labor to organize, bargain collectively, picket and strike, at Vultee, in Dearborn, on Sparrows Point, wherever workers are exercising their lawful rights to form unions, bargain collectively, strike and picket, anti-

labor forces are using the cry of "national defense" as a weapon against them. The National Federation assists labor by presenting the facts and stimulating active public support for people—for labor's rights, end of quote.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the International Labor Defense, legal aid arm of the Communist Party, were merged to form the Civil Rights Congress in April of 1946. The Civil Rights Congress was included in the list of Fascist, Communist, or subversive organizations, by the United States Attorney General on December the 4th, 1947.

The "Washington New Dealer," June the 12th, 1941, lists among officers of the Washington Committee for the People's Rights, formed at the Conference for People's Rights, Lenus Westman and E. L. Pettus, vice chairmen; William Pennock and N. P. Atkinson, members of the State Executive Board.

We have seen how, during the winter and spring of 1941, the Pension Union through its State Board and leaders, has consistently paralleled the Communist Party line in condemning the Lease-Lend Bill and general United States domestic and foreign policy and endorsing the strikers at the Allison-Chalmers, Ford plant, coal industry, and the attempt to disrupt the Boeing plant. We shall now see them using the same arguments to foster a program the exact opposite of the one to which they have been previously committed.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we could recess for about five minutes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We'll take about five minutes, at which time maybe we can have the windows open a little bit.

MR. HOUSTON: Now as far as breaking up, Mr. Chairman, may I ask that we hold this recess down as low as we can.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will take a five-minute recess.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may proceed, Mr. Stith.

THE WITNESS: On June 22nd, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia, the German armies started their eastward invasion and on the same day the American Peace Mobilization pickets withdrew from the White House. In August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met at their sea conference and drafted the Atlantic Charter.

Consider now the Communist Party line and the reaction to these events.

The following is from a statement of the National Committee of the Communist Party as adopted on June 29th, 1941, in New York City. Quote, defend America by giving full aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and all nations who fight against Hitler; for full and unlimited collaboration of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to bring about the military defeat of Fascism; all aid to the Chinese people fighting for their national independence, no aid to the Japanese invaders; stop all government attacks on the Communist Party, release Earl Browder and all working class political prisoners; forward to a world-wide people's front against Hitler Fascism and for the defense of the Soviet Union, end of quote; and it is signed William Z. Foster, Chairman, Communist Party of the United States of America, and Robert Minor, Acting Secretary.

The following makes interesting reading also: Quote, the great might of America must be thrown against Hitler. The provisions of the Lend-Lease law must be extended to the Soviet Union, end of quote. That is William Z. Foster.

Robert Minor, June 28th, 1941, in "The Changed Character of the War," and "The Fight Against Hitlerism" says, quote, the British front against Hitler is a front against Hitler and every possible help must be sent to the people of England. Any slowing down of the struggle on the Western Front, which is now mainly one of air raids of the R.A.F. against German production centers, anything tending to permit the Western Front to degenerate into a stalemate, adds to the strength of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, end of quote.

William Z. Foster, in "The Fight Against Hitlerism," June 28th, 1941, on page six, says: quote, in the great problem of mobilizing the gigantic strength of the American people for militant struggle against Hitler the principal task confronting us is to show the masses how their most basic interests are at stake in this war. Our main approach has to be to convince these masses that their own most immediate interests are directly threatened. We must teach them that Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union imperils the living standards of the working class, the farmers, the middle classes of the United States; that it is a dire threat to their hard-won liberties; and that its success would present the eventuality of a desperate war against Hitler in this hemisphere. The Hitler war against the U.S.S.R. is thus both a bread-and-butter question for the American people and a menace to all their liberties. So we must present it to them, not merely or chiefly, as a fight to defend the first socialist republic. The way to defend America is by helping the U.S.S.R. smash Hitler. The only path to world peace is through the military destruction of Fascism, end of quote.

And on page eleven Foster says, quote, we must be prepared to work with all elements, even those openly critical of our Party, who are willing to fight against Hitler, end of quote.

Consider again that in August 1940, the Washington Old Age Pension Union passed resolutions opposing the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill, foreign loans, W.P.A. purge, anti-alien bill, and endorsed the Emergency Peace Mobilization and pointed out that in the case of war, old age pensions would be cut. Keeping this in mind along with the just-read instructions of William Z. Foster, let us consider the Pension Union reaction.

"Washington New Dealer," July 17th, 1941. Full support to President Roosevelt's policy of full aid to the peoples of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China in their fight against Fascism and aggression was pledged by the State Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union, Saturday.

The action was taken following a report by Senator N. P. Atkinson, State President, who declared that in giving support to the struggle to smash Hitlerism abroad, the Pension Union will intensify its fight against slashes in social security budgets, rising prices, inadequate housing and placing of the tax burden on those least able to pay, end of quote.

In a statement of policy, addressed to President Roosevelt, the Pension Union declared that, quote, you have correctly called for aid to all nations fighting Hitlerism. Your State Department has declared that Hitler must be stopped by a combination of forces from whatever sources. We understand that if Hitler is not defeated militarily, Fascism will overrun the world and this will mean the death of all social security gains in America. We therefore pledge our support to your policy of full aid to Britain, the Soviet Union and the Chinese people. In supporting your genuine anti-Fascist effort we will relentlessly oppose isolationists and appeasers whether inside or outside your administration, end of quote.

"Washington New Dealer," July 24th, 1941. Old Age Pension Union Bulletin No. 32. The State Board of the Old Age Pension Union voted to place Tom Rabbitt in charge of the resolution committee prior to the State Convention, and John Caughlan in charge of Constitutional Revision Committee.

Each local received with the minutes of the State Board meeting, copies of a petition to President Roosevelt, pledging our support of his anti-Fascist foreign policy and calling upon him to make his domestic policy anti-Fascist as well, by giving support to labor, civil liberty and pension legislation. Signed, N. P. Atkinson, President; William J. Pennock, Executive Secretary.

"Washington New Dealer," July 31st, 1941. The role of adequate social security in the fight to smash Hitler, Fascism will be the theme of the Washington Old Age Pension Union's annual convention on August the 9th and 10th.

"Washington New Dealer," September 11th, 1941. Pension Union Bulletin 39. V-for-Victory buttons are now on sale at the Pension Union offices.

"Washington New Dealer," August the 14th, 1941. Here's What Delegates Did—Report of Old Age Pension Union convention. Seattle. In addition to the all-important resolution supporting maximum aid to Britain, the Soviet Union and China, the Washington Old Age Pension Union passed twenty-six other resolutions. One of these was a "free Browder" resolution.

Pension Union Joins War on Hitlerism, Pensions Threatened, Delegates say. Cheering delegates to the Old Age Pension Union's greatest convention enthusiastically enlisted in the war against Hitler Fascism with the adoption of a militant "master" resolution.

The following are excerpts from this resolution, and I wish to call your attention to their counterpart among the statements from Foster and the statements from the National Committee of the Communist Party.

WHEREAS, The Washington—well, this is really quote. WHEREAS, The Washington Pension Union has consistently maintained that the welfare of the citizens of Washington is indissolubly interwoven with the security of all people everywhere; and

WHEREAS, These builders of America are not going to stand idly by and see years of labor and toil menaced by the threat of Hitlerism to America's continued safety and independence, and are not content to remain silent and passive in the face of the tremendous challenge to the continuation of social security and American democracy; and

WHEREAS, By its continual aggressions, by its tyrannies which include slave labor, the abolishment of all social security, the smashing of national cultures, the crushing of all civil liberties of all organizations of the people, including the unfortunate peoples of Germany, Hitlerism has proven to all mankind there can be no peace and no security while it continues to exist.

Note—Again Consider: quote, our main approach has to be to convince the masses that their own most immediate interests are directly threatened. We must teach them that Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union imperils the living standards of the working class; that it is a dire threat to their hard-won liberties.—

THE WITNESS: Remember Foster said that a few minutes ago?

—WHEREAS, Hitlerism has by military and diplomatic victories and intrigues subjugated the people of Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Albania, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Greece and Bulgaria; and

WHEREAS, Hitler, with the chained industrial and agricultural resources of

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all these nations and their peoples at his back, is now attempting to add the conquest of Russia to his bloody list; and

WHEREAS, The conquest of Russia would place at the disposal of Hitler such vast additional resources as to make the invasion and defeat of Great Britain almost certain, would enable Hitler with his ally Japan to take over the whole of China and our possessions in the Pacific, would bring the Nazi legions to within thirty miles of Alaska from whence bombing raids could be launched on our Pacific Coast cities; and

WHEREAS, If Russia and Great Britain go down before it, Hitlerism will be strong enough economically to force the United States into agreement with its ideology and impose a Fascist economy on the people of this country, and so strong militarily with all of Europe, Africa and Asia at its back that it could, if necessary, invade and ravage both the South American and the North American continents, including the United States.

You remember from the column on Communist Party line that its success would present the eventuality of a desperate war against Hitler in this hemisphere, end of quote.

WHEREAS, The United States, if its people are to live in peace, enjoy their present comparative security and remain free to strive for a greater security, must now without further delay, cooperate to the fullest extent of its ability and resources with all other nations resisting Fascist aggression to bring about the quickest possible crushing of Hitlerism; and

Note: You recall from the Communist Party line, quote, so we must present it to them, not merely or chiefly as a fight to defend the first socialist country, end of quote.

Now Therefore Be It Resolved, That the Washington Old Age Pension Union convention assembled call upon its members and affiliates to give their full support to the National Administration in its recently enunciated foreign policy of all aid to the peoples of Great Britain, Russia, and China, and that we declare the defeat of Hitlerism to be, in our considered judgment, the number one task facing the nation, and that now is the time to smash Hitlerism while it is possible to force Hitler to fight on two fronts, when for the first time in the long and brutal history of Fascist aggression a world-wide anti-Fascist front is being formed.

Note: From Communist Party line, "our party, therefore throws its full support in defense of the Soviet Union in its struggle against Hitler. Our crucial task is to develop all possible aid, moral, economic and military, for the Soviet Union, to insure the annihilation of Hitler and his Nazi barbarism."

Contrast the reaction of the Pension Union leaders toward the invasion of Russia with their attitude when Britain was fighting Hitler alone and the support given by Pension Union officials to the American Peace Meeting—American Peace Mobilization—in New York on the very day when Greece and Yugoslavia were invaded, April 6, 1941.

And Be It Further Resolved, That in support of this policy we work with and strive for unity with all groups and individuals whose common aim is the defeat of Hitlerism.

Note: Communist Party line, quote, we must be prepared to work with all elements, even those openly critical of our party who are willing to fight against Hitler, end of quote.

Now incidentally, Thomas Rabbitt was chairman of the Resolutions Committee responsible for the above resolution. You will find that in the "Washington New Dealer" of July 24th.

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"Washington New Dealer," October 9, 1941. Pension Union Bulletin No. 43. Our State Board also went on record urging our Congressmen and Senators to support repeal of the Neutrality Bill. All locals write their Congressmen.

You will recall how the leaders of the Pension Union opposed any aid to Britain and other countries, prior to Hitler's attack on Russia.

"Washington New Dealer," October 16, 1941. Pension Union State Board lauds Roosevelt for Soviet stand. Religious Freedom Position Praised by Pension Leaders.

President Roosevelt's efforts to dispel the falsehood that religious freedom does not exist in Soviet Russia, were lauded by forty members of the Pension Union's State Executive Board, in a telegram sent this week. Among those signing the telegram were Lenus Westman, W. J. Pennock, and N. P. Atkinson.

Note: The right-about-face in the Pension Union program coincided with and paralleled the same action by the Communist Party. Arguments used in justification are similar also.

Going back to our World Background column, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December the 7th, 1941, bringing the United States directly into a shooting war. During December, Thailand, Guam, Wake Island and Hongkong fell to the Japs. During January they entered Manila, the Netherlands Indies, Burma, and the Solomons, and the Battle of Makassar Strait and the siege of Singapore began. During February they invaded Sumatra, captured Singapore, entered the East Indies at Bali, captured all key positions in Java, and the Battle of the Java Sea was fought during which the Allies lost sixteen ships.

MacArthur reached Australia from the Philippines in March and the Japs took over the Bataan Peninsula in April, during which month Doolittle led the bombing raid over Japan.

The battle of the Coral Sea and the fall of Corregidor took place during May. The United States Navy defeated the Japanese in the Battle of Midway during June and in August the United States Marines landed on Guadalcanal.

In the war against Germany and Italy we find that twenty-six nations signed the United Nations Pact on January the 2nd, 1942. Sevastopol fell to the Germans on July 1st, the Russians evacuated Rostov on the 22nd and the Nazis advanced on Stalingrad on August 24th. On September 11th the Nazis took the naval base at Novorossisk and in November, American forces invaded North Africa.

Turning to the column containing the Communist Party line, I find in the "Daily Worker" of February 11, 1942, Foster's speech at Schenectady from which I quote as follows: Quote, the creation of a new European front by Great Britain and the United States is imperative, end of quote.

"Daily Worker," April 16th, '42. Article by Foster. For a Western Front. The Means Are at Hand. Quote, what is imperative for victory is a major Anglo-American offensive, the establishment of a great Western Front, end of quote.

"Seattle Times," June 8, 1942. Stalin demands allied invasion move.

"Daily Worker," July 31, 1942. Editorial. A Grim Warning to America and Britain. Quote, a veritable avalanche of voices must be raised for the establishment of the Second Front now, without another moment of delay, end of quote.

"Washington New Dealer," July 16, 1942. Pension Union Bulletin. Attention of all locals is called to the publications in this issue of the "New Dealer" of the secret memorandum between leading Nazis and United States Fascists

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revealed by Seldes. Important that all locals write to their Congressmen and Senators asking that this be published in the Congressional Record.

Note: George Seldes, editor of "In Fact," was cited forty-three times in the report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

Turning to the Pension Union column we find in the "Washington New Dealer" of December 18, 1941, on page seven, State Board Pledges Aid in United States War. The State Board of the Pension Union, with ninety members present, pledged its full support to Roosevelt and the Federal Government in its prosecution of the war.

Accepted the report of William Pennock, Executive Secretary, in which he called for full support for the war against Fascist aggression and pointed out that the struggle for more adequate pensions is an important part of the struggle to raise the morale of our people and hence in winning the war.

On page three we find John Caughlan, William J. Pennock, N. P. Atkinson and E. L. Pettus, on the Washington State Committee for Freedom for Earl Browder.

"Washington New Dealer," January 1, 1942. Old Age Pension Union heads back DeLacy for Council—that's Atkinson and Pennock.

"Washington New Dealer," February 12th. Pension Union in King County swinging its full force into the DeLacy campaign.

"Washington New Dealer," March 26, 1942. Tom Rabbitt to represent the Washington Commonwealth Federation at National Free Browder Congress in New York March 28th and 29th. Rabbitt will also officially represent the Old Age Pension Union of which he is State Vice President for the First Congressional District.

"Washington New Dealer," April 9, 1942. Action taken by State Board of Old Age Pension Union, Saturday, April the 5th. Voted to write all Congressmen and Senators and commending Vice President Wallace for his attack upon Dies as an aid to the Axis.

Tom Rabbitt is to report on the Free Browder Conference at the Pension Union meeting on April 12th.

"Washington New Dealer," April 16, 1942. A telegram to Wallace supporting his rebuke to Dies, signed by thirty-one, among them N. P. Atkinson, Hugh DeLacy, William Pennock, and E. L. Pettus.

Note: There were many Second Front demands in issues of this period.—

THE WITNESS: I didn't attempt to write them all down.

—"Washington New Dealer," May 21, 1942. Spokane pensioners ask Second Front.

Old Age Pension Bulletin. The freeing of Earl Browder by President Roosevelt, which the State Board of the Pension Union asked him to do some months ago, is a real contribution to national unity. However, the Peglers and labor-baiters are attacking Roosevelt for this act. Each local is urged to wire the President congratulating him for this contribution to building National unity.

"Washington New Dealer," May 28, 1942. Pension Union's Fourth Congressional District Victory Conference. Other important actions were, support to the President for commuting the sentence of Earl Browder; call for the impeachment of Martin Dies; endorsement of the "Washington New Dealer" and calling for government prosecution of owners and editors of the Sixth Column press.

"Washington New Dealer," June 18, 1942. Actions of State Board. Adopted and sent to Biddle and Roosevelt a resolution protesting the order deporting

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Bridges. Went on record for opening of Western Front and endorsed Wallace's speech.

"Seattle P.I." June 22, 1942. Seven Hundred Attended Old Age Pension Union Aid-to-Russia-Week Program, commemorating first anniversary of Germany's invasion of Russia.

"Washington New Dealer," July 23, 1942. Old Age Pension Union Bulletin. The immediate opening of a Western Front is the key to winning through in 1942.

"Seattle P.I." August the 15th, 1942. William Pennock speaker at Second Front Rally at City Hall Square, August the 14th.

"Washington New Dealer," October the 1st, 1942. Second Front Vital Issue, Pennock says. Quote, the immediate opening of the Second Front against Hitler transcends all other issues in importance, William Pennock, Executive Secretary, declared in his report to the Old Age Pension convention.

Note: Constant appeals for a Second Front for Russia, as being of greatest importance at a time when our battle with Japan was at its lowest ebb, makes one wonder.

"Washington New Dealer," October 1, 1942. Report of Seventh State-Wide Pension Union Convention, September the 26th, 1942. In addition to the tribute to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and demands for a Second Front immediately, urged a letter-writing campaign in behalf of Oklahoma Witch Hunting Victims; N. P. Atkinson permanently suspended from both Washington Commonwealth and Washington Pension Union.

Note: Daily Papers, A.P. dispatch. Oklahoma City, August 20, 1940. Oklahoma Clamps Down on Reds. Oklahoma's criminal syndicalism law was invoked today against twelve persons arrested after a sweeping investigation of alleged Fifth Column activity. The defendants, among them State Secretary Robert Wood of the Communist Party, pleaded innocent. Six of the defendants were accused of printing and circulating literature advocating crime, criminal syndicalism, sabotage, acts of physical violence, and destruction of property, to accomplish revolution. Named on this charge were Wood; Alan Shaw, Oklahoma City Communist Secretary; Mrs. Ina Wood; Eli Jaffee; Elizabeth Green; and Fred Maxham. The other defendants were charged with being members of the Communist Party.

The "Seattle Times" of December the 1st, 1940, states, Robert Wood, State Communist Party Secretary, six weeks ago was convicted and given the maximum penalty of ten years imprisonment and five thousand dollars fine.—

THE WITNESS: I don't know why the Pension Union was concerned with that.

—The high spots of the war against Germany and Italy during 1943 included the Casablanca Conference, defeat of the Nazis at Stalingrad, ending of German resistance in North Africa, formation of the French Committee of National Liberation by DeGaulle, invasion of Sicily by the Allies, Quebec Conference between Roosevelt and Churchill, the Americans ended their campaign in Sicily and invaded Southern Italy, the Nazis evacuate Smolensk, and Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai Shek meet in the Cairo Conference which was followed by the Teheran Conference with Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

The war with Japan finds the United States Forces completely occupying Guadalcanal, American troops occupying Adak and Attu, the Allies land and take the New Georgia group, and the Americans conquer Tarawa.

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Under the column of the Communist Party Line, we note the following: "Seattle Times," July 11, 1941. Ex-Red Given Term in Prison. New York, July 11th. Morris U. Schappes, 34 years old, a native of Russia, a former Communist and suspended tutor at the College of the City of New York, was sentenced today to eighteen months to two years in prison for perjury before the Rapp Coudert legislative committee investigating subversive activities in city schools.

United States House of Representatives Report No. 1311, page 71. Morris Schappes admitted in sworn testimony before the Rapp Coudert Committee that he joined the Communist Party in the summer of 1934. He further admitted that he was a member of the Communist Party Educational Commission. He stated that he used the name "Alan Horton" in the Communist Party, and that under that alias he had delivered the report of the Educational Commission at the tenth convention of the Communist Party in 1938.

Schappes was on the teaching staff of the College of the City of New York for a period of thirteen years. In 1936 his superior on the college faculty refused to recommend him for reappointment. This action led to prolonged agitation by the Communist Party and its front organizations on his behalf.

The following organizations participated in this agitation: the Communist Party, the Young Communists League, the American Student Union, the League of American Writers, the American League Against War and Fascism, and the International Workers Order.

"Daily Worker," September 4, 1943. Editorial. Invasion of Italy. "The American people welcome the Anglo-American offensive in Italy, but what the American people demand above all else is that simultaneously we now strike from England, in Western Europe."

United States House of Representatives Report, Appendix IX, page 564. On October 17, 1943, the Young Communist League convened in a national convention in New York City. The gathering formally dissolved the Young Communist League and immediately reconvened as the American Youth for Democracy.

It is apparent at once that the present American Youth for Democracy is nothing more nor less than the former Young Communists League when we examine the personnel of the two organizations. Young Communist Leaguers occupy all the important positions in the new American Youth for Democracy.

Turning to the Pension Union Column, I find that in the "Washington New World" of January 28, 1943, Pension Union Bulletin, quote, let us start out by learning to use the 'New World' as a real organizer for the Pension Union, end of quote.

"New World," April 29, 1943. Old Age Pension Union Bulletin. Has your local sent a resolution to President Roosevelt, urging the immediate freeing of the anti-Fascists imprisoned in North Africa? If it has not, we urge your local to do so.

"Washington New World," June 17, 1943. Pension Union Bulletin. Has a Russian War Relief Committee been established in your town? Pension Union members donate time to aid Russia.

"New World," August 12, 1943. Victim of Witch Hunt. The King County Council of the Washington Pension Union is to be commended for writing Governor Dewey of New York, urging that he pardon Morris Schappes, widely known educator and writer, who faces a prison term for perjury in connection with a Red hunt conducted in the public school system of New

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York City. Others should join with the Pension Union Council in asking Governor Dewey to rectify this disgraceful situation.

"New World," September 30, 1943. Pension Union Bulletin. Quote, the Allied advances in Italy plus the outstanding triumphs of the Red Army are tremendously inspiring to the Senior Citizens.

"New World," October 7, 1943. Pension Union for Second Front. The Executive Committee of the Pension Union dispatched a telegram urging, quote, the opening of a Second Front now as a means of shortening the war laying the basis for post war cooperation on an equal basis of all the United Nations, end of quote.

"New World," December 30, 1943. Pension Union Bulletin. The State Office has received many fine reactions to the "New World." As a New Year's resolution, why not pledge to get a new reader right now. Locals should support the campaign of the American Youth for Democracy to lower the voting age to eighteen.

Turning to the column on World Background, again we find that in the war against Germany and Italy, during 1944, the American Fifth Army entered Rome; the Allies invaded France at the Normandy Coast; the Dumbarton Oaks Conference was held; and the Quebec Conference between Churchill and Roosevelt; liberation of Greece was completed; and the Americans took the offensive in the Battle of the Bulge. In the war against Japan, we find the invasion by American Forces of the Marshalls and Admiralty Islands; Allied troops are now in Burma; the China-based B-29's raid Southern Japan; United States Forces invade Mindoro in the Philippines; and MacArthur announces the end of resistance on Leyte.

The following items were placed under the Communist Party Line column for 1944.

Congressional Record, December the 7th, 1945, pages 11,876 to 11,877. Clare Booth Luce. Quote, the Washington Commonwealth Federation and the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born, both of which were headed by Hugh DeLacy, issued a broadside on April 19, 1941, attacking the Department of Justice for the arrest and detention of Ernest Fox, a German Communist Party member who was organizer for the C.I.O. in the State of Washington in 1937, and organizer of Local 7 and the Alaska local of United Cannery Associated Packers A.W., C.I.O., end of quote.

According to the testimony of the late Anna Damon, for years, and until her recent death, the National Secretary of the International Labor Defense—Communist—the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born, is an affiliate of the International Labor Defense, the legal arm of the Communist Party.

The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born has a program similar to that of the International Labor Defense. Its National President is Stanley Novak, of Detroit, an alien-born Communist, arrested and indicted for perjury by the Department of Justice in connection with withholding information regarding his membership in the Communist Party when he took his citizenship oath. At the present time, Novak is also Michigan Chairman of the International Workers Order, another avowed Communist movement.

"Washington New World," June 14, 1945. Ernest Fox released from detention camp. Release of Ernest Fox, former Washington State A. F. of L. and C.I.O. union leader, from a detention camp where he had been held as a

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potentially dangerous alien, was announced here by the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born.

"Seattle Star," June 22, 1944. Institute Head Raps Commies. Arthur G. Barnett, lay chairman of the Seattle American Friends Service Committee, disclosed that he had received a copy of a letter addressed to Mayor William F. Devin and the city council and signed by Henry Huff, President, and Carl Reeve, Secretary, of the Washington State Communist Political Association. The letter objected to the institute being held in Seattle and intimated that if the city council wouldn't do anything about it, the Communists would.

"New World," Seattle, June 22, 1944. Letter signed by Henry Huff and Carl Reeve, to Mayor and city council, refers to Bertram Wolfe as follows: Quote, another faculty member advertised by this institute is Bertram Wolfe. He is one of America's most notorious Lovestone-Trotskyites, who was expelled from the Communist movement many years ago because of his Fascist and reactionary connections. Bertram Wolfe is listed as a lecturer on Russia. He is one of the rabid, professional anti-Soviet agitators in this country, and consequently is opposed to this country's friendly relations and collaboration with Russia, end of quote.

Turning to the Pension Union column for '44, we find in the "New World," January 13th, Pension Union Bulletin No. 150. A valuable service can be performed by Senior Citizens in volunteering to do badly needed sewing and knitting for Russian War Relief.

"New World," February 3, 1944. Pension Union Bulletin No. 153. Last week's "New World" has an important editorial on the importance of securing the freedom of Morris Schappes, outstanding anti-Fascist fighter. We urge that this editorial be read in full and that each local then instruct the secretary to write to Governor Dewey, Albany, New York, calling upon him to pardon Schappes immediately.

"New World," February 17, 1944. Pension Union Bulletin. The secretary should read as part of this bulletin, the story in this week's "New World" or the letter sent to all subscribers regarding stock in the "New World." Each local is urged to buy one or more shares. The local should then elect one of its members to represent the local at meetings of the stockholders.

"New World," February 17, 1944. Actions of Pension Union included calling on President Roosevelt to end the internment of Ernest Fox and dropping the deportation charges against him. Also urging Governor Dewey to pardon Morris Schappes.

"New World," March 16, '44. Aberdeen, Old Age Pension Union. Have sent to Russian War Relief more than two thousand pounds of used clothing.

"New World," March 16, 1944. Pension Union Bulletin No. 159. The State Board of the Old Age Pension Union voted to buy five shares of the "New World" stock. Has your local bought any yet?

"New World," March 30, 1944. Pension Union Bulletin No. 161. Building our newspaper, the "New World" is the number one political job of 1944. The Pension Union is proud of its record in building the "New World" but we are now getting some real competition from the trade unions. Let's challenge our union brothers to a friendly contest in April, to see who contributes most toward putting the drive over the top.

"House Journal," Washington State Legislature, Extra Session, 28th Legislature, 1944, pages 122, 123, and pages 44 to 134. Representative William Pennock, Chairman, Committee on Memorials, recommended passage of House Resolution introduced by Representative Charles Savage on "Recognition

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of Tito." The resolution condemned the Yugoslav government in exile, and praised the National Anti-Fascist Liberation Council and Marshal Tito, and asked that the House of Representatives of the State of Washington call upon the Government of the United States to recognize the provisional Government of Liberation.

"New World," April 13, 1944. Pension Union Bulletin No. 163. Twenty-five kits for Russia were taken by members of the State Board to fill with vitally necessary articles to be mailed to Russian families who were trying to rebuild their homes and their lives in the territories liberated by the heroic Red Army. Each local is urged to take at least one of these kits. Cost of the articles is three dollars.

"New World," May 11, 1944. State Board Actions. The State Board of the Washington Old Age Pension Union also voted to ask the State Department to sever relations with the Yugoslav government in exile and to recognize the Liberation Front movement headed by Marshal Tito and Dr. Riber.

"New World," June 22, 1944. Bolster Home Front, Delegates Are Told in Report to Pension Union Convention. Resolutions endorsed by delegates included, calling upon Attorney General Biddle to release Ernest Fox and other anti-Fascist fighters, calling upon Governor Dewey of New York to release Morris Schappes. Speakers at the convention included Hugh DeLacy; Carl Reeve, Secretary of the Communist Party; and Terry Pettus, "New World" editor.

June 20-21, 1944. Disruption of meeting of the Institute of International Relations at the Plymouth Church, Seattle, by ten hecklers, including the following: Hugh DeLacy, identified by Arthur Barnett, of the American Friends Service Committee, sponsor of the Institute,—incidentally that's from the "Times," June 21st; Thomas Rabbitt, Vice President of the Pension Union, took over the microphone,—that's from the "P.I." of June 21st; William Pennock, President of Old Age Pension Union,—"New World," June 29th; Mrs. Nora McCoy, Vice President of the Pension Union,—"New World," June 29th; Terry Pettus, editor of the "New World,"—"Times," June 22nd.

The hecklers objected to the speakers Kermit Eby, assistant director of research and education for the C.I.O., on the grounds, quote, that he did not truly represent C.I.O. opinion, end of quote; and Bertram Wolfe, author and lecturer, who has written biographies of Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky, and who was scheduled to speak on "Russia at the Peace Table," on the grounds that he was disrupting national unity behind our Commander-in-Chief. You will find that in the "Times," June 22, 1944.

The hecklers signed a statement saying, quote, there must be no free speech for Fifth Column traitors in the nation, end of quote. "New World," June 29, 1944. And the "New World," June 29, 1944, ran a front page editorial with the banner line "No Free Speech For Fascists."

Now here's an interesting note. "New World," October 2, 1947, page 7, slate Free Speech Rally in Spokane. Spokane, Washington. With the scheduling this week of a Free Speech Rally, mass public hall rally, in Redman Hall, the Free Speech Defense Committee took first steps in acquainting the people of this city with the threat to constitutional rights involved in the arrest for speaking on the streets of Robert Patrick, Communist Party organizer there. Scheduled to address the Free Speech Rally were John Caughlan, of the Civil Rights Congress of Seattle; C. Van Lydegraf, organizational secretary of the Northwest District Communist Party; and Patrick.

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It would seem that to some people, free speech is presumed to apply to them only.

A few of the important world events of 1945, as connected with the German and Italian War, are: The Yalta Conference, in February; the Act of Chapultepec was signed in March; President Roosevelt died on April 12th; the United Nations Conference opened in San Francisco on April 25th; Berlin surrendered on May 2nd, Germans surrendered on May the 7th; fifty nations signed the charter of the United Nations on June the 26th; and the Potsdam Conference was held in July.

In the war against Japan, we find the Americans retaking Bataan and Corregidor in February; Russia canceled the 1941 Neutrality Pact with Japan, in April; MacArthur announced the liberation of Luzon, in June, and the complete liberation of the Philippines in July; on August the 6th the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima; Russia declared war on Japan on—two days later; and Japan accepted Allied surrender terms on August the 14th, formal surrender on September the 2nd, 1945.

In the "Daily Worker" of August the 9th, 1945, an editorial, "The Soviet War Declaration." Quote, it is essential that the United States take the lead in exposing the arrogant dictatorship in Chungking, end of quote.

"Daily Worker," August the 15th, 1945. Editorial, "Prevent Civil War in China." Quote, not a single American gun, soldier, plane or other war equipment must be placed at the disposal of the Fascist clique in Chungking, end of quote.—

THE WITNESS: I wonder where we heard that?

—"Daily Worker," August the 18th, 1945. Editorial, "Stop the Monkey Business." Quote, how can Chiang Kai-Shek dare to fly his troops into Shanghai and Nanking, end of quote.

Daily Papers, June 28, 1947. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. On June the 27th, 1947, novelist Howard Fast and fifteen other Executive Board members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee were convicted of contempt of Congress, by a jury in Federal Court which found them guilty of contempt by refusing to supply the organization's records to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Howard Fast is the author of "The Incredible Tito," which ran in serial form in the "Seattle New World" for several weeks beginning May 18, 1944. In the installment appearing in the "New World" on June the 1st, 1944, was the following statement in regard to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee: Quote, an agent of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee contacted Tito, and the committee provided funds and means for Tito's return to Yugoslavia. Tito was a Communist, end of quote.

Turning to the Pension Union column, I find that the name of the Union was changed from, quote, Washington Old Age Pension Union, end of quote, to, quote, Washington Pension Union, end of quote, in June '44.

"New World," June the 21st, 1945. Seattle. Pension Union Asks Revision. The Executive Board of the Washington Pension Union went on record in support of the "New World" drive for twenty thousand dollars and pledged aid to help the circulation drive reach a goal of one hundred thousand readers by 1946.

"New World," Seattle, July 19, 1945. Purchase by the State Board of the Pension Union of another ten shares of stock in the Free Press Publishing Corporation, owners of the "New World," is a concrete way of recognizing

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the importance of this newspaper in realizing a program of social security for all the people of our state.

"New World," Seattle, August 2, 1945. Pennock Taking Leave From Job. Representative William Pennock has taken a leave of absence from the State post as Assistant Supervisor of State Institutions, to return to Seattle to spend full time as President of the Washington Pension Union.

"New World," Seattle, August 23, 1945. Bulletin. Write to Secretary of State Byrnes and call upon him to express strongest opposition to Chiang Kai-Shek for making war upon the Chinese people and to demand application of the Four Freedoms in China.

News Story, page 8, Charge Chiang Kai-Shek Threatens Civil War in China. Quote, it is quite apparent that Chiang Kai-Shek has been terrified by the idea that Japan is defeated and that peace has come much quicker than he expected it to come. It came before he had succeeded in organizing an army which was capable of fighting a full-fledged war with the Chinese Communists, end of quote.

"New World," Seattle, October 11, 1945. Bulletin No. 218. Russian War Relief is conducting a drive for books to help the U.S.S.R. rebuild the libraries destroyed by the Nazis. Here is a drive on which the W.P.U. should go "all out."—

THE WITNESS: Couldn't help but wonder what happened to those books after they got out there, according to Captain Levich.

—"New World, Seattle, October 11, 1945. Ralph Gundlach Speaking Sunday. Professor Ralph Gundlach, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee Chairman, will speak at the Sunday afternoon mass meeting of the King County Washington Pension Union Council.

It would seem apparent the leaders of the Washington Pension Union continued in agreement with the policies expressed by the "Daily Worker" during 1945.

During 1946 American policy is probably best illustrated by excerpts from speeches given by Senator Vandenberg, Secretary of State Byrnes, and Winston Churchill.

On February 27, 1946, A. P. dispatches give the title to Vandenberg's speech as, quote, United States Must Match Russ Firmness to Insure Peace, end of quote. Washington, February 27th. Senator Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan, called today for a vigorously plain spoken American foreign policy that will match Russia's in firmness. Reporting to the Senate on his work as a delegate to the United Nations meeting in London, he said the United States and Russia, quote, can live together in reasonable harmony if the United States speaks as plainly upon all occasions as Russia does; if the United States just as vigorously sustains its own purposes and its ideals upon all occasions as Russia does; if we abandon the miserable fiction, often encouraged by our fellow-travelers, that we somehow jeopardize the peace if our candor is as firm as Russia's always is. We need but one rule. What is right? Where is justice? There let America take her stand. End of quote.

American Foreign Policy as expressed by Secretary of State Byrnes. February 28, 1946. Secretary of State Byrnes served notice on the world tonight that the United States must stand ready to use force, if necessary, to prevent aggression. Byrnes asserted flatly that, quote, we must make plain that the United States intends to defend, end of quote, the United Nations Charter, which outlaws aggression. He called for a stop to this maneuvering for strategic advantages all over the world and to the use of one adjustment as

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an entering wedge for further and undisclosed penetration of power. Quote, the charter forbids and we cannot allow aggression to be accomplished by coercion or pressure or by subterfuge such as political infiltrations, end of quote.

Without specifically mentioning any individual power, he laid down this seven-point list of "must nots" for great and small nations.

One, we will not and we cannot stand aloof if force or the threat of force is used contrary to the purposes and principles of the charter.

Two, we have no right to hold our troops in the territories of other sovereign states without their approval and consent freely given.

Three, we must not unduly prolong the making of peace and continue to impose our troops upon small and impoverished nations.

Four, no power has a right to help itself to alleged enemy properties in liberated or ex-satellite countries before a reparations settlement has been agreed upon by the Allies. We have not and will not agree to any one power deciding for itself what it will take from these countries.

Five, we must not conduct a war of nerves to achieve strategic ends.

Six, we do not want to stumble and stagger into situations where no power intends war, but no power will be able to avert war.

Seven, we must not regard the drawing of attention to situations which might endanger the peace as an affront to the nation or nations responsible for those situations.

The following are excerpts from the speech of Winston Churchill, delivered at Fulton, Missouri, on March the 5th, 1946.

Quote, we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man, which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which, through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, Trial by Jury, and the English Common Law, find their famous expression in the Declaration of Independence.

All this means that the people of any country have the right and should have the power by constitutional action, by free, unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell, that freedom of speech and thought should reign, that courts of justice independent of the Executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of freedom, which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practice and practice what we preach.

Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organization will be gained without what I have called fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society, but the continuance of the intimate relationships between our military advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, similarity of weapons and manuals of instruction. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all naval and air force bases in the possession of either country all over the world.

Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our overriding loyalties to the world organization? I reply that on the contrary, it is probably the only means by

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which that organization will achieve its full stature and strength. Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbor no design incompatible with the charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial and, as I believe, indispensable.

Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist International organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits if any to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. The Communist Parties which were very small in all these eastern states of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case; and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. This is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

In a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist Fifth Columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria.

It would be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain and Canada now share, to the world organization, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world. Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organization, these powers may be confided to it, end of quote.

The following occurrences are noteworthy because of the reaction to them we will later note in our Communist Party line or Pension Union columns.

From March 6th through the remainder of 1946, we find these incidents: United States bares note asking Reds to quit Iran at once; Russia halts Iran troops; Russian espionage investigations in Canada; Wallace hits Churchill in speech; Russ troops moved in Iran close to Teheran and toward Turkey; Churchill called on the United Nations Organization for action in the Russian crisis; Iranians protest on Russ troops laid before the United Nations; Russian delegates walked out of the Security Council meeting after a motion for postponement of the Iranian discussion was defeated nine to two; the Red Army withdrew from Iran in April; United States planes flying over Port Arthur were fired upon by the Russians; and the State Department declared that Russia had no right under any Allied agreement to remove industrial equipment from Manchuria.

The twenty-one nation Peace Conference was held in Paris in July, August and September; Molotov asked for a quick curb on the Franco regime; American transport planes were forced down in Yugoslavia in August by Yugoslav fighter planes; American transport plane was shot down over Yugoslavia in August; the United States opposed the Red Dardanelles Plan; the United States delivered the Yugoslavian ultimatum; "Pravda" supported Yugoslavia;

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speech of Henry Wallace at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on September 12th, which was considered a complete contradiction of the United States foreign policy, as expressed by Secretary Byrnes; and Henry Wallace was fired as Secretary of State—Commerce, by President Truman.

Turning to the column on the Communist Party Line, we shall see the Soviet reaction.

March 12, 1946. London. Russians Lash at Churchill. The Moscow radio asserted tonight that, quote, the forces of reaction for which Churchill has made himself a spokesman want to impose wherever they can an undemocratic regime of oppression and corruption, end of quote.

"Pravda," in a front page editorial, denounced Churchill as an open advocate of power politics whose words urged war against the Soviet Union and mean, quote, nothing else than the liquidation of the United Nations Organization, end of quote.

The Communist Party newspaper accused him of attempting to liquidate the Big Three coalition, trying to impose British-American rule upon the world and slandering the Soviet Union.

"Seattle Times," March 11th. Moscow. "Pravda" Hits Churchill's United States Address.

"Seattle P.I." March 14th. London, March 13th—Stalin Asserts Churchill Calls For War. Marshal Stalin today called Winston Churchill a, quote, warmonger, end of quote, and charged him with asking for, quote, war on the U.S.S.R., end of quote.

National Committee to Win the Peace: Win-the-Peace Meeting, Washington, D. C., April the 5th to the 7th, 1946. The following summary of resolutions passed at this meeting is compiled from news accounts reporting the meeting:

One, For United Nations Security Council action, with American support, against the Franco regime in Spain.

Two, withdrawal from China of all foreign troops and establishment of a provisional democratic government for Korea.

Three, opposing compulsory military service and indefinite extensions of the draft.

Four, urged an end to production and storage of atomic bombs, and placing atomic materials and processes under civilian and international control.—

THE WITNESS: Of course, international control would mean that it would be under the control of the Russian veto.

—Demanded that the U. S. share its scientific knowledge of atomic energy with Russia and quit using the atomic bomb as a threat.

Urged fulfillment of the Moscow agreement setting up a four-power control commission in Japan.

The conference declared General Douglas A. MacArthur's one-man rule of Japan and his use of the political and economic machinery of the Japanese Fascists-militarists is inconsistent with the four-power control commission and must be abandoned, end of quote.

Note: Hugh DeLacy assailed Winston Churchill as a spokesman for an, quote, Anti-Soviet military alliance, end of quote, and as a leader of all the armies of world reaction.

I would like you to compare the resolutions passed by the "Win the Peace" meeting with the Communist program on foreign policy given in the Communist pamphlet entitled "Who Ruptured Our Duck?" page 11, as follows:

One, break with Franco's Fascist Spain.

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Two, get United States troops out of China, the Philippines and everywhere except in Germany and Japan.

Three, end the draft.

Four, stop the drive for compulsory military training.

Fifth, stop making atom bombs.

Sixth, share the know-how on atomic energy with all our allies.

Note: That included in the list of Communist, Fascist or subversive organizations by United States Attorney General Thomas Clark, on December the 4th, 1947, are both the "National Committee to Win the Peace" and the "Seattle Labor School."

"Seattle Star," May 11, 1946. Washington. Truman Scored as Anti-Soviet. A win-the-peace committee assailed the Truman Administration today on charges that it fostered anti-Soviet sentiment in Germany. British foreign policy similarly was condemned. The committee spokesman criticized both for, quote, the antagonism of the western allies to the new democratic anti-Fascist governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Among the congressional sponsors of this committee are Representatives DeLacy, Savage, and Coffee, of Washington.

"P.I." Seattle, March 28, 1946. Report of Win-the-Peace Meeting in Seattle on the night of March 27th. DeLacy scored United States Anti-Soviet policy. Walkout of the Russian delegation from the Security Council meeting yesterday does not necessarily mean a break in the United Nations. Hugh DeLacy said, quote, that action is neither final nor fatal, but tonight we have the first fruits of the anti-Soviet policy of the Churchill, Byrnes, Hoover, Vandenberg crowd. These men and the Imperialistic interests they represent are responsible for the first symptoms of a break in the United Nations Organization, end of quote.

"Times," Seattle, September 21, 1946. Moscow Lauds Wallace Stand.

"P.I." Seattle, September the 17th, 1946. "Pravda" hails Speech by Commerce Chief.

"Seattle P.I." September the 25th, 1946. Communists here pass out hand bills lauding Wallace. Quote, Act for Peace. Block the war being engineered by Byrnes and Vandenberg. Get the marines out of China, Vandenberg out of Europe, and Byrnes out of the cabinet. Ban the Bomb, end of quote.

"P.I." Seattle, September 23, 1946. Wallace Praised by London Communists.

Now because of the fact that the September 12th speech of Henry A. Wallace was considered in all news accounts and in official statements as a direct contradiction of American foreign policy as established by the President, by the Secretary of State, and leaders of the government; that it was praised by Communists from "Pravda" in Moscow to those in Seattle; the following extracts from his speech, from the prepared text, are quoted in this column:

Quote, "The Way to Peace" by Henry Wallace, Secretary of Commerce of the United States, delivered before a meeting under the joint auspices of the National Citizens Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, at New York, September 12, 1946.

Quote, the British Imperialistic policy in the Near East alone, combined with Russian retaliation, would lead the United States straight to war unless we have a clearly defined and realistic policy of our own.

"We are reckoning with a force which cannot be handled successfully by a

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'Get Tough With Russia' policy. The tougher we get the tougher the Russians will get.

"We have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe, and the United States. Whether we like it or not, Russia will try to socialize their sphere of influence just as we try to democratize our sphere of influence.

"Under friendly peaceful competition, the Russian world and the American world will gradually become more alike.

"We have to recognize that the Balkans are closer to Russia than to us, and that Russia cannot permit either England or the United States to dominate the politics of that area.

"Once the fears of Russia and the United States Senate have been allayed by practical regional political reservations, I am sure that concern over the veto power would be greatly diminished. Then the United Nations would have a really great power in those areas which are truly international and not regional. In the world-wide—in the wide world as distinguished from the regional—

THE WITNESS: Let me retract that.

—In the world-wide as distinguished from the regional field, the armed might of the United Nations should be so great as to make opposition useless. Only the United Nations should have atomic bombs and its military establishment should give special emphasis to air power. It should have control of the strategically located air bases with which the United States and Great Britain have encircled the world.

"The kind of peace I have outlined tonight is the basic issue, right on through the Presidential election in 1948. How we meet this issue will determine whether we live not in one world or two worlds, but whether we live at all."

Note: National Citizens Political Action Committee: United States House of Representatives Report, Appendix IX, says, quote, the National Citizens Political Action Committee has one hundred forty-one members. Out of this number eighty-three per cent have records of affiliation with Communist and Communist Front organizations. It has been clearly established by overwhelming evidence that this committee is the major Communist front organization of the moment. As a front organization it represents the Communist Party's supreme bid for power throughout its twenty-five years of existence in this country, end of quote.

"Times," Seattle, March 29, 1946. Column by Lyle C. Wilson, United Press Staff Correspondent: Quote, in August 1945, at the New York State convention of the Communist Political Association, June Hoffman spoke as a member of the C.P.A. cultural section. Quote, we built the Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and it is a great political weapon. The radio and film propaganda organizations can help our activities as Communists, end of quote.

The Progressive Citizens of America was formed from the merger of the National Citizens Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, in New York on December the 28th through 30th, 1946.

That announcement can be found in the daily papers of December the 28th, 1946.

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Turning to the Pension Union column, I find that in the "New World" of January 17, 1946, the following heading: "Seattle Labor School Opens." Among affiliated unions are Washington Pension Union.

"New World," Seattle, February the 21st, 1946. Labor-backed candidates hit incumbents at Pension Rally. Endorsed candidates are Victor Meyers, Rev. Benjamin F. Davis, Terry Pettus, Andy Remes, and Charles Carroll.

"New World," February the 7th, 1946. The attack of the Rankin Un-American Activities Committee on the Spanish Refugee Appeal and on other progressive organizations, and their complete failure to investigate groups led by Gerald K. Smith and other real Un-Americans, makes plain the menace of this committee to American democracy.

If the committee is successful in its persecution of the Spanish Refugee Appeal, it will inevitably strike next at labor and even pension organizations. Locals are urged to write or wire Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House, Washington, D. C., protesting the contempt proceedings against the Spanish Refugee Appeal. All locals are also urged to communicate with their local Congressmen for support for the Hook Resolution No. 12, which would abolish the Rankin Committee.

"New World," March 14, 1946. Northwest Backing U. S. Peace Parley Support to the Win-the-Peace Conference, being called in Washington, D. C., April 5th through 7th, is being offered throughout the Northwest as individuals and labor and progressive organizations make plans to take part. Along with the support voiced by the organizations are repudiations of the war threatening Anglo-American military alliance proposal made by Winston Churchill. The Washington Pension Union has notified President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes that the senior citizens of the State consider Churchill's speech a proposal for a bilateral attack on the United Nations Organization, and should be condemned.

"New World," Seattle, March 14, 1946. Washington Pension Union Bulletin. All Pension Union locals are urged to take action on Churchill's speech proposing Anglo-American alliance directed against Russia. Each local should send condemnations of the proposal to Secretary Byrnes, President Truman and your congressional delegation.

The National Committee to Win the Peace was formed immediately after the speeches by Byrnes and Vandenberg, on February 27th and 28th, as quoted previously. Telegrams supporting Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington, D. C. were sent by Thomas C. Rabbitt, William J. Pennock and E. L. Pettus. You will find that notice in the "Seattle Star" of March the 18th, 1946. William J. Pennock, President of the Washington Pension Union was a delegate to the Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington, D. C. on April the 5th and 7th, 1946. You will find that notice in the "New World" of April the 11th, 1946.

"New World," Seattle, March the 21st. People Determined to Win the Peace. Following included in the list of sponsors of Seattle "Win-the-Peace" mass meeting: John Caughlan, attorney; William Pennock; Representative E. L. Pettus; Senator Thomas C. Rabbitt; and Terry Pettus.

"Seattle P.I." March 21, 1946. William J. Pennock, Thomas Rabbitt, and E. L. Pettus, included in members of "Win-the-Peace Conference Committee" sponsoring Seattle meeting on April the 27th, 1946.

"New World," of March the 21st, 1946. Seattle. Pension Board Hits Churchill Drive. State Board of the Washington Pension Union went on record protesting the dangerous trend away from Franklin D. Roosevelt's program of

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unity of the Big Three. Also voted to affiliate with the Seattle Labor School and urged members to register for the second term.

"The New World," April 11, 1946. Seattle. People Organizing to Win Peace and Security. Five delegates from the Washington State participated in the 3-day session which gave an ovation to Senator Claude P. Pepper whose keynote address called upon the little people of the world to declare for peace. These delegates included State Representative William Pennock, President of the Washington Pension Union.

"New World," September 26, 1946. Pension Union in Pledge to Wallace. A pledge of one hundred per cent support to former Secretary of Commerce Wallace in his fight for the peace of the world, was sent him from the Washington Pension Union, Pennock announced.

"The Worker," Sunday, December 22, 1946, page 12. The Communist Party's 1947 Legislative and Economic Program, submitted by the Communist Party's General Secretary Eugene Dennis in his report to the National Committee and approved on December the 5th, 1946.

Under Foreign Policy they had: Break diplomatic and economic relations with Franco-Spain; put an end to American Imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the Chinese people; withdraw all U. S. troops from China and withhold all credits and aid from the dictatorial collaborationist Kuomintang Government.

Disarmament: Promote universal and immediate world-wide disarmament; reduce America's annual military and naval expenditures at least to a minimum of the '39 or '40 peacetime level; prohibit the manufacture, stockpiling and use of the atomic bomb; halt the militarization of the youth, schools, of science and industry; establish government ownership of the armaments industry and of the patents, know-how, production and use of atomic energy and all fissionable materials; restore and extend UNRRA; guarantee Big Three unity, especially the amity and cooperation of the United States of America and the U.S.S.R.; complete the economic disarmament, demilitarization and de-Nazification of Germany and Japan, and give free scope to their democratic forces.

"New World," January 30, 1947, page 7. Report of the Tri-County Snohomish-Whatcom-Skagit People's Legislative Conference preceding Sunday and program adopted. Twenty-one of the ninety-nine delegates represented the Pension Union. Program unanimously approved. Speakers included William Pennock, President of the Washington Old Age Pension Union; and Jerry O'Connell, former Democratic Party State Executive Secretary; Terry Pettus, "New World" editor; and Frank Batterson, disabled World War II veteran, chairman of the Snohomish County Communist Party. Following is the portion of the program adopted, regarding Foreign Policy: Break diplomatic and economic relations with Franco-Spain; withdraw United States troops from China and stop aid to Chiang Kai-Shek dictatorship; United States participation in world-wide disarmament; stop manufacture of atomic bombs and outlaw their use; abolish compulsory military training; remove from private industry development of atomic power to insure its peaceful use for benefit of all; restoration and extension of UNRRA; promote Big Three unity; carry through the de-Nazification and demilitarization programs in Germany and Japan.

We find, therefore, that in 1947, the above-mentioned leaders of the Pension Union subscribed to a program in complete harmony with the foreign policy, disarmaments, loans, and the UNRRA program, of the Communist Party.

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On March 11, 1947, the daily newspapers carried an article referring to Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach's testimony before the House Labor Committee; and on March 12th President Truman made his speech to Congress on aid to Greece.

On March 14, 1947, "Izvestia" front page editorial attack on President Truman's speech asking aid for Greece and Turkey. On June 25th "Pravda" scored the Marshall Plan; and on April 16, 1947 the "Daily Worker" carried an editorial "Let Wallace's Friends Speak Out."

The "New World" of March the 20th, 1947. Report of meeting of State Board of Pension Union. Among other things, Andrew Remes, Labor Secretary of the Washington State Communist Party, and they deplored the action of Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach in calling for the outlawing of the Communist Party and of President Truman in beginning a so-called anti-Communist crusade in Greece and Turkey. Remes' talk was followed by a unanimous approval of a wire to Schwellenbach, urging him to disassociate himself from those who would destroy our traditional rights.

Also adopted was a wire to the State's congressional delegation expressing profound alarm at the Truman proposal for American Imperialist intervention in support of the Greek monarchy.

"P.I." Seattle, March 19th. William J. Pennock, Thomas C. Rabbitt, signers of a wire to Senator Warren Magnuson, asking him to oppose President Truman's proposal to send aid to Greece on the grounds that it is a betrayal of the rights of all people to self-government. Also a wire to Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach that they deplored his joining of the reactionary Red-baiting gang by urging the outlawing of the Communist Party, which, they said, is being used as cover for the attack upon organized labor and civil liberties.

On March the 23rd, 1947, the President ordered a purge of disloyal Federal workers; March 24th, a Communist plot on Greece bared by secret papers; and on the same day, hearings were held before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, D. C., in which testimony was given by William C. Bullitt. On March the 25th, Congress is told that Greece is facing seizure by the Reds; and on March 26th, J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the F.B.I., charged before the House Un-American Activities Committee that the Communist Party stands for the destruction of our American form of government, free enterprise, and it stands for the creation of a Soviet of the United States and ultimate world revolution.

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, refused to answer questions before the Un-American Activities Committee hearing, or to accept subpoena; and on March the 27th Louis E. Starr, Veterans of Foreign Wars, testified before the same committee.

Senate Joint Resolution No. 93, introduced in the Senate by Claude Pepper and Glen Taylor, and in the House by Representative Blatnik. Resolution excludes military aid, and specifies administration of all relief by the United Nations. This measure was endorsed in an editorial in the "Daily Worker" on April the 5th, 1947. You will remember that in the United Nations, measures are subject to the Russian veto.

"New World," April the 17th, 1947, page 3. Report of meeting of Washington Pension Union State Board, at which they went on record unanimously as follows: condemning the Red smear drive of the Thomas Un-American Com-

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mittee; endorse the Pepper-Taylor-Blatnik joint resolution for genuine aid to Greece.

From March 31 to June 28, 1947, some important world events were as follows: Henry Wallace, Madison Square Garden, opposing Truman plan of aid to Greece and Turkey; demanding United Nations control of aid program and the internationalizing of Panama and Suez canals and the Dardanelles; Molotov and Gromyko score the United States plan to assist Greece; Wallace speech in London for British neutrality between the United States and Russia, and opposing the United States aid plan for Greece; Attorney General Clark denounced as a lie, any assertion that this country is committed to ruthless Imperialism and war with the Soviet Union; Russian demand for United Nations supervision of United States aid to Greece rejected by the Security Council; and Eugene Dennis and Leon Josephson cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee; Wallace campaign speech for Charles Savage; Eugene Dennis convicted of contempt of Congress; and Gerhardt Eisler sentenced and released on bail; and Carl Aldo Marzani sentenced on charge of concealing Communist affiliation in getting Government job.

"P.I." Seattle, February 3, 1948. The U. S. Court of Appeals today upheld a one to three years sentence for Carl Aldo Marzani, one-time State Department employee convicted of falsely denying former membership in the Communist Party.

And on May the 1st, 1947, the "Seattle Star" carried an article entitled "Wallace stand lauded by Tito. Tito statement reported by Johannes Steele." Quote, on the whole I agree with the greater part of Wallace's speeches, end of quote.

Moscow radio commended candidates in this country who have endorsement of the P.A.C. on October the 21st, 1946.

Note: Charles Savage, as member of the State Legislature, introduced a resolution eulogizing Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia and called for his recognition by the United States. Representative Pennock, as chairman of Committee on Memorials, recommended its passage. He was one of the sponsors—this is Savage—he was one of the sponsors of House Resolution 415 demanding recall of all United States troops, transports, and supplies from China. This paralleled the action taken at "Get Out of China" rally sponsored by the King County Communist Party, December the 6th. Savage was a sponsor of the Win-the-Peace meeting in Washington, D. C. And you recall, the National Committee to Win-the-Peace was listed as a subversive organization by Attorney General Biddle—or, Clark, on December the 4th, 1947. Savage was a sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress formed by the merger of the International Labor Defense and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The American Youth for Democracy is in the list of Fascist, Communist, or subversive organizations listed by the United States Attorney General on December the 5th, 1947, as is the Seattle Labor School.

The "Daily Worker" of August the 26th, 1947. The Civil Rights Congress is supplying the funds and legal talent in battling the Un-American's contempt citations of Eugene Dennis, Gerhardt Eisler, Leon Josephson and other anti-Fascists.

House Report 1311, page 47. Out of seventy-seven top-ranking sponsors and leaders of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, we find at least forty-five who represent what is probably the most impressive aggregation of

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Communist talent ever assembled in a single organization throughout the long history of the Communist Party's transmission belt in this country.

Note, we move over to the Pension Union column again.

"Seattle Star," April the 24th, 1947. William Pennock was one of those signing cablegram to Henry A. Wallace, commanding his European speaking tour, and opposition to the Truman foreign policy. Other signers included Hugh DeLacy, Jerry O'Connell, H. Richard Seller, Terry Pettus, George Hurley, Rev. F. Benjamin Davis, Joe Jurich, and others.

"New World," May the 8th, 1947. Regarding campaign of former Congressman Charles Savage in the special Third District election: Quote, some one hundred doorbell ringers were recruited at a joint meeting here of the Progressive Citizens of America, Longshoremen, and Pension Union, in Carpenters Hall, end of quote.

"New World," September 11, 1947. Washington Pension Union greetings to the American Youth for Democracy convention extended by Dr. C. H. Fisher.

"New World," September 18, 1947. Washington Pension Union convention report. Among resolutions passed were the following: Endorsed the Northwest Labor School of Seattle; scored the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan; pledged support to Civil Rights Congress; and the "New World," of October 9th, 1947, lists Carl A. Marzani to address the Pension Union mass meeting.

In conclusion, I find that from September 1939 through 1947, the Washington Pension Union, through its leadership, has endorsed and been associated with at least fifteen different organizations classed by either or both the current United States Attorney General, the United States House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee, or other high Government officials, as Communist front organizations. In most cases local branches of these organizations were formed, which affiliated with the National organization of the same name, and leaders of the Pension Union were always among the officers elected. In most cases, delegates officially representing the Washington Pension Union were sent to National meetings of these organizations.

Prior to Hitler's attack on Russia, I find the Washington Pension Union also supported, either by endorsement or resolution, a number of strikes which President Roosevelt and/or other high Government officials declared to be strikes inspired and led by Communists to disrupt the flow of war materials to the Allies. Notable among these were the Allis-Chalmers and coal industry strikes and the attempt to disrupt production at the Boeing Aircraft Company plant in Seattle.

The Washington Pension Union, through its leadership, endorsed a foreign policy from September, 1939, to June the 22nd, 1941, identical with that of the Communist Party line and in opposition to the foreign policy of the United States Government. From June 22, 1941, to the end of the war, the Pension Union, through its leadership, stood for a foreign policy similar with that of the Communist Party line. This especially emphasized a Second Front into Europe with aid and relief for Russia, with little, if any, mention or attention to our war with Japan, and in addition constantly agitated for the release of such individuals as Harry Bridges, Earl Browder, Ernest Fox, Morris Schappes, and others of like kin.

From 1939 through 1947, the Washington Pension Union, through its leadership, passed at least one hundred ten individual resolutions or endorsements of which I have made record and read to you, of actions, organizations, or policies paralleling Communist Party line policy.

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Q. Now, Mr. Stith, that is a description of the data, with its authorities, that's in this chart. Is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. And you have in the possession of the Committee, all of the authorities quoted in this chart.

A. That's correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be introduced as an exhibit of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be introduced and accepted in the record as a—Committee's Exhibit No. 59. And in accepting that into the record, I would like to also include the sincerest thanks and the amazement of this—the Chairman and this Committee, of Mr. Stith's ability to read constantly for three hours, and to keep us quite well entertained.

MR. HOUSTON: That's it, Mr. Stith. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, I have one more witness that's come here from a considerable distance. The testimony will not take very long, and I suggest that we go into that without recess.

I would like to also suggest that the door be closed, and ask, Mr. Chairman, that nobody be permitted to leave this room until after the witness has left the stand.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That will be instruction of the—the Chairman, that the door be closed and that no person will be permitted to leave this room until after the forthcoming witness has left the premises of the Armory Building here.

MRS. AGNES BRIDGES, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Now, if you will just relax, we are making a recording here and I ask that you answer questions, not just nod your head, but audibly, so that we may have the recording. That's the way we are recording these proceedings.

Q. Please state your name. Please state your name.

A. Agnes Bridges.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I am going to refrain from asking this witness as to her present address. Is that agreeable with the Committee?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is agreeable, and I am uncertain whether the—her name was recorded on our device. If you will proceed with that in mind.

Q. You are Mrs. Agnes Bridges?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And for the past twenty-five years you have resided in the City of San Francisco?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you, Mrs. Bridges, do you know a man by the name of Harry Renton Bridges?

A. Yes, sir, he was my husband.

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Q. He was your husband. When did you first meet Harry Renton Bridges?

A. I think about in '22. Excuse me, I think about in '23.

Q. You say 1922?

A. '23.

Q. 1923. And where did you meet Harry Renton Bridges?

A. In Marshfield, Oregon.

Q. In Marshfield, Oregon. What was Mr. Bridges doing at that time?

A. He was on a Government ship.

Q. He was on a Government ship. As a sailor?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Mr. Bridges make love to you?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And did you subsequently start to live with Mr. Bridges?

A. Well, he went on to San Francisco first, on the ship.

Q. He went to San Francisco first.

A. And he asked me to come down later.

Q. And he asked you to come down later.

A. And I went down a few weeks later.

Q. You went down a few weeks later. Can you fix that date? That was also in 1923, was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And you started living as man and wife with Harry Renton Bridges?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did Mr. Bridges marry you at that time?

A. No.

Q. Did he give any explanation why he didn't marry you?

A. He said he didn't believe in marriage.

Q. He said he didn't believe in marriage. Did he elaborate on that statement any?

A. No, he didn't. He just—

Q. Did he say the Communists don't believe in marriage?

A. No, because I didn't know anything about the Communists then.

Q. You didn't know anything about the Communists at that time. I will ask you, Mrs. Bridges, when your daughter Betty was born. Was that 1924, Mrs. Bridges?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Take your time in answering, Mrs. Bridges, and try to be at ease if possible.

A. Well, at the end of 1924.

Q. Betty was born at the end of 1924?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, did Mr. Bridges ever marry you, Mrs. Bridges?

A. No, he didn't.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

THE WITNESS: Oh, yes, he did. Not then.

Q. When were you and Mr. Bridges married?

A. A few weeks before the 1934 strike.

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Q. A few weeks before the 1934 strike. Did Mr. Bridges make any explanation to you of why he married you at that time?

A. Yes, he did. He said that—why he wanted to get married, that he wanted to on account of the strike coming on in—the 1934 strike, that he wanted to take his papers out.

Q. He wanted to take out his citizenship—

A. Citizen papers.

Q. —papers. And with the 1934 strike coming on, he wanted to marry you then?

A. He said it would look better if he was married.

Q. He said it would look better if he was married?

A. Yes, and—

Q. And did he marry you then?

A. He did.

Q. And that was in 1934?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, during the time that you have lived with Mr. Bridges, had you asked him before this to marry you?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And had he made any statement that the Communists don't believe in marriage?

A. He did. He said the Com—the Party didn't believe in marriage.

Q. He said the party don't believe in marriage. And then he married you in 1934, just before the 1934 strike?

A. Yes.

Q. And before he—and he intended to make application for his citizenship papers?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he say that if he didn't marry you, there would be a smear against him?

A. He did, yes.

Q. Now, during this period of time you had continuously lived with him as man and wife?

A. Yes.

Q. And he was the father of your daughter Betty?

A. Yes.

Q. He has never denied parentage of Betty, has he?

A. No, he hasn't.

Q. Now, Mrs. Bridges, was Harry—was Harry Renton Bridges ever a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. He was a member of the Communist Party. Did they ever hold any Communist meetings in your home?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. Where was the location of your home at the time?

A. At 3249½ Harrison Street.

Q. 3249½ Harrison Street, in the City of San Francisco?

A. Yes.

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Q. Now how often did they hold these Communist Party meetings?

A. Well, sometimes it was once a week, and sometimes twice a week, at my house.

Q. Will you—sometimes twice a week, but would you say that always once a week?

A. Yes.

Q. Always once a week and sometimes twice a week. Now, Mrs. Bridges, do you know the names of any of the people attending these Communist Party meetings in your home?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. What are the name of some of them?

A. Well, there was John Shoemaker—

Q. John Shoemaker.

A. Johnny Larson—

Q. Johnny Larson.

A. Scotty Frater—

Q. Scotty Frater.

A. And I think it was Lee Pressman, I forget his first—

Q. Lee Pressman.

A. Uh-huhm. And Henry Jackson.

Q. Henry Jackson. Was that Harry Jackson?

A. Harry Jackson.

Q. Harry Jackson, uh-huh.

A. And a few others.

Q. Did a Mr. Schmidt ever attend—

A. Oh, Henry Schmidt.

Q. Henry Schmidt. Did a Mr. Freeman attend Communist Party meetings in your home?

A. Yes, he came quite often.

Q. He came quite often. Now what would Mr. Bridges tell you when they were going to hold a Party meeting in your home?

A. He wouldn't—he told me to stay in the other room, not to come in at all.

Q. He told you stay in the other room and to stay out of the meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. Now where in your house did they hold these Party meetings?

A. In the kitchen.

Q. In the kitchen. Now did Mr. Bridges ever keep Communist literature around your home?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. He did. Have you ever seen any of the little application blanks for membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Where were these application blanks?

A. Oh, I forgot the number on Pine Street, but we had them at the Pine Street address.

Q. Pine Street. Where, in reference to the room, were they kept?

A. In the bedroom.

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Q. In the bedroom. Have you ever heard Mr. Bridges solicit anyone for membership in the Communist Party?

A. No, I haven't, but there was Norma Perry was out at the house.

Q. Norma Perry was out at the house.

A. I think when Harry Lundberg was there for dinner.

Q. And Harry Lundberg was there for dinner. Now what—relate that conversation to us.

A. Well, it was just after Mr. Bridges came out of the hospital. He wasn't quite well yet, and Norma—

Q. That was after Mr. Bridges' operation in May 1935?

A. '35. And Mr. Harry Lundberg came out for dinner, and after dinner Norma came out, Norma Perry.

Q. Norma Perry came out after dinner. Now she wasn't at dinner—just Harry Lundberg was at dinner with you?

A. Yes.

Q. And after dinner, Norma Perry came out?

A. Yes.

Q. Now what conversation, if any, took place on that occasion?

A. Well, there wasn't much said about the Party, but all of a sudden Norma pulled out some of those pink cards.

Q. One of the application blanks for the Communist Party?

A. Yes, and said to Mr. Bridges, "How about signing Harry up in the Party?"

Q. "How about signing Harry up." Now, did she mean Harry Lundberg?

A. Harry Lundberg.

Q. And what did Mr. Bridges say?

A. "Oh, not now. Give him time, we will take care of that."

Q. "Not now, give him time, we'll take care of that."

A. Yes.

Q. Now you have repeatedly heard Mr. Bridges discuss Communism in your home, have you not?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Has Mr. Bridges ever told you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he has.

Q. Did he tell you this on one occasion or on many occasions?

A. On many occasions.

Q. On many occasions he told you he was a member of the Communist Party.

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you, Mrs. Bridges, did you ever see a Communist Party membership book of Harry Bridges?

A. Yes, many a time.

Q. You have seen his membership book many times?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever had this membership book in your hands?

A. Quite often.

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Q. Quite often. Will you describe this membership book for us?

A. Well, I would say it was just large enough to put in a good-sized envelope.

Q. Large enough to put in an envelope.

A. Yes.

Q. And does it open up?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, suppose you go on and describe it for us.

A. Well, I would say it was about that long (illustrating), and quite narrow, and about that wide.

Q. Did it have any stamps in it?

A. It did, yes. It had a design—

Q. It had stamps. What's that?

A. Kind of a little design on the stamp.

Q. A little design in the center of each stamp.

A. Yes.

Q. Was that design the hammer and the sickle?

A. Yes.

Q. It was the—and this membership book had stamps in it, and each stamp had the sign of the hammer and the sickle?

A. Yes.

Q. Now what name was inscribed on this membership book?

A. Harry Dorgan. That was his mother's maiden name.

Q. Harry Dorgan.

A. Yes.

Q. And Dorgan was his mother's maiden name?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that correct?

A. That's what he told me.

Q. Did you ever have a conversation about him using this name "Dorgan"?

A. Yes, I did. I told him he ought to be ashamed of himself for putting his mother's maiden—maiden name on the Party book.

Q. You told him he ought to be ashamed of himself for putting his mother's maiden name on a Communist Party book.

A. Yes.

Q. Is that right? And what did he reply?

A. He said, "What difference does it make, they will never find out."

Q. "What difference does it make, they will never find out."

A. Yes.

Q. Now, I will ask you, did Harry Bridges carry this Communist Party book with him?

A. Oh, no.

Q. He wouldn't carry it.

A. No.

Q. Where in the house did he keep it?

A. Well, sometimes we hid it underneath the linoleum in the bathroom.

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Q. Sometimes you hid it beneath the linoleum in the bathroom.

A. And—

Q. And where else?

A. And sometimes, there was a kind of thing up above the door, a piece of long wood, and he made a slit in there with the butcher knife and put it in between the wall and the—

Q. And the door?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, your testimony is that there was a piece of wood above the door, and he made a slit there that was room enough, and he put this Communist Party book above the door in this slit, is that right?

A. Yes.

Q. Now did he ever ask you to move the hiding place of the book?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. Well, will you recite some one of the occasions for us?

A. Well, there was one occasion that—oh, I will say it was about half-past eleven, or something like that.

Q. About half-past eleven at night.

A. Yes, that a fellow by the name of Eddy Caperson came out.

Q. Eddy Caperson. Is that C-a-p-e-r-s-o-n?

A. Yes.

Q. Uh-huh.

A. He came out to the house and he told me they had got—that Harry had sent him out because he thought the house was going to be raided; that they—that they had some papers and a certain book at the house, that I would know what it was—to hide them for him.

Q. Now this Eddy Caperson came out to the house and said that Harry Bridges had sent him out, that he had been tipped off the place was going to be raided—

A. Yes.

Q. —and that there were some papers there to be removed, and a book, and that you would know what he meant?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that—now was this Eddy Caperson a good friend of Mr. Bridges?

A. Very good, yes.

Q. He was very close to Mr. Bridges then?

A. Yes.

Q. Was this Eddy Caperson a member of the Communist Party?

A. That I don't know.

Q. You don't know. Had he ever sat in any of these Communist Party meetings at your house?

A. No, that was the first time I had seen him for quite some time.

Q. The first time you had seen him for quite some time; but you knew him and knew that he was very close to Mr. Bridges, is that right?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Now, did you secure papers and—on that occasion and give to Mr. Caperson?

A. I did. I give him the Communist Party book and several letters that

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was there. I figured out a place where we took them to, and I took them to a girl friend of mine, and her name was Mrs. Edna Markel.

Q. Mrs. Edna Markel. Now your testimony is that you got all these papers. You knew what Harry Renton Bridges meant, didn't you?

A. Yes.

Q. And he meant to get this Communist literature and these letters, and get them out of the house then, didn't he?

A. Yes.

Q. And this Communist Party book?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, you got them together. Did you put them in a suitcase or something.

A. I put them in one of those real large envelopes, brown.

Q. In a large brown envelope, uh-huhm. And did you give them to Mr. Caperson, or did you take them to Edna Markel?

A. No, he had a car and we—and he—him and I drove down to this party's house together, and I gave them to her and told her to hide them and take good care of them.

Q. Now, you got all this together, and you just didn't give it to Eddy Caperson, you took it down to Edna Markel?

A. Yes.

Q. Now you knew that Edna Markel was very close to Mr. Bridges also, didn't you?

A. Yes.

Q. And you knew—was Mrs.—was Edna Markel a member of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, no, I don't—

Q. You don't think she was?

A. No.

Q. But she was very close to Mr. Bridges?

A. Yes, we had been friends with her a good many years. In fact, she was the first lady friend that I met after I went to San Francisco.

Q. She was the first lady friend you had met. Now you had to do something quick and you thought of her, and you took them down to her then?

A. Yes.

Q. And gave them to her. And then you returned home?

A. Yes.

Q. Now is that Edna Markel's name? Did it later become Edna McSherry?

A. That was her name before she got married.

Q. Oh, that was her name before she got married. Is that McSherry or Sherry?

A. McSherry.

Q. McSherry.

A. Yes.

Q. Uh-huhm. Now you have mentioned a Lee Pressman as being present at these Communist Party meetings in your kitchen. Who is Lee Pressman? Do you know what he did?

A. Well, he is a member of the Communist Party.

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- Q. He's a member of the Communist Party.
 A. Yes.
- Q. And what kind of work did he do?
 A. Oh, I—I really couldn't answer that question.
- Q. You don't know?
 A. No, I don't know.
- Q. Did you know Mr. Morris Rappaport?
 A. No, I don't.
- Q. You don't recall Mr. Rappaport ever being—
 A. No.
- Q. —in those meetings. Now do you know how to spell the name Markel? That's M-a-r-k-e-l, is it not?
 A. Yes, that's it.
- Q. That's her. Edna Markel. And you've already spelled Caperson, that's C-a-p-e-r-s-o-n.
 A. I think it's C-a-p-p-e-r-s-o-n.
- Q. Now, did you hide Mr. Bridges' card for him on more than one occasion?
 A. No, that was the only time.
- Q. That was the time. And he said he'd been tipped off. Did he say the F.B.I. was going to raid his house?
 A. He didn't say. That was all that Mr. Caperson said, that it was tipped off the house was going to be raided and I would know about those things, to hide them for him.
- Q. Now, I want to ask you again, Mrs. Bridges, you say you've had this membership book of Mr. Bridges' in your hands many times.
 A. Many times.
- Q. What do you mean by "many times"? Ten times, twenty times, fifty times?
 A. Well, it would be that—like they would be having the meetings, they would have the book around, you know, or something like that, and he would tell me to—tell me to put it away.
- Q. After the meeting he would tell you to put his book away.
 A. Yes.
- Q. Mr. Bridges—did he make any attempt to hide from you his membership in the Communist Party?
 A. Well, not till—I never seen—I never seen the book after we took it to Mrs. Edna Markel.
- Q. After you took it to Mrs. Markel, you never saw it again?
 A. I never saw it again.
- Q. And Harry Bridges didn't keep any other book around his house after that then?
 A. No, he didn't.
- Q. Now can you identify the time by year, that you took this book to Edna Markel?
 A. Well, that was—I don't exactly know how long after the strike—it was quite a few months after the strike.
- Q. Quite a few months after the strike.
 A. Yes.

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- Q. Was it before Mr. Bridges' first hearing?
 A. Oh, yes.
- Q. Much—much time before his first hearing?
 A. Oh, yes.
- Q. Now, your daughter was always very close to you, wasn't she?
 A. She was.
- Q. I will ask you, Mrs. Bridges, did you have—did the opening rift between you and Mr. Bridges—what occasioned that?
 A. Well, I—no—it did start—really, he didn't care much about me after I didn't believe in what he was doing.
- Q. After you didn't believe in Communism—
 A. Yes.
- Q. —and so expressed yourself to him, then he didn't care as much about you. Now, did you have any discussion over Betty?
 A. Well, yes, we had that—well, quite often.
- Q. You had that quite often.
 A. Uh-huhm.
- Q. Did he want Betty to do something that you didn't want her to do?
 A. Well, I didn't like the idea of—I have nothing against any nationality, and there was quite a few colored people around the dances, which I hadn't anything against colored people, and I just didn't want my daughter to mingle with different ones, and he fought against that.
- Q. In other words, you have nothing in the world against colored people,—
 A. I haven't.
- Q. —but you didn't want your daughter mingling and dancing with the colored people then,—
 A. No.
- Q. —is that right?
 A. And because I said that she—for her not to, then he got quite angry at me.
- Q. He became very angry at you—
 A. Yes.
- Q. —when you told her not to dance and mingle with the Negroes?
 A. Yes.
- Q. Would it be your testimony here that Mr. Bridges wanted Betty to dance and mingle and go out with Negroes?
 A. Well, I don't exactly know whether he wanted her to go out with them or anything like that, but he said that he didn't see no harm in her dancing with them.
- Q. You don't know whether he wanted her to go out with them or not, but he wanted her to dance with them?
 A. Yes.
- Q. And he remonstrated with you about your telling her that you didn't want her dancing with Negroes then?
 A. Yes.
- Q. Now, are you and Mr. Bridges still man and wife?
 A. No.

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Q. Are you divorced?

A. Yes.

Q. When were you divorced, Mrs. Bridges?

A. Two years the end of last August.

Q. Two years the end of last August. I will ask you, Mrs. Bridges, did Mr. Bridges ever threaten you if you exposed him?

A. Many a time.

Q. He threatened you many times. Did he threaten your life if you exposed his membership in the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. He did. And he did this on repeated occasions?

A. Yes.

Q. The fact of the matter, once he tried to kill you, didn't he?

A. I don't much see—I don't know how I ever—I don't know how I lived through it.

Q. You don't know how you lived through it. Well, will you answer the question "yes" or "no"? He did try to kill you once?

A. He did.

Q. Well, we won't go into that, and I won't bother you now, but you definitely know that he threatened you and he did try once to carry the threat out, didn't he?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. This Lee Pressman that you have mentioned—I keep coming back to that, because there is a very famous lawyer by the name of Lee Pressman, and I don't want any mistaken identity here. Was this Lee Pressman a lawyer?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Not that you know of. You don't think he was a lawyer, do you?

A. I don't think he was.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all, Mrs. Bridges.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We wish to thank you very sincerely, Mrs. Bridges, for the effort that you have made in being here. I think that it is an indication that you, as a very fine American, are willing to undergo the stress and strain and the—all of the trouble that it has taken you—for you to be here, and we sincerely, in the name of the State of Washington and the Un-American Activities Committee, and all the members of the Staff here, thank you for your presence here, and we wish you all of the best.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you, Mrs. Bridges.

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

(Applause.)

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Now it will be a few moments before we will open the door. I wish to take this occasion to make a few remarks for the Legislative Un-American Activities Committee.

This Committee has several scores of witnesses having important testimony bearing on this case, which we could introduce; but due to the fact that we feel that the case against Communism, the case against Communists in the Washington Old Age Pension Union has been quite thoroughly made, we hereby release all witnesses now under subpoena who have not been called from

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such subpoena. We may at a later date—we probably will call you before a future hearing of this committee.

We are not adjourning or closing the hearing on the Old Age Pension Union—the Washington Pension Union, but are recessing until such a time as we may be able to organize additional evidence and testimony, which we have received in the last few days, plus that part of our case which we do not feel that we can impose upon the staff and the members of this committee to hear at this time.

It is a significant fact, we think, that though we have made this witness chair available to all persons mentioned or named during the course of these hearings, that not one person named here has chosen to take advantage of his right to speak freely under oath in denial of any assertions made regarding him, or her.

We no doubt will hear much about the violation of the rights of free speech. I think it was Ben Johnson who said that the last recourse of a scoundrel is an appeal to patriotism, or words to that effect. Well, we have found that—that always the last refuge of the Communists is an appeal to the Bill of Rights.

There has been no infringement of the Bill of Rights at these hearings. There will not be in future hearings. Many people of the State of Washington have come forward here, people from all walks of life, to speak freely about a subject that has touched them deeply. The fact that those accused, or those mentioned, do not wish to avail themselves of that privilege, I think is self-evident; but we will not at this time draw any conclusions. We feel and have felt at all times that Communism cannot operate, cannot function in the light of day. We feel that with the publicity given their activities, during the course of this hearing, that the people of the State of Washington will properly and adequately take care of the Communists in that particular field of activity.

I wish also at this time to express the gratitude of this committee to several persons and groups of people; first, to the Director of the Washington State Patrol and the individual members of that patrol, who have been a part of these hearings. I would like to name those who have been in attendance here and who have worked far beyond the hours required of them in helping us hold these hearings.

Captain Furseth; Sergeant Campbell; Sergeant Baker; another Sergeant Baker;—L. H. Baker and J. E. Baker—Patrolman J. W. Agee; Patrolman C. E. Anderson; Patrolman C. T. Bowers; Patrolman R. M. Welch; Patrolman B. W. Whitman. I might say in connection with that, we wish to also thank the City Police Department, for the cooperation that we have had from Chief of Police Eastman and his men.

I wish to say that we have appreciated the prompt, courteous way that these officers of the law have maintained order, and sometimes with considerable provocation, but they have handled disturbers with the greatest possible gentleness, and that has been in harmony with our wishes.

In this group, also, I wish to thank the military branch here. We have received the fullest cooperation from General Llewellyn and his assistant here, Colonel Nelson. They have made available this hearing room, have maintained it, kept it in order, and it has been a very valuable service to us.

I wish to thank the members of the press for their attendance here, and their fair and complete coverage of these hearings.

I wish to also thank the long-suffering staff of the Un-American Activities Committee who have worked day and night in preparing this case.

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And personally I wish to thank the members of this committee for the part that they have played in preparing this case, for the many many hours and the many trips throughout the State that each man has made here to be in attendance to help solve the problems that we have had to solve as we have undertaken the task assigned to us by the people of the State of Washington through their Legislature.

In stating that no person mentioned here has wished to take advantage of our witness chair and the opportunity to testify under oath, I wish to mention that I believe three, and only three, requests have been made to this committee. One of them I mentioned before, Louise Alice Gervais, who neglected to give her address, and whom we have been unable to contact, did request an opportunity to appear before this committee. We will at a later date, at whatever effort it takes, find her place of residence and notify her officially that she may appear before this committee, even though she was not mentioned here in any other way.

We had two rather facetious requests, or letters, it might be termed a request, from the American Youth for Democracy, requesting that they be permitted to speak here; but we felt that that organization was quite adequately taken care of by the committee of Congress and the Attorney General of the United States, and there seems to be no reasonable misunderstanding about their Communist control and Communist origin, and we do not feel it was a proper subject of this—I will not say a proper subject of this Committee, but that we did not have time to go into that activity. Perhaps we may at a later date.

There are many things that I would like to say and I shall not at this time attempt to draw any conclusions about what our findings have been. I think the people of the State of Washington will draw those conclusions.

As to what our future hearings will be, or when they will be, we cannot announce at this time. There are several fields of Communist activity, Communist penetration, of which we feel we must investigate and expose; at the proper time we will release such information. Until that time, I wish to thank you for your attendance, and wish you all the best.

(Applause.)

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken.)

CERTIFICATE

I, RUSSELL N. ANDERSON, the stenographic reporter employed by the Un-American Activities Committee of the State of Washington to report the proceedings of its hearings held on January 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31, and February 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1948, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the matters therein set out.

I do further certify, that the transcript of the proceedings above referred to was verified by Adalyn M. Odey and myself as being true and correct, we having compared word for word said transcript with the electronic recordings taken of the proceedings and the testimony given at said hearings.

Russell N. Anderson.

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